THE

MAPILLA REBELLION

1921-1922

MADRAS
PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRESS

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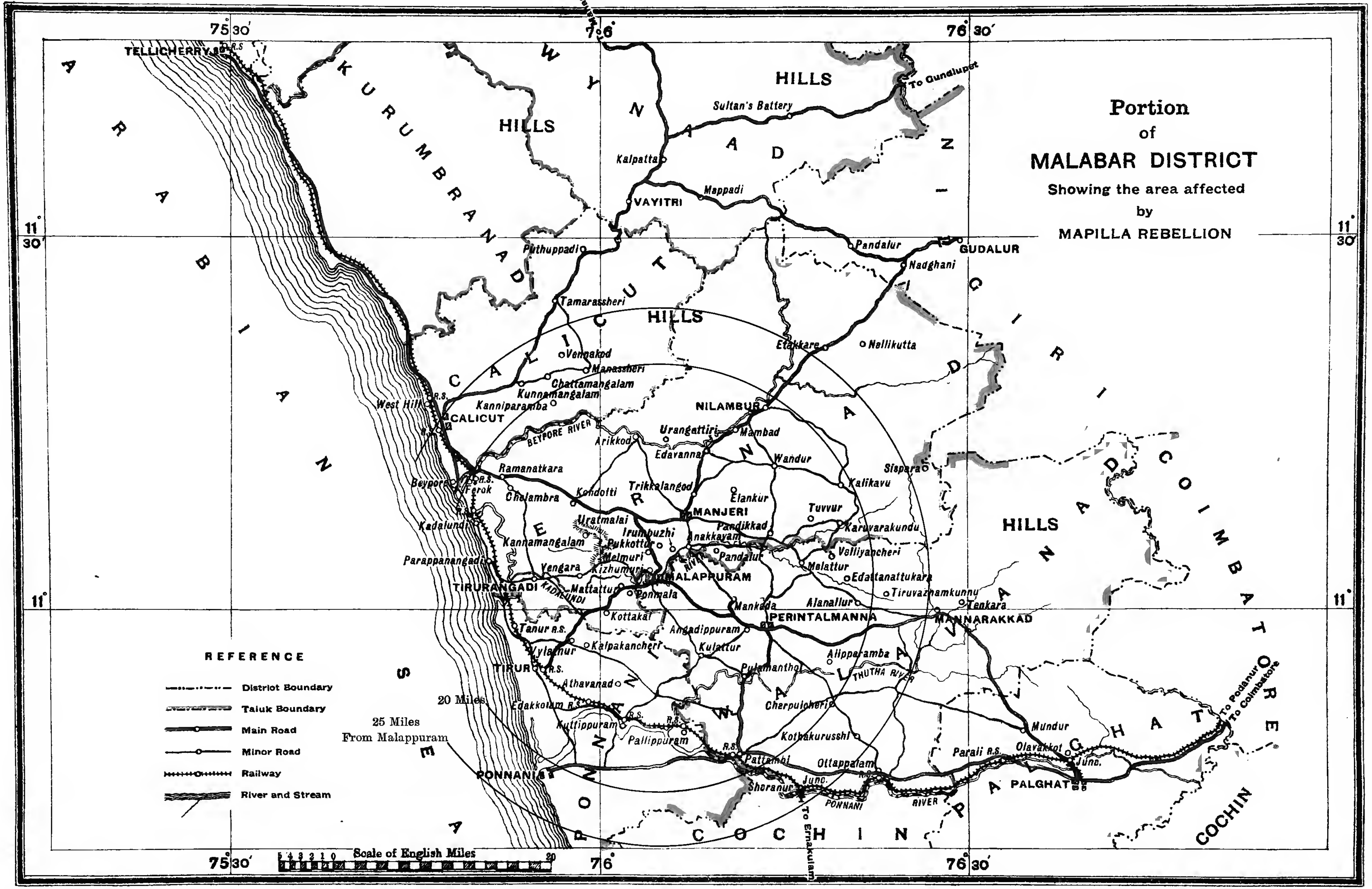

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PREFACE.

During the earlier stages of the Mapilla Rebellion the action taken by the Madras Government was determined almost entirely by means of personal discussions between the Member in Charge—Sir Lionel Davidson, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.—and the Chief Secretary—Mr. N. E. Marjoribanks, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. For the first few weeks telegrams—many of them in cipher and most of them requiring immediate action—were received literally by the dozen at all hours of the day and night, and it would obviously have been impossible to deal with them by means of the ordinary Secretariat procedure. Sir Lionel Davidson therefore made a practice of meeting the Chief Secretary every morning at about 8 a.m. at the latter's bungalow, Brodie Castle, in order to see the reports that had been received and to decide such action as it was necessary to take on them. Mr. A. R. L. Tottenham, I.C.S., then Income-tax Commissioner and Fourth Member of the Board of Revenue, generally assisted at these discussions with advice and a type-writer; and my presence as Under Secretary was also required to help to decipher and encipher telegrams and to take down replies. Many of these replies were dispatched at once from the Adyar Post Office, others were sent off later from Fort St. George after they had been seen by His Excellency and other Members of the Government. Similar meetings were often repeated in the evenings after dinner. The papers were kept by me and filed chronologically, which was the most that could be done at the time; and the result after a month or two was a mass of correspondence with the civil and military authorities and the Government of India with nothing in the shape of an office-note to explain it or to enable a newcomer to find his way about the file.

This volume represents an attempt to sort out and classify the papers in some sort of order, as well as to include with them certain other information that may be useful to the eventual writer of a complete history of the rebellion. Naturally as time went on the normal procedure in dealing with matters connected with the rebellion was re-established, the correspondence widened in its range, but assumed a more deliberate character and formed the subject matter of numerous office files. It would be impossible to include all this correspondence within the limits of one volume, but the extracts from the Secretariat Indices given in Appendix V may provide a clue to such further information as may be required. The general scheme of arrangement is given on page (ii) and from this it will be seen that the main idea has been to group under different heads correspondence with, or information received from, different authorities and to allot separate sections to such aspects of the rebellion, such as Martial Law and the raising of the Malabar Special Police, as could conveniently receive such treatment. This arrangement has involved some duplication in printing, but this was unavoidable. An attempt has also been made to group together, within certain of the main sections, the chains of correspondence on any particular subject, so that, e.g., a telegram may be followed immediately by the reply to it. This has of course involved a sacrifice to some extent of the strict chronological order in which the telegrams were received, but on the whole the general effect seems to be an increase in clearness.

Note.—Wherever throughout the volume it is not stated in the heading to a communication who it is from or who it is to, it is to be understood that it is from or to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.

G. R. F. TOTTENHAM,
Under Secretary.

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CHAPTER I.

PREVIOUS HISTORY.

Demi-official—from Sir Lionel Davidson, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., *Member of Council, dated 5th October* 1921.

Some time ago, as you will probably recollect, I suggested the advisability of compiling a history of the first beginnings of the Mapilla trouble. The idea was that material should be taken from the District Magistrate's fortnightly reports and the weekly reports sent to the Criminal Investigation Department by the District Superintendent of Police; but how far back this material should be searched was not settled. As soon as time and staff permit, this ought to be put in hand so as to form an apologia for the Local Government and an answer to the criticisms levelled against the policy or supposed policy of the police, District officers and Local Government. I enclose two cuttings from Home papers which illustrate the sort of thing I have in mind. One of these is a criticism published in the " Times " by its Bombay correspondent and the other is an extract from a letter by Sir Michael O'Dwyer to the " Daily Telegraph " which has been published in Indian papers this week.

Enclosures

(1)

Extract from " Times " dated 10th September 1921.

MAPILLA LESSONS.

Need for better roads and bridges.

(*From our own correspondent.*)

Bombay, Sept. 8.

Statements made in the legislature throw a clearer light on various points in connexion with the Mapilla rebellion which have hitherto been rather shadowy.

It is indisputable that the outbreak was mainly due to Muhammadan agitation, working among ignorant fanatics, though suffering and economic distress had, incidentally, something to do with it. When that was first suggested some incredulity was expressed, on the ground that it is the fashion to attribute every ill to Mr. Gandhi and the Ali brothers, but the doubts have now been dispelled. That being so, the Madras Government cannot escape criticism for not acting earlier.

But there is much in favour of the argument, commonly heard, that early action might only have precipitated the outbreak. It must also be remembered that the Local Governments have loyally followed the lead of the Government of India in the *laisser aller* policy, hoping that non-co-operation would die of inanition, and the Caliphate agitation be terminated by a revision of the Treaty of Sèvres. That hope is clearly vain, since the spirit of the non-co-operation movement is neither dead or moribund, and the Muhammadan agitation is as fierce as ever, though the serious Muhammadan attempts to tamper with the loyalty of the Army have received a timely check.

Sir William Vincent, the member for Home Affairs of the Governor-General's Council, speaking for the Government, said he hoped the Legislative Assembly would support whatever measures the Government took to bring certain persons to justice. But that sort of talk is played out. There has been too much threatening, with no subsequent action, except against lesser agitators, and too much attitudinizing in the Winkle and Dowler style.

But the recent debate cleared the air, and the most legitimate ground for criticism lies in the failure of the Madras police and district officers to appreciate the seriousness of the Mapilla organization earlier. Sir William Vincent told the Council of State that the Government had no reason to believe that things would develop so seriously, thus going farther than Lord Willingdon's recent speech in the Madras Legislative Council. But Lord Willingdon's admission that the forces available at the outset to deal with the rebellion were inadequate is tantamount to a confession that his Government was surprised. The fact is, there were only 200 British troops in Malabar when the trouble began, and the police—many of them Mapillas—were practically useless against the fanatical mob.

This circumstance forcibly directs attention to the problem of internal security, particularly in Southern India. Sir William Vincent said that unless the legislature was prepared to vote considerably larger sums than have hitherto been voted for internal defence, it would be difficult to deal with risings of this character.

The *Times of India*, commenting on that statement, notes the need for greater expenditure on roads and bridges, most of which are not suited for the mechanical transport upon which the army must increasingly rely, especially now that the Indian rebels, as in

1919, have appreciated how easily railway communications can be attacked. Echeloning the army behind the frontier serves a strategic purpose and makes the maintenance of order in Northern India comparatively easy, but leaves large areas elsewhere equally unprotected in the early stages of fanatical outbreaks.

(2)

Extract of letter by Sir Michael O'Dwyer to "Daily Telegraph."

Last month Gandhi wrote in *Young India* : "For himself he can clearly see the time coming when he must refuse obedience to every single State-made law, even though there may be a certainty of bloodshed." The Ali brothers, who were kept under restraint during the Great War and the Afghan War, for being in traitrous correspondence with our foreign enemies—a crime for which they should have been tried and punished—have been set free, and openly state that they would do all they can to help the Afghans in the event of a Jehad against the British in India, calling upon all true Muhammadans to do likewise. They have been allowed to preach that doctrine in Malabar in spite of the protest of the District Magistrate, who was not allowed to prohibit the seditious meetings. Can there be any reasonable doubt that this was the main cause of the Mapilla rebellion ?

(3)

Extract from "New India," dated 6th October 1921.

KHILAFAT EXPLOSION IN MALABAR.

BY MANJERI RAMAIER.

Mitavadi, CALICUT.

In the 14th March issue of the *Mitavadi*, I brought the story of N.-C.-O. on the Malabar Coast up to the time when I called upon all political parties who cared to preserve the British connexion to rally on the side of Responsive Co-operation, to meet together in separate Conference and not to allow the noisy N.-C.-Os. at Ottapalam to pose as entire Malabar. In this article, I shall try to bring the history up to date, so that the man in India who runs, may read the moral, so that other parts of India may profit by the lessons that have been burnt into the heart of merry Malabar in suffering and agony in looting and arson, in cold-blooded and forcible conversion.

The Famous Manjeri Conference.

I have referred in the first article to the famous Manjeri Conference to which Mrs. Besant came to fight N.-C.-O. The N.-C.-Os led by "Iyengararchy" won the day by rousing up the fanaticism of the Ernad and Walluvanad Mapilla. In these days, when the N.-C.-O. leaders are busy putting forward the childish plea that the cause of the Mapilla rebellion is Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code utilized in February 1921, by the District Magistrate to prevent N.-C.-Os preaching in Ernad and certain amsoms of Walluvanad, the following must certainly be interesting reading to us, being extracts from a leaflet in Malayalam widely distributed in April 1920 at the Manjeri Conference, by the Iyengararchists, who swarmed there and made all kinds of wild stump orations on the Kalkoni maidan at Manjeri, within a furlong of which now stand the bare black walls and the burnt remnants of the public offices—mute but eloquent witnesses to the success of their mischievous propaganda. Unfortunately for N.-C.-O. I have preserved one of these leaflets, which I almost snatched from the reluctant hands of a fat Brahmana Vakil whom I caught in the act of distribution. This leaflet has done its deadly work in the fanatical area; and here are the extracts from the leaflet entitled, *The Manjeri Conference and the present plight of the Khilafat.*

"Among the problems that agitate the world, the Khilafat is one of the most important. This is a question which vitally affects every Mussalman, and at the coming Manjeri Conference the Khilafat will be one of the important items taken up for consideration.

"The Prophet Muhammad has given three injunctions which are binding on all Mussalmans and they are: To see (1) that all the holy places (names mentioned including Jerusalem and the shrines in Mesopotamia) are always under the Khalifa.

(2) That no foreign influence dominates 'the island of Arabia' including Palestine and Mesopotamia.

(3) The Khalifa must be an independent Sovereign of great power in the world.

(4) All must be aware of the fact that Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, the President elect of the Manjeri Conference has already put forward the resolution at the Khilafat Conference at Madras presided over by Shaukat Ali, that in case the Khilafat question is decided against Muslim opinion, there should be absolute Non-Co-operation with Government in everything.

(5) The leaflet goes on to say that the rival parties in our Presidency are led by Mr. Ayyangar and Mrs. Besant respectively, and that *New India* of this 'foreign lady' had become their most formidable enemy."

It continues: " We have only to make one request to all Muslims. Are you going to listen to the words of Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, or are you going to be caught in the net spread by Mrs. Besant and her blind follower, Mr. Manjeri Ramaier ? Choose for yourself before you use your vote at the Manjeri Conference. You must remember the old proverb : ' One must not supply oneself with the rope with which one is going to be bound '."

There is not in this leaflet a single word about non-violence. The Mapilla naturally inferred that if Palestine and Mesopotamia and Arabia ceased to be ruled over by the Khalifa, i.e., the Sultan of Turkey, they must boycott the Government in everything as directed. The result is seen in the muscular boycott he is now carrying on, by destroying culvert and bridge, rails and telegraphs, post and public offices, policeman and soldier and every other symbol of the British Raj, on which he can lay violent hands.

When the published leaflets went to such extreme lengths, you can imagine the wild, riotous lengths to which foaming stump orators outside and inside the pandal went. One weird figure rises up in my mind's eye, Abdulkhader Mussaliar of Alleppy, in his red Turkey cap. He made an impassioned oration in reply to Mrs. Besant's pertinent question as to what preparations the N.-C.-Os had made to support the families of those who were asked to cut themselves away from Government service, civil, police and military. He counted on his fingers fabulous figures of lakhs on lakhs already collected in such and such towns, the total coming up to many impossible crores—absurd fiction to the man who knew, and smiled, but solid reality to the Mapilla who was thus misled. Besides these oratorical orgies near the Conference pandal, Khilafat meetings were being held at night inside their own mosques in the heart of the bazaar, and what wild talk went on there, who can guess except in the light of the events precipitated to-day in the areas concerned.

Persistent propaganda.

Intoxicated by their success at a Conference where the Congress Committee threw its weight against moderation, where even Mr. K. P. Raman Menon (whom the *Bombay Chronicle* now dubs as a pro-official) played into the hands of young fire-brands, the young Vakils began to sow broadcast the dragon's teeth of Non-Co-operation, of racial hatred, of contempt for constituted authority. The N.-C.-O. propaganda would have fallen quite flat in Malabar, but spiced by pungent Khilafat it appealed to morbid Mapilla appetite and drew admiring "Kijai"—"Alla-Ho-Akbar" crowds round them. In the heat of the frenzied religious appeals, the power of the British Empire quietly melted away, yielding place to visions of Pan-Islam.

Boycott the Councils.

Those who ignored the British Empire, what had they to do with the " Sham Councils " of the Reforms Act, " inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing " ? The young men orated, placarded and tom-tommed, that every voter who exercised his right was a traitor to the Motherland. Their campaign grew more and more virulent, until they forced candidates to withdraw against their own judgment. Two Mapillas who stood as candidates were denounced as traitors and kaffirs. And young Hindus condescended to arbitrate in the mosques between the candidates and the community, graciously promising to absolve them from all social ostracism. if they withdrew.

Arrival of the Apostles.

Into this electric atmosphere, the result of four months of frictional activity, descended the Khilafat apostles, Gandhi and Shaukat Ali, in all their glory. On the 18th of August 1920, took place the inevitable Beach meeting at which Mr. K. P. Raman Menon proudly presented the Mahatma with a purse subscribed by Calicut Extremists. In the Mahatma's Hindu sheath of non-violence, rattled the violent sword of Islam audibly. The Mapilla understood it in the only way possible for him. He went home and began to think of forging his plough-share into the sword, his saw into many war-knives. Non-violence was only the cover, to be cast away when the moment for action came, if the Allies refused to take the Khalifa's temporal power at the Islamic estimate. The young Hindu orators, blissfully ignorant of Mapilla mentality, went on with their campaign, till the District Magistrate, Mr. Thomas, pulled them up on the 7th of February 1921 by an order forbidding Messrs. K. Madhavan Nayar, U. Gopala Menon, and Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji, from addressing meetings in the fanatical zone. This Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji is the same individual who has now proclaimed himself the Raja of the Khilafat Kingdom, with permanent headquarters at Nilambur palace, at present on a forced tour-camp at Karuvarakundu. Mr. Thomas' move was sought to be countered by a monster meeting at Calicut a week thence, which was to be addressed by no less a person than Janab Yakub Hasan of Madras. The meeting was widely advertised in the fanatical zone, and if Mr. Thomas would not let them go to Ernad, why they would bring Ernad to Calicut. Mr. Thomas could easily suppress local N.-C.-Os ; let him take action if he dared against this Khilafat champion of Madras. Mr. Thomas did dare and stopped the whole affair. Thus ends a chapter in N.-C.-O. history, of ten months' tireless agitation, over which even sincere Satyagrahis like Messrs. Prakasam and Rajagopalachari have drawn a veil, opaque perhaps for outsiders, but only too transparent for us here.

A

A NOTE ON EVENTS IN MALABAR IN 1921.

NON-CO-OPERATION AND KHILĀFAT.

January 1921.

Fortnightly Report.

At the beginning of this month the District Magistrate reported the return of the Nagpur Congress delegates. He said 'the non-co-operation movement hasn't caught on in Ernad where the Mapilla is much more interested in the tenants movement, and the agitators can't get a hearing unless they make tenancy questions the big cry. There are a few troublesome people in Ponnani, but they don't count for much, and I hope to get at one or two of the bigger men in a way they won't like soon.'

Fortnightly Report.

The next fortnight he reported a big non-co-operation and Khilāfat meeting at Calicut at which for the first time some of the alleged leaders of the Mapilla community were conspicuous. Gopala Menon and Madhava Nayar were prominent at this meeting, which was attended by about 6,000 persons and 'marked an advance in the movement.' There were some signs of the movement in Ernad and Ponnani, but the District Magistrate still thought that the danger lay in the introduction of the tenancy question, and he thought that it was still too early to declare that the movement gave cause for serious worry.

February.

Fortnightly Report.

The District Magistrate reported that the non-co-operation and Khilāfat movement had lately taken firm hold of the district, and had grown since the return of the Nagpur delegates. It was on the religious side that the agitation has been successful, and one of the results was the boycott of Mr. Bavotti, M.L.C. Meetings were being held in the fanatical zone and the Joint Magistrate, Malappuram, had asked for an order under section 144, which was issued by the District Magistrate (See *Hindu* of February 7th). He contemplated extending the order to Wallnvanad and was having a Malayalam pamphlet prepared by a learned Mussaliar by way of counter-propaganda. Sinister influences were at work all over the district, and bands of volunteers had appeared in several places.

The correctness of this serious view of the situation was proved shortly afterwards by the very critical situation which arose in connexion with Yakub Hasan's visit to the district. The progress of events from the 12th to the 19th is clearly set forth in Sir Lionel Davidson's speech in the Legislative Council, printed as an annexure to G.O. No. 103, Public, dated 25th February 1921.

G.O. 103, Pnblio, page 8, current file.

The rest of the district remained quiet during this critical period, and the District Magistrate reported that one satisfactory feature of the trouble was that no hostility was displayed towards Europeans, and that it was kept for the Government and the district administration. The most serious point was in the District Magistrate's opinion the appeal to religion, 'which might prepare the way for something far more serious than the isolated expression of fanaticism that the ordinary Ernad outbreak represents.'

Page 2, notes.

March.

S.F. 320, pages 3–7.

After this incident had been dealt with satisfactorily, the District Magistrate wrote on 5th March 1921 an extremely interesting appreciation of the situation, which subsequent history has I think proved correct. He there laid down the policy which he intended to pursue, and which he did pursue till after Ramzan. He emphasised the fact that the agitation was religious to the exclusion of everything else, non-co-operation was nothing, Khilāfat was everything, the talk of Hindu-Muslim unity was nonsense and the main idea was the vision of *swaraj* and Malabar for the Mapilla and the Mapilla alone. He mentioned that 1,000 Mapillas had come to Calicut from the fanatical zone and were the real centre of the trouble at the time of Yakub Hasan's arrest.

S.F. 323-B, pages 3–6.

The District Superintendent of Police agreed with the District Magistrate as to the value of the strong action taken at this time. On February 17th he wrote an exhaustive appreciation of the situation, in which he took much the same views as

the District Magistrate and on 5th of March he mentioned the threatening letters S.F. 328-B,
to mosques which purported to come from the Khilāfat Committee. The next page 27 et seq.
fortnight he reported that this serious rumour had no truth in it and gave it as his Page 28.
opinion that the Khilāfat movement was not gaining ground among the better class
Mapillas. He however brought to light a seditious pamphlet, which was proscribed
by the Government. On March 26th (April 1st), he seems to have taken an even Pages 31,
more optimistic view and said that religion had dropped out of the movement. 40–42.

On March 17th we wrote and promised the District Magistrate full support in S.F. 320,
case Gandhi or Shaukat Ali should visit the district and on March 18th we page 7, notes. Page 8, notes.
received a letter from the Inspector-General in which, while commenting on the
sound effect produced by the action against Yaqub Hasan and individual Mapillas,
he expressed the opinion that it was not safe to leave the district during Ramzan
without a much larger force of troops than it possessed at the time. This led to a
correspondence with the General Officer Commanding. The District Magistrate Page 12,
said that he did not expect to have to ask for troops, the General Officer Commanding notes. Page 14,
said there was no chance of getting them and suggested that it would be preferable notes.
to depend on re-inforcements from outside, and said that he could arrange to send a
detachment from Wellington in case of trouble. This was agreed to and we took
the opportunity at the same time to rub it in a bit about the half company at Calicut Page 18,
being under strength and the absence of motor transport. notes.

April.

The beginning of April was taken up in searching for the proscribed Arabic- Fortnightly
Malayalam pamphlet, and the opportunity was taken to look into the accounts of the Report.
chief Khilāfat centres while the searches were being made. The District Magistrate S.F. 323-B,
reported as a result of this that the movement had very little money behind it. page 44.

At the beginning of April there was a serious riot at Kizhikot caused in the Fortnightly
first instance by the interruption of a Khilāfat meeting by some Hindus, and ending Report.
in the Mapillas retaliating by damaging and defiling a madham and kulapuru.
Thirty men were run in for rioting. The District Magistrate announced his intention
of further prohibiting meetings after the order of February expired. His opinion
on the situation was that Khilāfateers were getting their tails down, but that a
successful Congress meeting at Ottapalam, which was announced for the 23rd, might
revive the agitation. Both the District Magistrate and the District Superintendent
of Police reported that it was too soon to gauge the effects of the Ali brothers' S.F. 323-B,
speeches at Erode. On April 13th the District Magistrates of Malabar and page 45. S.F. 316,
Coimbatore were asked to give their opinion as to the effect of these speeches, and page 14,
the former reported on the 18th that the effect in North Malabar was almost notes. Page 23,
negligible, and that in South Malabar there was an unsettled feeling in the air, and notes.
a certain confusion of ideas between the coming of *swaraj* under Gandhi and the
Ali brothers and an invasion of Northern India by the Amir. The numbers of
Mapillas that attended the Erode Conferences was not very large and they had some
difficulty in understanding what was said. We reported accordingly to the Govern- S.F. 316,
ment of India at the end of April. Mr. Evans said much the same and the District page 105, C.F. Page 96, C.F.
Superintendent of Police, Malabar, pointed out that a far greater effect had been S.F. 323-B,
produced by Muhammad Ali's speech in Madras, which the Advocate-General held page 49.
to be within the law, and which was afterwards published in pamphlet form in
Malabar and had to be proscribed.

At the end of April came the two Conferences—loyal and disloyal—at Calicut and F.R. and
Ottapalam. Both the District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police S.F. 323-B, page 53.
reported that the former was a success and the latter had fallen rather flat. But a
good deal of capital was made subsequently out of the collision between the Police
and some Khilāfat volunteers at Ottapalam which led up to the filing of a civil suit
by Mr. Hitchcock against the authors of the non-official report and the Hindu.

May.

At the beginning of May a conference was held at Ootacamund with the General Officer Commanding. Various matters were discussed. The District Magistrate, Malabar, was present and also the Inspector-General of Police, and they expressed themselves satisfied with the arrangements made for the supply of troops in case of necessity during Ramzan.

S.F. 323-B, pages 58-59. On May 7th, the District Superintendent of Police reported that he had had an interview with Kunhi Qadir, the leader of the Khilāfat movement at Tanur. He said he regarded it as a purely religious movement and 'was against mixing it up with all this ridiculous Hindu propaganda.' The District Superintendent of Police thought that in Calicut only one or two Mapillas would stick to the movement, but that there was some sign of the Tanur leaders' views spreading elsewhere. Next Page 60. week he reported that there had been attempts to hold meetings at Velipuram, Tanur and Angadipuram, but that they had been stopped by orders or threats of orders under section 144. He also reported that propaganda in mosques after Fortnightly Report. Friday prayers was continuing, and that Muhammad Ali's Madras speech was being circulated in pamphlet form. The District Magistrate also reported the religious turn the movement had taken, and was inclined to the opinion that although the difficulty of combating it might have thereby increased, the danger to the public peace, by its separation from political enterprise, would be diminished. Ramzan pursued an entirely normal course and at the end of May the District Magistrate reported that the local view was that this happy result was entirely due to the strong action taken in February.

S.F. 323-B, page 63. About the same time the District Superintendent of Police reported that it had been decided to form a branch of the Congress in Malappuram and that Ramavarma Raja had been made the President under pressure from the Mapillas. A similar movement was also reported in Ponnani and though the District Superintendent of Page 64. Police did not regard it with any great alarm he commented on the bad effect that Page 65. wandering Hindu agitators were bound to produce. On the whole he thought 'that the whole movement was moribund, though there may be a few convulsive quivers yet.' The next week he reported the publication of the seditious pamphlet for which E. Moidu was afterwards prosecuted. The same week an anti-non-co-operation meeting was held in Ponnani under the presidency of Mr. Krishnan Nayar and was said to have been a success.

June.

At the beginning of June Mr. Thomas was again in Ootacamund and in his fortnightly report written from there he said that Ramzan had been the quietest for years. In North Malabar the Khilāfat party was torn by dissension over money matters, and in the south 'the public generally had realized that authority had a long arm and a strong hand to deal with violence arising out of political agitation. In fact the Khilāfateers are getting their tails down.'

S.F. 323-B, page 67. About the middle of June, however, the District Superintendent of Police S.F. 323-B, page 69. noticed the growth of the volunteer movement and the making of arms, swords, etc. He and the District Magistrate were preparing to take strong action under the S.F. 323-B, page 74. Arms Act, and we wrote to the District Magistrate saying that we agreed that the movement was a dangerous one and should be nipped in the bud.

July.

At the end of June (beginning of July), however, the District Superintendent of S.F. 323-B, page 75. Police reported that the Mapilla volunteer movement 'which was quite separate from the non-co-operation movement, if not antagonistic to it, had subsided' owing to the intervention of retired Inspector Chekutty Sahib and Deputy Superintendent of Police Amu. Ali Mussaliar had also professed to give it up. The District Magistrate S.F. 323-B, page 76. on 8th July 1921 said that the movement was not quite dead yet, but that it was on the wane and the necessary action would be taken if it waxed again. During S.F. 323-B, page 87. the month of July the District Superintendent of Police continued to report the S.F. 323-B, page 91. assembly of volunteers at mosques, etc., but no action was taken to stop their activity. As late as July 16th the District Superintendent of Police remarked the matters at Tirurangadi were "not yet right," and at the end of the month he reported the dissemination of Malayalam translations of the Karachi resolutions

Fortnightly Reports. The District Magistrate during July was of opinion that affairs politically were stagnant and he apparently attached little importance to the volunteer movement. At the end of the month he noticed that the idea had got abroad that the Viceroy had ordered the discontinuance of orders under section 144 owing largely to the fact, he thought, that he had lately dropped the use of the section.

Then the Pukkottur incident took place and the District Magistrate acknowledged that the situation was one beyond his control and completely beyond his anticipation.

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There are two main inferences that I think one might legitimately draw from a perusal of these papers—

(1) That Malabar is a place where excitement grows quickly and develops without much warning into a serious situation—e g., Yaqub Hasan in February, and Pukkottur in July ; *or* that the information possessed by the District authorities on both these occasions was defective.

(2) That after the Yaqub Hasan incident the District authorities took a strong line and kept it up till after the Ramzan had passed off so successfully. After that there are indications that, perhaps naturally, their vigilance relaxed somewhat. It must be remembered that during the latter half of July Mr. Hitchcock was not in the district, but at Coonoor undergoing treatment for dog-bite

As regards the specific allegations made in the cuttings from English papers at page 2 above, these are as follows :—

(1) The District authorities failed to appreciate the seriousness of the Mapilla organization earlier.

(2) The inadequacy of the forces available at the outset is tantamount to a confession that the Government were surprised.

(3) The police—many of them Mapillas—were practically useless against the fanatical mob.

(4) This is in the extract from Sir Michael O'Dwyer's letter: The Ali brothers were allowed to preach their pernicious doctrines in Malabar in spite of the protest of the District Magistrate who was not allowed to prohibit seditious meetings.

We have to admit that we were taken by surprise at the extent and seriousness of the rebellion and the organization of the rebels, but whether the District authorities were to blame in this respect is a matter for investigation. The censorship of telegrams which we ordered at the beginning of the rebellion produced no evidence of a definite plan of action.

As regards the inadequacy of the forces in Malabar we have no reason to fear an inquiry in the matter. We have over and over again represented the facts to the Government of India, as pointed out in more detail in the note on the abandonment of Malappuram as a military station. The insinuation that the Police forces in Malabar were useless because they contained a number of Mapillas, is of course easily rebutted, and the Military authorities have recognized the very great assistance rendered to them by the Police in dealing with the rebellion. The allegation in Sir Michael O'Dwyer's letter is untrue. Until the end of Ramzan meetings were prohibited freely, and if we are charged with having taken no steps to deal with the movement in Malabar, we have only to refer to the vernacular press, and notably the *Hindu*, from February onwards, which was full of talk about the ' policy of repression ' followed in that district—culminating with the Ottapalam affair and the non-official report thereon.

See Appendix I.

25th October 1921. G. R. F. Tottenham.

B

EXTRACTS FROM FORTNIGHTLY REPORTS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA FROM MAY 1920.

4-5-20. Shaukat Ali has left but has announced his intention of coming back in May to take up active work and it is understood that a visit to Malabar is included in his programme On this subject the Government of Madras are addressing the Government of India separately. They cannot emphasise too strongly the danger of allowing an orator like Shaukat Ali to open a campaign of misrepresentation among the ignorant Mapillas of the West Coast and are unwilling to allow him to return to the Presidency at all. As it is, people cannot understand why he is allowed with impunity to make speeches which virtually incite troops to mutiny.

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4-5-20. At the end of the month a Malabar District Conference was held at Manjeri, a centre which can only have been selected because it is in the heart of the Mapilla country. The promoters were nearly all Hindus and the president was Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar; the subjects for discussion were mostly of a general political nature, such as the inadequacy of the reforms and the occurrences in the Punjab, but some prominence was also given to the Khalifate question. The presence of a considerable number of moderates, however, though they were in a minority, appears to have had some restraining effect.

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1-6-20. So far as has been ascertained the news of the peace terms with Turkey has been received with a calmness amounting to indifference in the mufassal districts; a meeting was organized in Malabar by the Muhammadans at Tellicherry and was attended by about 100 Mapillas, but though non-co-operation was mentioned it was arranged that any one who wished to take part in the movement might give in his name secretly; and it is clear that the invitation was not expected to meet with enthusiastic response.

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19-8-20. The District Magistrate, Malabar, was at first anxious that they (Gandhi and Shaukat Ali) should be kept out of his district, but subsequently withdrew the request; and in view of the hurried nature of the tour, involving as it does a visit to only one place in the district and a stay there of only one day, it is unlikely that there will be time to work up much excitement. A bad impression is created generally however by the licence accorded to agitators to vilify the Government; and reports show that Shaukat Ali makes little concealment of his advocacy of stronger measures if Gandhi's programme of avoidance of violence fails to produce the desired results.

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2-9-20. 2. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali have finished their tour in the Madras Presidency and it is now possible to gauge with some exactness the results of their visit. On the previous visit Shaukat Ali's efforts were chiefly directed to encouraging the people to adopt non-co-operation at some future time. On this occasion the leaders required tangible proofs of the willingness of both Muhammadans and Hindus to non-co-operate and it is clear that their efforts have been a total failure. It is true that at various places sums of money ranging up to Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 3,000 were contributed, but there is no doubt that Gandhi was disappointed that the sums were not larger. At Bangalore he is said to have stated publicly to several people that he was disappointed with Madras and that the Madrasis did not give him the support which he expected. The tour was an extremely hurried one. Shaukat Ali was unwell and could not accompany Gandhi to Ambur, and though he joined in the rest of the tour he did very little speaking. On the evening of the 15th they left Madras for Kumbakōnam; on the 16th they addressed meetings at Kumbakōnam and Nagore and left for Trichinopoly. There they stayed on the 17th leaving on the evening of the 17th for Calicut. On the 18th they were at Calicut, on the 19th at Mangalore and on the 20th at Salem, whence they motored to Bangalore, returning to Madras on the morning of the 22nd and leaving the same evening for Bezwada, whence they went on via Hyderabad to Bombay. On the journey, as far as Mangalore, they were met by large crowds, sometimes to their great personal inconvenience at intermediate stations; and their meetings were largely attended.

On the way back little attention was paid to them and when they returned to Madras only the members of the local Khilāfat Committee met them. They addressed a meeting of the students of the Law College but otherwise had a quiet day and departed without pomp.

That little harm has been done by the visit is indicated by the following extract from the report of the District Magistrate, Malabar :—

" Numerous volunteers clad in green caps and waist belts were with the cars on which the two rode but as crowd regulators they were useless and the police as usual had to regulate the procession and crowd. I had arranged for them to do so but was amused to learn later that a representative of the Reception Committee had written to solicit their co-operation. I hear that Gandhi was displeased about this and well he might be . . . The net result is that non-co-operation will not go in Calicut and the Mapilla remains indifferent to the wrongs of Turkey and the Punjab. He does not understand a religious question being ventilated by a Gujarati Brahman; as for Shaukat Ali, though he was the more violent in speech, his religious exhortation lost force because though alleged to be a Moulana and a holy man he never went near a mosque nor discoursed with Moulvis and paid no respect to the recognized hours of prayer. I believe the local Moulvis and learned men would like to examine his credentials as a Moulana. There were very few to see them off and Mapillas of position were conspicuous by their absence. During their arrival journey the stations were crowded *en route* and small sums presented here and there; but on the return journey they passed practically unnoticed except at Shoranur where a small purse was brought from Native Cochin."

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The regular preachers of non-co-operation are still active both in Madras 16-11-20. and in the districts, but there is little that is new in any of the speeches reported, except that some of them show rather more leaning than before towards Bolshevist ideas. There is little sign at present of any real efforts at counter propaganda on the part of any section of the community, though it has been promised by *New India*. No more resignations have been reported in spite of continued pressure on Muhammadan title-holders; and the energies of the non-co-operators are now mainly devoted to persuading voters not to exercise their privileges. Candidates for the new councils are canvassing, in some districts, with considerable energy, and it is only from Malabar that a change for the worse in the position of affairs is reported. In some of the larger towns there, the more respectable Mapillas are being intimidated by the violence of the language used against them by the agitators in the name of religion. They have not the courage to defend themselves openly, and the District Magistrate is contemplating action under section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code against a few of the most prominent workers of mischief.

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The District Magistrate, Malabar, proposed to take action under the Criminal 17-12-20. Procedure Code against a few of the more violent speakers in his district, but as soon as it was known that material was being collected for proceedings against them, the agitators moderated their speech and one of the most scurrilous left the district for Bombay.

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From Malabar considerable activity on the part of the returned Congress 2-2-21. delegates is reported, but the political movement has made no appreciable advance. The leaders of the movement recognizing this fact, no doubt, are attempting to enlist adventitious support for their political propaganda by combining with it a campaign for tenancy reform—a subject which affects the more impressionable portion of the population very deeply. The movement is fraught with considerable potentialities and gives room for some anxiety though up to the present it has made practically no progress.

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In the mufassal, also, the efforts of the leaders have met with little apparent 17-2-21. success, except in Malabar where the movement appears to be taking firmer hold. In this district the weapon of the social boycott has been applied in the case of a

Muhammadan Member of the Legislative Council, who was forced to make a promise in the mosque that he would resign his membership in order to secure the removal of the boycott.

The attempts made to secure the support of the Mapillas whose ignorance and tendency to fanaticism render them susceptible to agitation, have caused some concern. The local leaders called in Yakub Hasan and other Madras agitators, but the District Magistrate has countered their move by prohibiting these persons from speaking at the meetings arranged for them. News just received shows that Yakub Hasan and three local Congress leaders disregarded the prohibition. They were arrested and called upon to give bonds for their good behaviour but declined to do so and have been committed to prison.

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1-3-21. The chief political event of the fortnight has been the arrest of Yakub Hasan and three local Congress leaders in Malabar which was alluded to in paragraph 3 of my last report.

The facts are that the Congress Committee at Calicut sent a telegram to the Madras press announcing that Yakub Hasan had resolved to address a meeting in defiance of the District Magistrate's order prohibiting him and certain others from speaking at public meetings. The telegram was intercepted by the Postal authorities and sent to the District Magistrate. Yakub Hasan and the three others were arrested on February 16th and called upon to give security for keeping the peace, and on their refusal to do so were sent to jail. There was, of course, considerable local excitement, but thanks to the firm and judicious handling of the situation by the local authorities everything passed off smoothly, and the District Magistrate was able to report on February 19th that matters had resumed their normal aspect. The case was discussed fully and frankly in the Legislative Council on a motion for the adjournment of the Council. The motion was talked out; but it was clear that the sense of the House was strongly in support of the District Magistrate's action.

The events in Malabar have naturally formed the subject of a good many protest meetings all over the Presidency. There are, however, indications that the District Magistrate's action has been welcomed in many quarters where the continued inaction of the Government towards this movement was beginning to produce a regrettable impression that the Government were afraid to interfere.

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17-3-21. There was a fairly serious disturbance at the beginning of the month at Trichur in the Native State of Cochin, where the Christians supported by the low caste Hindus (Thiyyas) came into collision with the Muhammadans and higher caste Hindus (Nairs). Feelings between the lower and the higher castes in Cochin have for some time past been strained, but the immediate cause of the present trouble was a series of loyal, but somewhat provocative, demonstrations held by the Christians and Thiyyas to resist the entry of non-co-operators into the State. A large body of Mapillas from the neighbouring district of Malabar were called in by the latter party to support them. There was a certain amount of looting and incendiarism and one Christian was killed. The Darbar applied to this Government for Military assistance, but a detachment of British Reserve Police from Coimbatore under the District Superintendent of Police was sent instead and had no difficulty in restoring order. No official report of the facts has yet been received but the Resident is satisfied that the situation is now quiet. The incident proves—if proof were needed—how easily the population of the Malabar Coast can be roused into violence and how readily the well-known fanaticism of the Mapillas can be played upon by the political agitator. It also justifies, as *New India* has not been slow to point out, the action of the District Magistrate of Malabar which was referred to in the last fortnightly report. There has been no overt development of the situation in that district during the fortnight but the information in regard to the attitude of the Mapillas is disquieting, more particularly in view of the approach of Ramzan. There are indications of incitement to a fanatical outbreak, such as has occurred in former years, the incitement coming from the local Khilāfat Committee. For the present the district officers have the situation in hand but firm action will be needed if, as is rumoured, Gandhi and the Ali brothers attempt to intervene in the near future.

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Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali left Bezwada for Madras on the night of 4-4-21.
the 1st *en route* to Erode where they attend the Muslim Ulama Conference and a meeting of the Islam volunteers. It is rumoured that a large number of Mapillas from the neighbouring district of Malabar will be induced to attend this latter conference.

Affairs in Malabar itself are quiet at present. The apprehensions expressed in the last fortnightly report as regards incitement to fanatical outbreak have proved on investigation to be less serious than was then thought. It is however suggested in the newspapers that Gandhi intends to tour in Malabar about the 15th of May. His appearance there just before the Ramzan, when Mapilla feelings are in their most inflammable condition, would give ground for real apprehension and his movements will be watched with some anxiety. In a speech which he is reported to have made at Berhampur, Gandhi declared that he would prefer anarchy, civil war, internal dissensions and foreign invasion to British domination, and added that there is no room in India for a single Englishman who feels that he is a superior to the meanest of Indians. Whatever might be its effect elsewhere, there can be no doubt that language of this kind addressed to the Mapillas in Malabar would operate as a direct incitement to violence of a dangerous kind.

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From the reports received there seems to have been a remarkable difference 18-4-21.
between the tone of Gandhi's speeches and those of the other 'leaders'. Gandhi confined himself chiefly to the social side of his work, the spinning wheel, the need for men and money, and the non-violent aspect of the non-co-operation movement. Muhammad Ali at Madras dealt especially with the failure of the local students to take their proper share in 'great Indian Revolution' and among other flowers of speech said that he and his brother would welcome death if the loss of their lives sounded the death knell of the British Raj. He seems to have indulged in similar flights of fancy at Erode, where his accounts of the sufferings of the Turks are said to have reduced his audience to tears. The reports received indicate that some of his speeches were violent and seditious, but as they were made in Urdu and no reporters are available who are capable of taking shorthand notes in that language, it is doubtful whether materials for proceedings against him will be forthcoming. Whether he speaks in English or in Urdu the fact that it is a language not generally understood detracts from the direct effect of his speeches on the public. There was a good deal of wild talking at the meeting of the Majlis-ul-ulema before the Ali brothers arrived, but the District Magistrate states that the Tamil speeches after their arrival were generally unobjectionable. It is too early yet to judge the effect of the proceedings either on the general public or on the Mapillas. A certain number of the latter attended the Erode Conference but not so many as were expected. Beyond his speech at Guntūr Shaukat Ali did not make himself very conspicuous throughout the visit and at Guntūr the general opinion seems to have been that he was too well nourished to be a martyr.

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In Malabar the district authorities have been making energetic searches in 18-4-21.
all the Khilāfat offices in the district for an Arabic-Malayalam pamphlet which has recently been proscribed by Government. In some cases they met with resistance and several arrests were made. In the course of the search the accounts of the chief Khilāfat centres were examined and showed that the agitation has very little money behind it.

Not far from Calicut a somewhat serious disturbance took place on 1st April as the result of some Hindus interrupting a Khilāfat meeting held in a mosque. The Mapillas retaliated by polluting the Brahman bathing shed the next day and a case of riot is now pending against thirty men.

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In Malabar every effort was made to make the Congress Conference at 3-5-21.
Ottapalam a success. But the attendance was not as large as was expected and on the whole the speeches made were moderate in tone. A wholesome fear of authority undoubtedly prevails in that district at present.

20-5-21. In Malabar it is reported that the Khilāfat movement has taken on a definitely religious aspect somewhat to the detriment of the Gandhi propaganda. Ramzan is pursuing a normal course and the District Magistrate faces with equanimity a visit from Gandhi. Persistent attempts have been made to make the most of the fracas between the police and the Khilāfat volunteers at the recent Ottapalam Conference, and the *Hindu* has published the report of a non-official committee of inquiry into the incident. This is a scandalous production containing a mass of barefaced exaggeration as well as a libellous attack on the District Superintendent of Police who was present at Ottapalam until the day when the collision occurred. Government consider that action should be taken to sue for damages the authors of the report as well as the paper that published it. Although public opinion in the district seems to attach little importance to the incident, a great deal has been made of the matter by the Vernacular Press outside Malabar.

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18-6-21. Ramzan in Malabar was the quietest for years.

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21-7-21. In Malabar the Calicut Municipal Council have resolved to present him (Gandhi) with an address and the Palghat Municipality is expected to return a non-co-operation majority.

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4-8-21. In Malabar an important meeting was organized by loyal Mapillas at Ponnani to discuss the religious side of the Khilāfat movement. It was attended by many Moulvies and every opportunity was given to the opposite party to produce their arguments. Great enthusiasm was displayed and the meeting was apparently a big success for its organizers.

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17-8-21. In Malabar a situation which contains the possibility of an extremely serious Mapilla outbreak has arisen somewhat unexpectedly. It started with an attempt by the Police to effect certain arrests in connexion with a case of house-breaking in the house of a certain * Nambudri at a place called Pukkottur, some miles north of Malappuram. A large and hostile crowd of Mapillas armed with swords and knives and including a number of their women folk, collected to prevent the arrests being carried out; the Police Inspector with his small force was powerless and was indeed in serious danger for some time until the crowd was persuaded by some of their own people to disperse. The significance of the incident is that it is regarded as a defeat for the Police and therefore the Government. The District Magistrate subsequently reported that there was every indication of a widespread organization among the Mapillas to resist authority by force, and gave it as his opinion that the situation had passed beyond the power of the civil authorities with their limited resources to deal with unaided. He applied for extra troops and arrangements have been made with the General Officer Commanding to increase the local force of British troops at Calicut from a half company (under strength) to a full company. With this force and the special Police force it is proposed to effect certain arrests and to take action under the Malabar War Knives Act of 1854 to disarm certain persons in the locality affected. The result of this action remains to be seen. It is difficult to arrive at an exact appreciation of the situation at present, but there seems to be no doubt that continual provocative speeches on the Khilāfat question combined with the resolutions of the recent All-India Khilāfat Conference at Karachi have produced an impression on the mind of the Mapilla that the end of the British Raj is at hand. It is certainly true that as the result of Khilāfat propaganda the Mapillas are better organized than they used to be and also better informed as to the strength of their own position and the difficulty of taking military action against them.

The Government of India are being addressed separately as to the action to be taken if, as is rumoured, Muhammad Ali attempts to visit Malabar.

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* Incorrect (see first sentence in report on next page).

CHAPTER II.

THE PRELUDE TO THE REBELLION.

(From the Pukkottur incident to 20th August 1921.)

[NOTE.—*This Chapter is arranged like an ordinary file with currents (pages 13 to 22) and notes (pages 23 to 35).*]

I

Letter—from M.R.Ry. M. NARAYANA MENON, Acting Inspector, D. Division, Malappuram, to the Superintendent of Police, South Malabar, Calicut, dated the 2nd August 1921.

[Enclosure to District Magistrate's demi-official at page 22 notes.]

I beg to report that on 28th July 1921 night the pathayapura attached to the Nilambur Kovilagam at Pukkottur was broken into by thieves by opening the lock with a false key and a single barrel breech loading gun, a sum of about Rs. 130 in cash and some documents were stolen. Some of the documents were next day found torn and thrown in the tank close by.

Probationary Sub-Inspector Govinda Menon of Manjeri who went to Pukkottur on other business on 29th knew of the occurrence and started inquiry into the case. On 30th forenoon he conducted a search in the house of one Vadakke Vittil Mammad of Pukkottur, a peon and a tenant of the Kovilagam. This Mammad was a gun licensee, but his licence had been cancelled a few weeks ago, he being an active non-co-operator and a member of Khilāfat. Nothing was recovered during search. For some time past the feelings between Mammad and the 6th Tirumalpad (Chinnamunni) were rather strained. Perapurath Ahamad Kutti, adhigari of Valluvambram, had joined the Sub-Inspector at Pukkottur while inquiring into the case. He did not actually attend the search. Perapurath and Mammad have been enemies for the last several months. Mammad thought that the village munsif (Ahamad Kutti) and one of the kariastas Velayudhan Nayar were instrumental in conducting the search and thus putting him to disgrace and that the Sub-Inspector was there at the instance of village munsif to put down Khilāfat and punish Khilāfat leaders. The Sub-Inspector returned to Manjeri in the evening. The 6th Tirumalpad who was away at Calicut returned on 30th at about 8 p.m. On 31st he went to Manjeri and returned to Pukkottur. One of his agents Appukutti Menon (Puthanpurayil) came to me at Pandikkad on 31st and reported that at the instance of Mammad some persons were collected at Pukkottur with the object of creating trouble and molesting the Tirumalpads. I sent word that the Tirumalpad need not be afraid and that as long as Mammad was left alone there would be no trouble and that I would go there the next day. Yesterday (1st August 1921) morning when I was starting from Pandikkad I got information from Pulakal Karunakara Menon, a relation of the Tirumalpads, that Mammad and his brother's son Kunhammu went to the Kovilagam on 31st night with a good number of followers in a threatening attitude and demanded Rs. 355 which he said was due to him being arrears of pay and charges for other works done by him and also two bags of rice. There were several persons at the gate and yard. Tirumalpad gave him Rs. 5 and also a chit for the rice and promised to pay the balance amount the next day. Mammad insisted on getting the money then and there, but for want of ready cash three Mapillas of the locality who are tenants of the palace stood surety for the amount and gave a jewel to Mammad with promise to redeem it the next day. Tirumalpad being afraid to spend the night in the Kovilagam went out and slept in the adjoining illom (Kakath illom) and went to Manjeri early morning. On my way at Manjeri I met the Tirumalpad who corroborated Karunakara Menon's statement and added that men were being collected at Pukkottur. I also met the adhikari of Pukkottur who also gave me a very discouraging account and said that the number of persons was more than 600. The

Personal Assistant to the District Magistrate who was camping at Manjeri was seen by me. I explained the situatiou to him and proceeded to Pukkottur via Malappuram. At Malappuram I saw the Assistant Superintendent of Police (new) and also explained to him the situation. The Subdivisional Magistrate was away. I had taken with me from Manjeri the adhigari of Narukara amsam, Naduvile Kalathil Ahamad, and his nephew Kunharmu, au ex-constable, as the adhigari was supposed to possess some influence over the Mapillas of Pukkottur. I reached Pukkottur with Karunakara Menon and above two persons in a car at about 11-15 a.m. From Melmuri right up to Pukkottur I noticed gangs of 30 and 50 Mapillas gathered in almost all tea shops and mosques * (നിസ്കാരപള്ളി) on the way side. As soon as I reached Pukkottur I sent adhigari and his nephew to Mammad's house. They returned after a while and reported to me that Mammad was not there, that about 300 men armed with sticks and swords had gathered in a tea shop close to the Kovilagam on the east, that the men were bent on mischief, that it was better for me to leave the place at once. While talking to the adhigari, Mammad with another batch was reported to be in the mosque. I at once sent Kunharmu to tell Mammad that I would like to have a talk with him on the matter. Kunharmu returned and reported that Mammad with his gang of about 500 or 600 men, all armed, was at the palace approach road and that he (Mammad) was not prepared to go to me. I then went with Karunakara Menon who has some influence over Mammad. We met Mammad half-way at the approach road and explained to Mammad that I was there to redress grievances, if any, and not for creating trouble. The men were all armed with swords, knives, spears and batons and several of them had Khilāfat badges on their caps. On hearing me, Mammad and his gang were satisfied, and Mammad represented to me that he, who had done immense services to the Kovilagam, had been put to disgrace by the Valluvambram village munsif and the 6th Tirumalpad. To be brief, Mammad told me that he would go to me alone later on after sending away the men. I then returned to the palace. Before 15 minutes elapsed I heard a hubbub at the gates of the palace, both eastern and northern, and saw hundreds of armed Mapillas trying to rush in and Mammad and some men trying to prevent the rush, which at first appeared impossible. From the midst of the crowd were seen many brandishing their swords saying that they would not retreat without converting the Kovilagam into a mosque and without taking the heads of Tirumalpad, Amoo, Perapurath (village munsif) and mine as the last three were against Khilāfat. While rushing I talked to several of the persons who appeared to be leaders that they were doing wrong and risking themselves by their foolish steps. Somehow or other the crowd retreated and with a loud repetition of Thikbir (തിക്ബീർ) proceeded to the mosque. I again sent Kunharmu and one Chekkutti of Irimpuzhi, who came there and whom I knew, to Mammad, and the latter promised to send away the crowd which was very violent. Podiyat people and some others actually returned. After some time Chekkutti came and told me that the crowd would clear completely only if I left the place for the time, as they were under the impression that I was waiting there for reserve or military to arrive. Thinking it advisable I left the place at 6 p.m. with Karunakara Menon and came to Malappuram walking along the road. On the way we met not less than two hundred of the armed men returning. Narukara village munsif and Kunharmu and Chekkutti were with us.

I forgot to mention that the moment we reached Pukkottur an unusual beat of drum commenced at the mosque (നഘാറടത്തിം) and it continued till about 4 p.m. This was, I understand, a pre-arranged one to collect men. While at the palace, soon after I reached there, I sent some local men to get some of the old Mapillas of the locality to explain to them the situation, but they returned and reported that they were not allowed to proceed, and lots of Mapillas were collected on all sides of the palace compound to cut off communication.

Chekkutti whom I had sent back on the way to ascertain and report further developments, if any, returned to Malappuram at midnight and reported that almost all men had dispersed. I knew from Kunharmu in the morning that three persons from Pukkottur had come down to Malappuram to find out if I was making arrangements to take Special Force or Military to the place and they went back satisfied.

* Niskarapalle mosques for prayer only.

In the morning I again met the Personal Assistant and reported to him what took place the previous day. I again went to Pukkottur this day with Kunhi Thangal of Malappuram who had considerable influence over the Mapillas of Melmuri, Pukkottur, Podiyat, Aravangara, etc. We sent for all the leaders and made them understand that their action was most foolish and high-handed, etc. They all swore that they would not resort to this sort of mischief.

The total collected yesterday would amount to nearly 2,000 men. All were armed with country-made swords, spears, big daggers and batons. Almost all the Mapilla women of the place were seen near the field with their faces covered peculiarly, some with sticks and some with (മാല) bead chain (for prayer) to induce even their young boys to take part in the fight. The crowd consisted of men from Kondotti, Tirurangadi, Irimpuzhi, Podiyat, Melmuri, Valluvambram, Nellikuth, Ponmala and other distant places. Many had Khilāfat badges and khaki shirts and shorts.

I shall see the District Superintendent of Police and District Magistrate and submit my opinion about the incident in person. I have seen the Personal Assistant to the District Magistrate in the evening on my return from Pukkottur to-day and explained to him everything.

There is no fear of any further trouble at Pukkottur.

II

Note—from the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department, dated the 10th August 1921, No. 1146-C/S.F. 296-2.

A copy of the Special Branch report of the District Superintendent of Police, South Malabar, for the week ending the 6th August 1921, is submitted.

The effect of the Ponnani Khilāfat meeting on 24th July 1921 has been bad. The trend of all these meetings is that " we cannot fight because we have no arms, but we ought to be prepared to sacrifice all." This to the Mapilla means it is up to them to make arms. There was another meeting fixed for 1st August 1921 by the Secretary, K. Kelappan Nayar, but was postponed by rain.

The leaflet signed by Kunhi Bara Mussaliar is being widely read and has done much good but among a class who would never have given much trouble. Kutti Ammu Mussaliar has not yet signed his.

K. Kesavan Nayar, B.A., B.L., has published a notice that he is standing for election to the Malappuram Taluk Board. Election is fixed for 30th August 1921 at Manjeri.

Kalattulparambil Moideen Kutty, one of the men bound over in the Ponnani Khilāfat security cases who found sureties, has been sentenced to four months' rigorous imprisonment under sections 341 and 352 ; his sureties have paid and he has gone to jail.

The meeting on Calicut beach fixed for 1st August 1921 was postponed by rain, about 40 attended, but as they could not raise an audience dispersed. They all wore Gandhi costumes and carried leaf umbrellas. There is some discussion in Calicut over the destruction of existing supplies of foreign goods between those who have and those who have not. Boycott is not popular.

Mithradas Purushotham Sait burnt an old saree after the meeting in front of his house in Umjaratti street.

K. P. Kesava Menon and P. Achuthan returned from Bombay on 3rd August 1921. They say they are going to confine themselves chiefly to this boycott. Gandhi refused Subba Rama Ayyar permission to defend the suit against him.

K. P. Kesava Menon held a conference of all the leading Khilāfat Mapillas of North and South Malabar and South Kanara on 3rd August 1921. Work in interior parts was advocated.

On 29th July 1921, fifteen persons met in Perintalmanna to select students of spinning to be sent to Calicut. Chilabodam Kunhamath and two Hindus were chosen. To cover expenses it was decided to collect subscriptions. Money is not yet forthcoming.

In Valapad two Mapillas admit being cheated into signing a book and promising As. 4 to the Congress funds on the false representation that the collection was for a religious school. Evidence for a prosecution is not available.

In Kondotti since the commencement of the agitation some Rs. 300 has been raised of which Rs. 50 remains, the rest spent locally. All important members have withdrawn.

In (?) Meendeante mosque on 2nd August 1921 a meeting was held to show Khilāfat is a religious duty. Two unimportant Mussaliars and three ordinary Mapillas, bad characters, convened this meeting. About 20 attended. They were told there was no need to fear section 144.

Musa Mussaliar appointed a president and vice-president and announced himself secretary and treasurer. Thus another sub-committee has been formed.

On 29th July 1921 Ali Mussaliar again attended Jamath prayers in Tirurangadi with a procession forty strong, half of which was volunteers. Special prayers were offered for a Kabul man who died recently. The proceedings of the Karachi meeting were read in the mosque. Ali Mussaliar said that the British were introducing the Indian form of Government into Mesopotamia, Arabia and Basrah against the expressed wish of the Prime Minister of Turkey ! The whole of Muslim India should help Turkey in this. He advocated the boycott saying British were responsible for the want in Smyrna. None should join the army and those now in it should resign. Paying subscriptions was not enough. Everyone should be ready to help and should sign a book to this effect. He announced meetings all over India for Muslims to be held on 29th August 1921 to encourage the Turkish Prime Minister. About 150 attended.

The anti-Khilāfat meeting has had some good effect in Tirurangadi.

The All-India meeting proceedings were read also in Muniyur and Mambram mosques.

The picketing of Attur Raman's shop in Calicut has begun. This A. Raman turned the last serious attempt at a hartal in Calicut into a farce by taking out an emergency licence and selling meat to the annoyance of the Mapilla licensee. On 3rd August 1921 he told the picketers to go away and not liking the attitude of the crowd they did so. On that day there were six Hindus and one Mapilla volunteer.

On 4th August 1921 K. V. Gopala Menon, M. Gopala Menon, K. V. Raman Menon, T. Assakoya Mulla, E. Moidu, Modur Koya, Mithradas Purushotham Sait, T. V. Chathu Kutty Nayar and three Mapilla volunteers repeated the performance which attracted a crowd of some 200 loafers. M. Gopala Menon objected to the crowd which interfered with their object and they moved off to the beach.

On 5th August 1921 a similar picketing led to exchange of mud and toddy. On 6th August 1921 Kesava Menon was on duty to supervise the work, small crowds still collect to see the fun, but the police keep them on the move and this movement does not appear to have affected the abkari sales in the district if the local papers are correct, higher bids being made than last year.

We now appear to be entering on a further stage. Non-co-operation is becoming a farce and is confined to the burning of old clothes and the nervous attendance of a few ex-students at toddy shops to prevent drinking, eliciting only derision from the public. Little or no money is coming in.

Khilāfat on the other hand is more serious. Our meeting of the 24th in Ponnani has withdrawn from the Khilāfat movement many reasonably-minded Mapillas and those who take religion seriously. This has left unguided and exasperated the few noisy leaders who can only get a following by playing on the fanatical spirit, always there but hitherto dormant, in the ignorant Mapillas. To them Gandhi is no one. Non-violence is not considered a serious suggestion or a practical condition but merely as a party cry to hoodwink Government. To prevent this or at any rate check it, the prosecution of E. Moidu, whose teaching is evident throughout, was recommended long ago. Sanction is still awaited.* His prosecution

* Orders have been issued—G.O. No. 491, dated 3rd August 1921.

when it was first suggested might have done good. It may cause trouble now but is more than ever necessary. Katilasseri Mahmud Mussaliar and Ali Mussaliar unchecked have grown equally dangerous.

The result of this teaching is apparent in two incidents this week.

In Tanalur near Tirur at 10 in the morning of 3rd August 1921 Tiyan toddy-drawers were interfered with, assaulted and intimidated. A case was registered by the police under sections 143, 506, 447 and 426, Indian Penal Code, but the accused have not been arrested. No Mapilla will give evidence and the accused are surrounded by a large band of followers.

The second incident is even more serious. On 31st July 1921 a Mapilla of Pukkottur who had a grievance against 6th Tirumalpad of Nilambur living in a Kovilagam at Pukkottur raised the whole country-side. Gangs of Mapillas 30 to 50 strong were collected for miles round at the tea shops and praying sheds. The main body led by the man with the grievance over 600 strong was armed with spears and swords, several wearing Khilāfat badges. The Inspector handled this unpleasant situation admirably, won over the man with the grievance and left for the Kovilagam to reassure the inmates. But the crowd was beyond the control of the man who had raised them and by their cries showed they had come not to redress a grievance, real or imaginary, but determined to convert the Kovilagam to a mosque destroying the Tirumalpad mundir, Deputy Superintendent Amu, the Parapur Adhigari and the Inspector because they were opposed to Khilāfat.

The Inspector faced them, argued with them, force was used by their own caste men to keep them back and eventually they dispersed still shouting religious cries.

This crowd expected the Police reserve and soldiers to come out and were prepared to meet them, it was only when they knew there was no intention to call out troops that they dispersed. A signal drum was beaten continuously in the mosque till 4 p.m. Old respectable Mapillas who wanted to go to the Kovilagam to negotiate were forcibly prevented. Mapilla women were out urging their men. This crowd came from Kondotti, Tirurangadi, Irimpuzhi, Podiyat, Melmuri, Valluvambran, Nellikuth, Ponmala—covering a very wide area. Many were dressed in khaki shorts and shirts. Trouble in Pukkottur has apparently been averted but the elements remain.

B | There is a rumour that the Leinsters are likely to be transferred shortly. I think any movement of the Calicut Detachment at this stage is to be deprecated.

III

Letter—from the District Magistrate, dated Calicut, the 10th August 1921.

I wrote to you demi-officially on the 7th August about the Pukkottur affair. I have since seen Mr. Amu, Deputy Superintendent of Police, on his return from Ernad and discussed the matter with Mr. Hitchcock who returned yesterday from Coonoor. I have also seen the Sixth Tirumalpad at whose Kovilagam the affair occurred and Mr. P. Karunakara Menon, a son of a late senior Tirumalpad, who accompanied Inspector Narayana Menon whose report I enclosed in my demi-official letter. Mr. Amu has now sent in a report which gives little or no fresh information, but the materials he has gathered and communicated at our conference make it quite clear in Mr. Hitchcock's and my opinion that the seriousness of the condition of this district cannot be exaggerated. On top of this affair, there has been a minor incident on the same lines, happily not so serious, at Tanalur near Tirur in North Ponnani, which evidences the same readiness on the part of the Mapilla to resist the law in Khilāfat's name.

2. In this case, certain Mapillas picketed a toddy shop in the usual *non-violent* manner assaulted the tappers and broke their pots. They were armed with knives and constituted an unlawful assembly. Complaint was made to the Police and a case registered but the accused were protected from arrest by a mob with arms.

3. New facts about the Pukkottur affair are the following:—

(*a*) The demand for Rs. 350 from the Tirumalpad was the purest blackmail and was complied with through a quite justifiable fear—

Mammad came with a crowd of about 50 men armed, demanded the money and said the Tamburan would see the consequences if he did not pay up.

(*b*) The Kakath Nambudri who sheltered the Tirumalpad had to pay blackmail to the local Mapillas and has now fled to a place in Calicut taluk.

(*c*) The presence of two guns is now testified to by one witness, the driver of the car which brought the Inspector. Two men armed with guns came and stood over his car for some time.

(*d*) The crowd was heard to express a desire or determination to add the heads of Mr. Hitchcock and myself to the bag. The words used according to Mr. Karunakara Menon were: "We must do in Thomas and Hitchcock." The Police Inspector desiring not to seem to exaggerate omitted to mention this; he must have heard it.

(*e*) Mammad had no real grievance as there is reason to suspect that he committed the burglary at the Kovilagam.

(*f*) The drumming at the mosque is a prearranged signal to call out the Mapillas of the place. The note was quite distinguishable from other kinds of drumming.

(*g*) The manufacture of swords is proceeding almost openly in known defiance of the law. The same thing is reported from North Ponnani.

4. We do not know in how many amsams this organization for an offensive exists. We do know that any movement against Pukkottur unless by way of complete surprise will be met with organized opposition by perhaps 1,000 or 1,200 armed men. They calculate—so I hear—that with their swords and other weapons, operating in close country as they would be, they could get to close quarters at the cost of some lives in sufficient strength to overwhelm the Special Force, Malappuram, if they attack. It is not an experiment that Mr. Hitchcock, or I, think ought to be made, while any hostile movement now after the very serious check the Police have received may well be the signal for the whole countryside to rise. I feel powerless with my present force, even if the British Detachment is taken into account, to take the initiative without knowing what numbers we might have to face. If an outbreak started in reasonable numbers, we could deal with them once we knew how many they were and they had decided to make their last stand. But this is a different proposition; I doubt we can expect any effective assistance from the well disposed Mapillas, they are frightened of this organized violence. We cannot therefore deal with more than equal numbers operating in parambas with a very restricted field of fire in which it would be difficult to tell who was an enemy till he was right on one, and this is what we will, I fear, have to face if we make any movement now. We have peace now on a precarious tenure only if we make no move.

5. We may have to search mosques for arms, we shall have to search a large number of houses for arms in many amsams, we will have to arrest leaders in the face of armed opposition in more places than one.

6. I date this new development from the Karachi Khilāfat Conference. The resolutions of the Conference have become well known throughout the district and the country Mapilla with more logic than political sense has interpreted these resolutions literally. He believes in the imminence of a Khilāfat republic and the collapse of the present regime. I have emphasised throughout the dangerous side of Khilāfat and it was, I submit, impossible to anticipate that things would so quickly take this dangerous turn.

7. It is with full sense of responsibility, as it is with the deepest regret, that I inform Government that the situation is beyond the District officials. Mr. Hitchcock will not advise action by the Special Force and Reserve Police even if supported by the British Detachment, he will act if ordered, but the order I will not issue. We have to face the facts. We cannot go on as we are—with peace only so long as we remain inert. Crime has been committed and remains unpunished. At any moment another and worse calamity may occur and we cannot move till we have sufficient force. I consider that we require one complete battalion of staunch Indian troops—I would prefer British if only because the Mapilla traditionally prefers despatch to a better world at their hands, but suppose that is out of the question—supported by detachments aggregating a double company of British troops with the two Stokes Mortars now at Calicut. If a force of this size is made available—the crisis is most urgent—I would proceed to disarm amsam by amsam all Mapillas whose loyalty was not above suspicion and round up the men who are disposed for violence. To

attempt this essential task with less force would be to court disaster, and I beg Government to give this matter their immediate attention. It is very unfortunate that the weather is most unpropitious and all on the side of the enemy who is used to bad weather and does not mind it. The roads are in a terrible condition and put swift movement by car out of the question.

8. Government will appreciate how serious I consider the situation to be when I state that I am strongly advising the two married planters in Ernad and Mr. Austin to send their families in to Calicut. Also I am so doubtful as to the effect in Ernad of prosecuting E. Moidu that I am postponing action for the present.

9. Government will realize that I abandon as impossible the tentative proposals I made in my demi-official letter to Mr. Marjoribanks, dated 7th August.

10. Mr. Hitchcock is going to Ernad to-morrow to make his own inquiries. I had proposed going with him, but we have both concluded that if we go together (and I could do little without him independently) so uncertain is the situation that our joint appearance might precipitate matters. But neither of us has any real hope that he will be able to report anything that would justify the least optimism. He has seen this letter and concurs in the views I express, of course I take complete responsibility for it.

11. I should like to suggest that it would be inadvisable at present to relieve Mr. Tottenham in North Malabar. I may want to send Mr. Rowley, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Palghat, to look after North Malabar and get Mr. Tottenham down to South Malabar with his Reserve.

IV

Telegram—to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor (en-route for Colombo), dated 12th August 1921, No. 263–S.

Thomas reports most serious situation in Malabar. No further actual violence has yet occurred, but every indication of widespread organization amongst Mapillas to resist authority by force. Thomas considers situation beyond the powers of the district officials and asks for battalion staunch Indian Infantry supported by a double company of British troops to enable him carry out arrests and disarmament. General Officer Commanding being consulted.

V

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, dated 12th August 1921, No. 264-S.

In continuation of my letter of 11th August about Malabar affairs, further report from District Magistrate shows situation more serious than first estimated. Every indication widespread organization amongst Mapillas to resist authority by armed force. District Magistrate considers situation beyond powers of district officials to manage unaided and asks for one staunch battalion Indian Infantry supported by double company British Infantry with Lewis guns for purpose of searches for arms and disarmament. Please wire whether this force could be made available and if so earliest date. Suggest you might depute Staff Officer to Calicut to consult District Magistrate. Letter follows.

VI

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Calicut, dated 12th August 1921, No. 265-S.

Report received. General Officer Commanding being consulted and asked to send a Staff Officer to Calicut to discuss the situation with you.

VII

Telegram—from the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor, dated Talaimanar, 12th August 1921.

Your telegram of August 12th. Please keep me fully informed situation by clear-the-line telegram. I will return immediately if necessary. I agree all necessary measures being taken meanwhile.

VIII

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, dated the 13th August 1921, No. 268-S.

Continuation my telegram yesterday. Government are not prepared at present approve the proposal of the District Magistrate for general disarmament until they have received a detailed plan of action including military appreciation of situation. They are however satisfied that a temporary increase in the strength British troops in Malabar to one full company of at least two hundred men is imperatively necessary so as to provide for strong detachment operating from Malappuram. His Excellency the Governor in Council would be glad if this could be done forthwith.

IX

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Calicut, dated the 13th August 1921, No. 269-S.

General Officer Commanding requested immediately to increase temporarily British troops Malabar to one full company at least two hundred strong so as to provide powerful detachment operating from Malappuram. Knapp reaches Calicut to-morrow and will discuss matters. Please wire result Hitchcock's inquiries Ernad.

X

Telegram—to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor (Colombo), dated the 13th August 1921, No. 270-S.

Malabar situation still alarming. For the present General Officer Commanding requested immediately increase temporarily British troops Malabar to one full company of two hundred men. Knapp proceeds Calicut this evening to discuss matters with Thomas.

XI

Letter—to the General Officer Commanding, dated the 13th August 1921, No. 271-S.

I am directed to confirm my cipher telegram to you of to-day as under (see above No. 268-S.).

2. I am to explain that Government are not prepared at present to approve the plan of wholesale disarmament of the affected areas proposed by the District Magistrate and would prefer to confine operations to the arrest of leaders and to the prosecution of specific cases of lawlessness when there is a clear prospect of conviction. I am to repeat and urge the suggestion made in my telegram of yesterday that a Staff Officer should be deputed to Calicut to discuss matters with the District Magistrate and to ask that his appreciation of the situation together with your considered opinion thereon may be communicated to this Government as soon as possible.

3. This request, however, does not qualify the specific requisition made in my telegram of to-day that the number of British troops in Malabar should be strengthened to the extent asked for in that telegram and I am to express the hope that it will be possible to send these additional British troops at once.

XII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, dated the 13th August 1921, No. S. 250-S./G.

Your wire No. 264. Indian Pioneer Battalion warned to be ready move from Bangalore. I am ready to complete British troops Calicut to full company from Wellington. Captain Pennefather Evans going Calicut to-day see Thomas.

XIII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, dated the 14th August 1921.

Your No. 268 of 13th. Despatching troops from Wellington to bring Calicut detachment up to full company. Awaiting report on situation from Evans.

XIV

Telegram—to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor, dated the 14th August 1921.

Malabar situation unchanged. General Officer Commanding wires that he is despatching British troops to complete full company, Calicut.

XV

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Calicut, dated the 16th August 1921, No. 276-S.

Government approve your plan for surprise concentration troops and police Tirurangadi and to carry out search for arms under section 3 of Act XXIV of 1854. You must clearly understand that arrests made should be confined to persons liable to arrest under ordinary law or who in strict interpretations of sections 3, 6 and 7 of Act XX of 1859 are amenable to provisions of section 7 of that Act. Government also approve action you propose at Tanalur. As to subsequent action your report must be awaited. Important that in all you do at present you should avoid appearance of special campaign against Khilāfat and deal with matter on the basis of threatened Mapilla outbreak.

XVI

Telegram—to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor, dated the 16th August 1921, No. 277-S.

Malabar affairs. Knapp returned to-day. Thomas after consulting Military authorities suggested surprise concentration troops and police at Tirurangadi and searching for arms under Malabar War Knives Act, 1854. At Cabinet meeting to-day the suggestion was approved and instructions issued telling Thomas confine arrests to those liable under ordinary law or amenable to section 7 of Mapilla Outrages Act. Similar action was approved but under ordinary law at Tanalur and further plans to await his report. Importance emphasised of avoiding appearance at present of special campaign against Khilāfat and dealing with matter on basis of threatened Mapilla outbreak.

XVII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, dated the 16th August 1921, No. S./250-17/G.

My S. 250-S/G. of 13th. In order ensure despatch Pioneer Battalion now held at 24 hours' notice rolling stock must be detained in Bangalore. Are Government prepared accept expenses involved for demurrage ?

XVIII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, dated the 16th August 1921, No. Nil.

My No. S. 250-S/G. of 13th. Have had to cancel orders to be ready to move Pioneer Battalion from Bangalore as battalion no longer available.

XIX

Telegram—to the Inspector-General of Prisons, dated the 18th August 1921.

Government authorize detention in Coimbatore Central Jail of prisoners remanded to that jail by District Magistrate, Malabar. Please instruct Superintendent, Central Jail, Coimbatore.

XX

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Calicut, dated the 18th August 1921, No. 287-S.

Inspector-General Prisons instructed tell Superintendent, Central Jail, Coimbatore, to receive prisoners committed by you under remand. This is on clear understanding that only those prisoners will be remanded that jail whom it would be dangerous to public safety to keep in Malabar.

XXI

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, dated the 18th August 1921.

Have told Calicut comply with District Magistrate's request aid by troops Tirurangadi on 20th.

XXII

Letter—from the General Officer Commanding, dated the 20th/21st August 1921, No. S./250-26-G.

[Reference your letter No. 271-S, dated 13th August 1921.]

An exhaustive appreciation has been drawn up at this headquarters.

I do not think it would be of much assistance to the Government as it stands, but forward the following notes, which give my considered opinion based on it and on my information up to date:—

(i) That the strength of the detachment now at the disposal of the Collector is sufficient to support the Police in the arrests and search for arms already authorized, and any other raids that may be planned within easy reach of the railway.

(ii) That anything in the way of operations on a larger scale and out of touch with the railway would be very difficult in the present state of the country and weather, and would necessitate the sending down of more troops and transport. Such action must take the form of deliberate operations and should if possible be postponed till after the monsoon.

(iii) That any troops employed should be British. Southern Indian troops, even if available, would be of little use for this kind of work.

Any further British troops would have to be sent from Bangalore. The first train load might be expected to reach Calicut 27 hours after receipt of orders to move.

(iv) That if the worst happens (i.e., if the measures now being carried out fail, or if the police or troops suffer a serious reverse, or if the Mapillas become aggressive in large bodies and indulge in murder and wholesale robbery) then one or two movable columns must be sent from Bangalore at once under a senior officer and take such drastic action as circumstances and the conditions of country and weather will permit.

NOTES.

Demi-official—from E. F. THOMAS, Esq., I.C.S., Collector of Malabar, dated Calicut, the 7th August 1921.

The enclosed report,* which please read before proceeding further with this letter discloses a very ugly development in Ernad. Though his report does not say so, Inspector Narayana Menon was for some time in imminent danger of being murdered out of hand, and if he had shown the white feather, I believe he would have been.

* See current file, page 13.

The bad features of this business are—

1. The organised collection of a number of men at short notice in the name of religion to frustrate inquiry into a crime; it makes no difference whether the man affected is in fact concerned in the case or not.

2. The spirit of fanaticism which was evoked and might at any moment have burst into flame. The Inspector told me that the men confronting him were 'shivering', not with fright, but with excitement, precisely as I saw men on the night of the 18th February. Perhaps the gravest symptom of the fanatical spirit is the presence of women to cheer on their menfolk. This is something new in the religious history of Malabar.

3. The numbers involved. Few of them came from the 'fanatical zone' of which Pandalur Hill is the centre. This means that fanaticism has enlarged its boundaries and perhaps no part of Ernad is now free. The collection of so large a crowd at short notice shows signs of an organisation regarding which I at present am in the dark.

4. The arming of the crowd. Narayana Menon, no alarmist, saw many of the men armed with swords which he describes as being about the length of his arm, a palm's breadth, and with a double cutting edge and hilted on one side—a formidable weapon in the hands of reckless men. Some carried two in their belt. These could only have been made for fighting. Other weapons carried were hunting spears, shortened knives and sticks. There is a strong rumour that guns have been collected for use if required, but no evidence that they were carried on this occasion. The incident has all except the worst features of an outbreak; the expressed desire to turn the Kovilagam into a mosque, and to take the head of the Tirumalpad as well as that of the Inspector follow precedent exactly. So also does the demand for money and rice. Since this affair the Kakath Nambudri who sheltered the Tirumalpad has had and complied with a demand for Rs. 25 and 50 paras of paddy—pure blackmail.

5. The defeat of the Police on this occasion. It is so regarded and clearly law and order are at a discount if Police action can be prevented by calling on Mapillas from all sides in the name of religion to resist. All is quiet in that part for the present, but clearly we cannot let this sleeping dog lie. We have been challenged and if we do not take it up, sooner or later, probably sooner, we shall be faced with an outbreak far larger than any yet seen. Even if action is taken, I anticipate trouble.

All this happened at a most inconvenient time for me. Hitchcock is away till Tuesday under treatment for dogbite, Austin is on casual leave to meet his wife, and Lancaster, Assistant Superintendent of Police, has only just joined the district. On receiving this report I at once saw Mainwaring who is looking after things while Hitchcock is away. We called in John who happened to be in Calicut and Amu, Deputy Superintendent. And we came to the conclusion that it would be unwise to take hasty action which might precipitate matters, especially as quiet had been restored, and to send Amu out to enquire further into the whole affair and more particularly to discover the state of feeling in Ernad. He will probably report by the time Hitchcock returns when we will deliberate on the knotty question what is to be done. Respectable Mapillas in Malappuram are as I learnt to-day genuinely apprehensive about the future and one of them has strongly urged on me that British troops should be sent to Malappuram and that they should not have been taken away. It may come to that.

We have to face the situation. And so far as I can see now it will probably be imperative to (*a*) enforce the Malabar War Knives Act (XXIV of 1854); this will take some doing; (*b*) take action against the worst agitators under sections 7 and 8 of the Mapilla Outrages Act (XX of 1859); (*c*) prohibit under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, volunteers from parading in uniform in Ernad and prohibit meetings in the same area. If this has to be done, it may be necessary to stop meetings in Calicut also.

Disarming and searching for arms. L.D.—10-8-21.

Arrest of suspected persons. L.D.—10-8-21.

Effectually to carry out the first two steps, it will probably be necessary to use both the reserve and the special force for some time and it may involve the posting temporarily of a British detachment at Malappuram, while if an outbreak occurs—I hope it won't—they must be called in.

I am writing this in order to let Government know how things are. Before I do anything, I will write again unless I have to take action in an emergency. Seemingly we are in for a bad time in Ernad, but there is this to be said—what has happened is not the result of repressive measures; repression gave us peace at Ramzan, the most dangerous time for the Mapilla, and this comes on top of inaction as action did not seem necessary. It's a bit of a blow but one can't foresee everything.

Submitted.

2. The gist of the Inspector's report (there was a printed account in the *Madras Mail* that was fairly accurate and might do) might be communicated to the General Officer Commanding together with a copy of Thomas' demi-official, to inform him how things stand and so that he may be prepared for a demand for a detachment at Malappuram.

Immediately please.

L.D.—10-8-21.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—9-8-21.

If matters are as serious as this, I expect Mr. Thomas' plan of action—a vigorous offensive—is the best policy. We shall certainly need British troops and reserve and the General Officer Commanding ought *at once* to have this information, as the Chief Secretary suggests. I would telegraph a cypher warning. **A**

I agree to **A** and would also write demi-officially to the District Magistrate telling him that we realize the seriousness of the position and will do all necessary to support him if he gives us information that he wants help.

W.—11-8-21.

I await with interest the views of Mr. Hitchcock who should have returned yesterday. I am glad Mr. Mainwaring is in the district.

L. D[AVIDSON]—10-8-21.

Telegram No. 257 in cipher despatched to the General Officer Commanding saying that the situation in Malabar might require British troops and that a letter was following.

C.I.D. Report No. 1146-*C.*, *dated* 10*th August* 1921 [p. 15, c.f.].

This is the Special Branch report of the District Superintendent of Police marked by the Chief Secretary for the First Member of Council.

Draft letters to the General Officer Commanding and the District Magistrate for approval.

G. R. F. TOTTENHAM—11-8-21.

N.E.M.—11-8-21.

L. D[AVIDSON]—12-8-21.

For orders whether the General Officer Commanding should be asked about **B** on page 17, current file.

G.R.F.T.—12-8-21.

He would hardly do it without reference to Government in view of the recent communication. But there may be a relief contemplated. The list of reliefs were in the telegrams a few days back. The Dorsets were to be replaced by the Wiltshires but I saw nothing about the Leinsters. Please verify.

N.E.M.—12-8-21.

Demi-official—to the General Officer Commanding, dated the 11th August 1921, No. 258 S.

Malabar affairs. Continuation of cipher telegram No. 257, dated 11th August 1921.

I am to enclose herewith for your information a copy of the District Magistrate's letter on the situation together with a cutting from the *Madras Mail* of August 8th, which contained a fairly accurate account of the facts.

Though the situation is quiet for the moment it contains the possibilities of a serious outbreak, and I am to request that you will be prepared to despatch a detachment of British troops to Malappuram on receipt of a telegraphic requisition.

Demi-official—to E. F. THOMAS, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate of Malabar, dated the 11th August 1921, No. 259-S.

Malabar situation. Your demi-official. I am to say that the Government realize the seriousness of the situation and are inclined to agree that a vigorous offensive such as you suggest would be the best policy. They are prepared to afford you any support that you may require, and apply for. The General Officer Commanding has been warned that British troops may be required at Malappuram and he has been asked to have them in readiness for despatch on receipt of a telegraphic requisition.

From District Magistrate, dated 10th August 1921. [p. 17, c.f.].

Stop Tottenham's relief. [Assistant Inspector-General informed accordingly by Chief Secretary.]

Please make two copies of the report, one for General Officer Commanding (to be preceded by brief telegraphic summary in cipher), one for His Excellency, with copy of inquiry addressed to General Officer Commanding, viz., whether force demanded by District Magistrate can be made available: if so, what is earliest date. Suggest he should depute Staff Officer to consult District Magistrate and if possible Hitchcock at Calicut.

L. D[AVIDSON]—12-8-21.

Cipher Telegrams accordingly to (1) *Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor* 263-*S*., (2) *General Officer Commanding* 264-*S*., (3) *District Magistrate, Malabar* 265-*S*. [p. 19, c.f.].

Demi-official—to the General Officer Commanding, dated the 12th August 1921, No. 266-S.

This is to confirm my cipher telegram of to-day's date indicating the serious state of affairs in Malabar and inquiring whether it would be possible for the force asked for by the District Magistrate (i.e., one staunch Indian Infantry Battalion and a double Company of British Infantry with Lewis guns) to be made available and if so the earliest date by which it could be arranged, and also suggesting that you might send a Staff Officer to Calicut to consult the District Magistrate.

A copy of the District Magistrate's report is enclosed.

Demi-official—to E. C. SMITH, Esq., I.C.S., Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor, dated Madras, the 12th August 1921, No. 267-S.

In continuation of my clear the line telegram of to-day's date about Malabar affairs I send herewith copies of Thomas' report and of my letter to the General Officer Commanding, which will explain the action taken here.

After discussion at Secretariat the following telegrams were issued to-day :—

No. 268 to General Officer Commanding.
No. 269 to District Magistrate.
No. 270 to Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor.
Letter No. 271-S. to General Officer Commanding.
} [p. 20, c.f.].

It was also agreed that the Hon'ble Mr. A. R. KNAPP, C.B.E., I.C.S., should go to Malabar.

G. R. F. TOTTENHAM—13-8-21.

Cipher telegram from General Officer Commanding No. S. 250–*S./G, dated* 13*th August* 1921. [p. 20, c.f.].

Cipher telegram from General Officer Commanding No. S. 250–*S./G, dated* 14*th August* 1921. [p. 20, c.f.].

Cipher telegram to Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor despatched by Chief Secretary at 4 *p.m. on* 14*th August* 1921. [p. 20, c.f.].

7

Demi-official—from J. T. W. Filson, Esq., Personal Assistant to the Inspector-General of Police, dated Madras, the 13th August 1921.

Herewith as requested extracts from Mainwaring's demi-official dealing with the Malabar situation and from one dated 10th from Hitchcock which Mainwaring enclosed.

Extract from D.O. letter from Mainwaring to Armitage.

I . . saw Hitchcock on his way back to Malabar. He agrees that the position is very critical. We all agree that there will be trouble as soon as any action is taken by the authorities against any of the persons who have cases pending against them. Action is being at present postponed to allow the recent excitement to die down. This is only a temporary expedient. You will see from recent S.B. reports that E. Moideen of South Malabar made some inflammatory speeches in Cannanore. In the opinion of all local officials this man should have been proceeded against long ago. . . . . . It is the general impression that there should be troops at Malappuram. I am quite convinced on this point. They are more necessary now than during the war when a detachment was stationed there. I am sure I am not unnecessarily alarmist when I say we should be prepared for a very serious situation.

I agree with Hitchcock that we ought not to tackle the situation without British troops and magazine rifles. Do you remember a few years ago a detachment of the Dorsets? A few Mapillas charged them when out to quell a rising and got close enough to wound four of them. I believe that this time we shall have large numbers to deal with and possibly in different places simultaneously. Our S. F. will be most useful as guides. The Mapillas have learnt things from the war. Narayana Menon told me they spoke of felling trees across roads and destroying bridges to prevent troops advancing. These things they thought not of in the old days. They also dismissed the idea that æroplanes could be used against them as their country was not suitable. I mention these things only to show that some amongst them are not ignorant of how to put up resistance and that resistance will probably be of a far more organised nature than it has ever been before. You know the country and can appreciate what difficulties will have to be overcome if organised resistance is to be overcome. If a tree was felled across a road at the places they would select, such trees would have to be blasted out of the way. Not a chance of the smallest success must be allowed the Mapilla if we wish the trouble to be of short duration.

Note.—The portion above the line was written on the 11th, the rest on the 12th after receipt of a letter from Hitchcock from which an extract is given below.

The Pukkottur business is very serious and the Tanalur business little less so. Amu has come back and merely confirms Narayana Menon. Thomas has written to Government, and we both agree that we can do nothing without a battalion, British for preference. Meanwhile I am going through Ernad. We know little or nothing of the feeling except in Pukkottur and Tirur, and I want to know what we may expect to happen in Nilambur, Pandikkad and Wandur areas. . . . I think this must be a big business, and that we ought not to tackle it with our 150 to 200 men and they without magazine rifles. The Mapilla idea that he can choose the ground and, though we might get in a volley or two, they would be in sufficient numbers to get in then with their knives seems to me to be fairly correct.

Moreover I should have to split up my force into two and quite possibly more parties. The weather is atrocious, raining all day and night, roads appalling, signalling out of the question. So far nothing has happened, but then we have not attempted to do anything.

Submitted to the Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.

N. E. Marjoribanks—13-8-21.

Knapp saw these last night before he left. Returned with thanks.

L. [Davidson]—14-8-21.

Demi-official—from E. F. Thomas, Esq., Collector of Malabar, dated 12th August 1921.

Since I wrote my official letter on the disturbed state of this district yesterday, I have been able to confer with Colonel Humphreys, Commanding the Leinster Regiment on the military side of the mess we are in. He thinks we could safely raid Tirurangadi by a surprise night march using the Special Force from Malappuram, the Calicut Reserve and the British detachment assisted by a detachment of 100 men from Wellington, that we could make the necessary searches for arms and arrests, and wait to see the result. If the result was a flare up of a considerable part of the taluk the situation would become a military one for further action. If as is possible the surprise had the effect of bringing the Mapilla elsewhere to his senses then the Police backed by the British troops could carry on. That is his appreciation of the situation as a soldier.

I am also examining the question whether the presence of a strong detachment at Malappuram would have the effect of putting sense into the Pukkottur people who at present seem to think and are believed to be saying that there they have Swaraj. I am doubtful. Further complications of the situation are that Madhavan Nayar and company come out of jail to-morrow and are sure to be made much of while it is possible that Gandhi and Muhammad Ali may come together to pay us a visit in the near future. I have not yet decided what line to take about demonstrations to honour the *martyrs* but my present mind is to give them their head and be prepared to squash any attempt at violence.

Pukkottur remains quiet and there are signs that the ringleaders rather repent their action on what grounds I can't say.

It won't do to have handy an area under prohibitory order for Gandhi to go there and show his contempt for us.

For perusal.

N. E. Marjoribanks—14-8-21.

Demi-official—from the Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., dated the 14th August 1921.

Enclosed returned with thanks. Why did it take two days to reach you? Is he addressing to Ootacamund?

The idea of a mass raid by night march on Tirurangadi does not impress me as a wise proceeding; and I am glad Knapp is now at Calicut.

Note of proposed action in Malabar by the Hon'ble Mr. A. R. Knapp, C.B.E., I.C.S. (on return from Malabar), 16th August 1921.

(1) Move troops and police for daybreak concentration at Tirurangadi—arrest Erinkunnath Ali Mussaliar of Nellikuthu (teacher).

(2) Lavarkutti (who has been making visits to the memorial at Mambram of those killed in a former outbreak).

(3) Karadan Mohideen—K.D. and Non-co-operation leader. Also about six volunteers.

Arrest to be made under Mapilla Act. Also search for knives.

Not intended to search in mosque.

A. R. K[napp].

Note of discussion at Cabinet meeting, 16th August 1921.

All present except His Excellency.

Malabar affairs discussed. Agreed that action should be taken under the Mapilla Outrages Act, and care taken not to lend any colour to the plea that action is being taken against Khilāfat. There is no objection to action being taken by the District Magistrate under section 7 wherever there is sufficient ground.

Agreed that District Magistrate should act as proposed at Tirurangadi and at Tanalur and then send a definite and detailed programme if further action is contemplated. Action should be confined to those persons in whose case the District Magistrate is satisfied that section 7 of the Mapilla Outrages Act or some other law applies.

Telegram drafted by the Hon'ble Mr. A. R. Knapp, C.B.E., accordingly. Copy to go by post to General Officer Commanding and copy clear the line to His Excellency.

[P. 21, c.f.] Telegram in cipher to District Magistrate No. 276.

Approved in Cabinet—as a telegram to be despatched to District Magistrate—copy to go clear line to His Excellency with prefatory note.

Copy to General Officer Commanding.

L. D[avidson]—16-8-21.

[P. 21, c.f.] Telegram (No. 277) in cipher to Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor (as approved by the Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., and Chief Secretary).

Demi-officials Nos. 278 and 279 to Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor and General Officer Commanding sending copies of telegram No. 276.

G. R. F. Tottenham—16-8-21.

Demi-official—from E. F. Thomas, Esq., I.C.S., Collector of Malabar, dated Calicut, the 16th August 1921.

Mr. Knapp told me that as he was returning so soon to Madras I need not wire the result of Hitchcock's enquiries. He will explain that Hitchcock was unable to effect anything and that the eastern amsams of Ernad as well as North Ponnani are affected. He has asked me to state what I propose to do. The known centres of active disaffection are Tirurangadi, Tanalur (Ponnani taluk), Pukkottur, and Chembrasseri, further inland, where there was an outbreak in 1915.

There are now about 170 men at West Hill. Our idea is to go first for Tirurangadi where there are some men to be arrested under the Mapilla Act for incitement to outrage and also a number of war-knives which we must search for and seize, arresting and punishing under the War Knives Act those found in possession. From there the people wanted for offences under the Indian Penal Code at Tanalur can be rounded up, if the effect of a raid at Tirurangadi is to convince the turbulent at Pukkottur that resistance is out of the question. If on the other hand the result is that most of the taluk rises we shall then be unable to do much without a lot more men. From Tirurangadi if the effect of action is good we will go on to Pukkottur and arrest both those who are liable under the Mapilla Acts as well as those who have committed definite offences. For this the British Detachment will be based on Malappuram. And finally if necessary we will deal in the same way with Chembrasseri. There are a few men we must get under the Mapilla Act who may not be found in these places as they wander round. I enclose * a list of the men we know we must arrest. I cannot say how many we may have to arrest for possession of war-knives.

* List prepared by Mr. Hitchcock printed as enclosure to this letter.

Some of the men arrested will be very dangerous characters whom it will be very inadvisable to keep in custody even for a time in Malabar. So I ask Government to issue instructions to the Superintendent, Coimbatore Jail, to receive remand and other prisoners that I may send.

Mr. Knapp has discussed the proposed order under 144 which I think absolutely necessary. It occurs to me that one of his objections to my draft that it is a declaration of war on Khilāfat, may be removed or minimised if the draft is so modified as to charge the agitator with using Khilāfat, its volunteer uniform and badges as a cloak for cultivating the fanatical spirit and inciting to the familiar outrage.

Enclosure

List of persons whose arrest under the Mapilla Act XX of 1859 is necessary.

(1) *Palathumalayil Ali Mussaliar.*—Also known as Erikunnan Ali Mussaliar of Payanad amsam. Two cousins Ali and Muhammad Kutty were shot at Pullikurup in 1894.

Erikunnan Abdulla Haji (exact relationship unknown) was deported to Mecca after the 1894 outbreak, subsequently permitted to live in Bombay where he is reported to be now.

Ali Mussaliar from his youth has had religious teaching first in Ponnani, then in Podiyat in Melmuri amsam (he stayed there four years and started as a teacher there). Thence he went to Mankolam and taught in the mosque, he is now in Tirurangadi where he has resided for the last ten or fifteen years. He still visits Nellikuth and Payanad. He is aged about sixty.

He has stirred up the bad characters of Tirurangadi till they reached this pitch of proceeding *en masse* to the place opposite the Tirurangadi cutcherry compound and praying at the spot where local rumour says the "Saiyids" shot in the Cherur outbreak in which Kapparat Paniker was murdered in 1884 (?) were buried. This began a day or two after Ramzan at the beginning of June. On every subsequent Friday Ali Mussaliar has attended mosque in procession with volunteers armed and in uniform. This is looked upon as the nucleus of a fighting force and each Friday its numbers are being added to. The Mussaliar and his followers admitted to Retired Inspector Chekutty and the Fakeri family, men of local influence, the serious nature of the situation they were creating and promised to put a stop to it. This was in the middle of June; so far from doing so they have continued to enrol men and endeavoured to keep alive the fighting spirit. while four or five threatened the ferry contractor at Panampuzha and threatened to maintain a ferry in opposition to Government.

(2) *Karadan Moideen.*—Ali Mussaliar's principal assistant. This man promised to help in suppressing the movement: his promises were not fulfilled, nor has he made any attempt to fulfil them—as the local agent of Muthu Koya Thangal he wields considerable influence.

(3) *Kondanjanparambil Kunhi Poker Haji* also a man of influence who admitted the danger of the movement, but in spite of promises has continued to foster it.

(4) *Chanimatel Lavar Kutti.*—The head of the volunteers and the first to go armed, a man of no status but dangerous.

(5) *Chittambala Kunhalavi*
(6) *Asan Mammath.*
(7) *Assan Moideen Kutti, son of* (6)
(8) *Elamulasseri Moideen Kutti Haji.*
(9) *Potta Mammad Haji.*

(5), (6), (7) and (8) are men of ordinary position as coolies, who have been the backbone of the arming movement and appear most prominent. (9) is similar but an old man, the father of one of the men bound over in February.

There are some 40 other volunteers whose arrest at present seems unnecessary.

The men are all likely to be in Tirurangadi.

(10) *Katillaseri Muhammad Mussaliar.*—His full name is Mangataparambil Vadakithodi Muhammad Mussaliar of Walluvanad taluk. This man has studied in Vellore for some years where he is suspected with some reason of receiving stolen property from Mapilla Railway thives, notably Cholokadan Ahamath of Angadipuram. He has wandered about throughout the district, he has kept in touch with the political movements in Calicut and has spread his own dangerous version of these movements in Ernad and Walluvanad taluks. Lately he has given considerable attention to Chembrasseri and Kalikavu where he has spread most dangerous propaganda.

(11) *Meethal Panduth Narayana Menon* ex-vakil of Angadipuram has accompanied (10) in all his wanderings. Their movements and actions have been reported each week.

(12) *Thyil Mammad Kutti Mussaliar* of Trikolam–Tirurangadi. Like (10) has studied in Vellore, held Pan Islamic views. Till April or May he was instructing in a private religious school maintained by Kiliyamannat Moidin in Kodur. Owing to his dangerous teaching at this time he was first warned and then dismissed, since when he has been wandering about spreading dangerous ideas.

(13) *Madambat Avaram Kutti Mussaliar* joined in the Khilāfat movement in October or November 1921, was a wandering lecturer on this subject but has now turned to stirring up the fanatical spirit, he is responsible for the lawlessness now existing in Tanalur, which has not led to bloodshed solely because it has not yet been opposed.

(14) *Amina Mandagath Parikutty Mussaliar* of Tanur.—This man like (13) started taking an interest in the Khilāfat movement, but has lately written pamphlets and used his influence to stir up a fanatical spirit.

(15) *Valiyapeediakal Kunhamath Mussaliar* of Tirur.—A wandering lecturer, also has recently preached in Tanalur that violence is now justifiable.

(16) *Otakath Kunhi Koya Thangal* of Chembrasseri stirred up by No. (10). He has and is now preaching dangerous doctrines in Chembrasseri and Kalikavu and the neighbouring fanatical amsams.

(17) *P. K. Alavi Mussaliar* of Pengu
(18) *M. Ahamathkutty Mussaliar* of Pengu
have been preaching at Vadakumbram, Kaipakancheri.

The above 18 persons are at this time most dangerous; the list may require amplifying and the period for their detention or deportation from Malabar may vary according to their influence. Behind these 18 persons are a few others who may or may not be aware of the inflammable material with which they have been playing but whose speeches can have had only one object, to stir up the Mapilla, whom they were addressing, and they can hardly plead ignorance of the nature of their audience as an excuse. These are E. Moidu (now to be prosecuted for sedition), P. M. Abdul Kadir of Aleppy, Theyil Assankoya Mulla of Calicut and Mulekandi Moidu of Calicut, Munnayandakath Kunhi Khadir of Tanur of local importance only.

To the above 18 should be added—

(19) *Karath Moidin Kutti Haji* of Pukkottur.
(20) *Kaladi Isuf* of Podiyat.
(21) *Manethodi Kunhalan* of Valluvambram.
(22) *Kollaramban Abdu Haji* of Narukara.
(23) *Parancheri Kunhiramutti* of Pukkottur.
(24) *Mozhikal Kunhamath Haji* of Pukkottur.

These are the leaders of the attempted outbreaks in Pukkottur on 1st August 1921.

This list is by no means exhaustive.

R. H. Hitchcock—16-8-21.

Demi-official from Mr. Thomas, dated 16th August 1921, enclosing memoranda by Mr. Hitchcock about the individuals to be arrested is put up. Except in the cases of P. Ali Mussaliar, Lavar Kutti and possibly Nos. (5), (6), (7) and (8), coolies who are said to be the backbone of the 'army,' the information is of an indefinite description. They are said to be '*dangerous*' and to spread '*dangerous ideas*'.

2. About the application of the Mapilla Outrages Act please see notification of 1859.

3. About the proposed orders under section 144 Mr. Thomas might perhaps be told that Government do not wish to interfere with his discretion except to the extent indicated in the concluding portion of the cipher telegram sent to him yesterday.

L.D. | A

I.e., no campaign against Khilāfat.

L.D.

4. About ordering that his arrests should be received in the Coimbatore jail, the present Government Order is that prisoners in Malabar (the parts under consideration) should go first to Calicut sub-jail, provided the sentence is under three months and thence be distributed by the Inspector-General of Prisons. But those persons arrested pending orders of Government will be under-trials or akin thereto. I think we might send a demi-official to Major Maconachie to arrange with Mr. Thomas for the receipt of these under-trials or under-arrests at Coimbatore Central Jail.

L.D. | B

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—17-8-21.

Demi-official—from the General Officer Commanding, dated Wellington, the 15th August 1921, No. (Secret) S. 250/13/G.

In confirmation of my cipher telegrams of 13th and 14th August 1921 and in reply to your demi-official No. 266 S. of 12th August 1921, I beg to inform you that I have despatched three platoons of the first Battalion, Leinster Regiment (R. C.) with Lewis guns to Calicut yesterday, so as to bring the strength of the Detachment there up to about 200 of all ranks. Also that the 81st Pioneers, strength about 300 (this is the best I can do in view of the disbandments now going on) are held in readiness to proceed from Bangalore to Calicut if required.

2. I beg to point out, however, that though I have, as in duty bound, complied so far with the specific demands of the Government for troops, I have done so against my own judgment.

The hurried despatch of troops before a crisis demanding their intervention has actually arisen, and before any plan has been formed as to how and where they are to be used, precludes all possibility of surprise and is open to misinterpretation as a panic measure. I beg to submit that in a case like the present when definite assertive action appears to be contemplated by the civil authorities, it would be better to move no troops until the situation has been jointly discussed by the chief Magistrate and my officers, the conditions appreciated from the military point of view, and a plan made. Also the suggestion as to the nature and number of the troops required, is one best left to the military officer on the spot, when, as in this case, there is one, or when I can send one promptly.

3. The state of the country in Malabar at this season is such as practically to prohibit the movement of large parties of troops except along a few roads, and it seems to me that the best course would have been to have devised some impressive but feasible stroke, and to make a clean job of it by concerting the action of the local detachment with that of reinforcements sent by rail so as to arrive unexpectedly at the psychological moment.

4. The number of Regular Troops in the Madras district is so small that if I were called on to comply simultaneously with two or more such demands for definite bodies of troops by the civil authorities, my whole resources might well be dissipated before the real danger point was found, or the best way of dealing with it worked out. Also the premature movement of troops entails considerable expense for the Government.

5. I have not yet received the report of the officer whom I sent down to consult with Mr. Thomas, but it is quite possible that he may find either that the despatch of more troops is unnecessary, or that a Movable Column from Bangalore would be more suitable than an Indian Battalion. I sincerely hope that no more troops will be wanted.

If nothing untoward happens, I shall be in Madras on Wednesday (17th) and will come and see you in the morning.

The above demi-official from the General arrived *after* I had seen him which was unfortunate as I would have more quickly understood and been able to treat his point of view. The point is that whatever Mr. Thomas may have said in his demi-officials and reports we sent those reports to the General for information *only*, and Government did not ask him for more than the men necessary to have a full company in Malabar. Next time it will be better not to send the General Officer Commanding District Magistrate's reports in extenso.

Probably or with a qualifying note " for information only ". But on this occasion there was no time.

L.D.

I forgot when speaking of the General's visit over the telephone to mention that he said the military authorities at Simla had asked his opinion as to the removal of the detachment from Calicut. He had replied that he advocated removal from a military point of view, but that he was sure the local Government and local civil authorities would most strongly object.

N.E.M.—17-8-21.

The above is in order, I think, but I should like to discuss further with you to-morrow.

The demi-official was, I suppose, written before Mr. Thomas got our telegram yesterday. I don't object to orders as at **A** and **B** at once. Khilāfat must be kept out of proclamation under section 144.

But it does seem to me rather as if Mr. Thomas and Mr. Hitchcock were out against Khilāfateers too much.

L. D[AVIDSON]—17-8-21.

Demi-official—to E. F. THOMAS, Esq., I.C.S., Collector of Malabar, dated the 18th August 1921, No. 286-S.

Your demi-official of the 16th. You will have got after you wrote that demi-official my telegram of the 16th, No. 276, telling you that Government approve of the Tirurangadi and Tanalur operations and await a report from you after these operations are over as to subsequent plans. As regards the use of section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, the Government do not wish, I am to say, to interfere with or to fetter your discretion except to the extent indicated in the concluding part of telegram No. 276, namely, that in all your proceedings you should at present avoid the appearance of a special campaign against Khilāfat but should deal with the matter on the basis of a threatened Mapilla outbreak. Concerning the reception of your under-arrests at the Coimbatore Jail, action is being separately taken and I hope this will be arranged.

Two telegrams from General Officer Commanding about the Pioneer Battalion at Bangalore, dated 16th August 1921 [p. 21, c.f.].

No action necessary as the battalion was not available.

N.E.M.—19-8-21.

For orders whether any action is necessary. Also for orders whether any reply should go to the General Officer Commanding to his demi-official at page 30 ante.

G. R. F. TOTTENHAM—18-8-21.

Note for the Hon'ble Mr. K. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR—

With reference to the telegram sent to Mr. Thomas, District Magistrate, Malabar, after Tuesday's Cabinet meeting regarding the making of certain arrests, Mr. Thomas points out that some of the men arrested will be very dangerous characters whom it will be very inadvisable to keep in custody even for a time in Malabar. So he asks Government to issue instructions to the Superintendent, Coimbatore Jail, to receive remand and other prisoners he may send. With the approval of the First Member of Council the following telegrams are submitted:—

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—18-8-21.

Telegram to the District Magistrate, Malabar.

Inspector-General of Prisons instructed intimate Superintendent, Central Jail, Coimbatore, that prisoners committed under remand that jail by you should be received. This is on clear understanding that only those prisoners will be remanded that jail whom it would be dangerous to public tranquillity to keep in Malabar.

Telegram to the Inspector-General of Prisons.

Government authorize detention in Coimbatore Central Jail of prisoners remanded to that jail by District Magistrate, Malabar. Please instruct Superintendent, Central Jail, Coimbatore.

I have some doubt whether a person apprehended by the District Magistrate under section 7 can be confined in a prison. Of course the Government acting under section 6 can issue a warrant. As the matter is very urgent, *I would risk it.* I had no time to carefully look up all the Acts.

K. S[RINIVASA AYYANGAR]—18-8-21.

[P. 21, c.f.] [Telegram to the Inspector-General of Prisons, dated 18th August 1921.]

[P. 21, c.f.] [Telegram to the District Magistrate, Calicut, dated 18th August 1921, No. 287.]

[P. 21, c.f.] *Telegram from the General Officer Commanding, dated 18th August* 1921.

For orders.

G.R.F.T.—19-8-21.

The General Officer Commanding has left and as he apparently has not the cipher we could not communicate with him. Better reply to Headquarters, Wellington, that the General Officer Commanding left Madras before their telegram could be communicated to him. After despatch submit the file to the First Member of Council.

Done.
G.R.F.T.—20-8-21.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—19-8-21.

L. D[AVIDSON]—20-8-21.

Note for Chief Secretary—

I send you a note on my impressions of the position in Malabar; also (1) * the statement of Karunakara Menon mentioned in the note, (2) † a letter of Mr. Hitchcock which should be returned to Mr. Thomas and (3) † Mr. Thomas' draft order which I suggest should be examined in detail. A

Mr. Thomas asked me to find out whether authority could be given him to send to Coimbatore Jail any persons whom he arrests under the Mapilla Act and does not think it safe to keep in Malabar. I think this point might be looked up at once and orders sent to him by telegram. B

A. R. K[NAPP]—18-8-21.

ENCLOSURE.

Note on Malabar affairs.

I note below the general impression of the state of affairs in Malabar which I gained on my visit to Calicut.

I found Mr. Thomas in rather a jumpy state. By this I do not mean to imply that he had exaggerated the seriousness of the position: after discussion with Messrs. Hitchcock and Austin and with Mr. Brown, a rubber planter from Ernad, I was satisfied that the position was serious and that immediate steps should be taken to meet it. Mr. Thomas' nervousness was displayed rather in his general remarks, and more particularly in his readiness to embark at once on a large campaign of arrest and repression without, I think, any very clear foresight of its possible effects. The arrival of the extra troops with the consequent prospect of early action, and the consultations which we held, both exercised a steadying effect and so far as local affairs are concerned Mr. Thomas is quite competent to manage the situation. I say " so far as local affairs are concerned ", for I found some difficulty in making him realize that in such a matter as a deliberate declaration of war against the Khilāfat volunteers local action must be decided by considerations of general and not merely local policy.

That the Nilambur Tirumalpad and the Police Inspector had a very narrow escape from being killed at Pukkottur is clear and if this had taken place an outbreak on a large scale was inevitable. Exactly why the crowd held their hands at the last moment is not plain: I am told that the Inspector himself cannot explain it and it represents an interesting problem in crowd psychology.

The efforts of Mammad—the original leader—who had evidently become alarmed at the storm which he had raised, had no doubt something to do with it; but I expect the truth must be that the real feeling of Mapilla fanaticism was present only in a small part of the crowd, the remainder being the artificial product of Khilāfat organization. These latter though dangerous enough would not show the utter disregard for their own skins which characterises the Mapilla ' sayyid '.

Whatever it was that led to the attack at Pukkottur not being pressed home the position resulting from the demonstration there is pretty clear. The Mapillas quite realised that they had misbehaved and that punishment ought to follow: when days passed and it did not come they began to flatter themselves that the authorities were afraid to touch them. This is the considered summary of the matter given me by Mr. Hitchcock after a visit to the neighbourhood. It is a situation which clearly cannot be allowed to continue. Something must be done to dispel the idea that the Mapilla commands the position or, as the more ignorant Mapilla probably believes by

* Printed as enclosure to the note. † Nos. (2) and (3) not printed.

this time, that the British Raj is finished and the Mapilla Raj has taken its place. It was in preparation for this event that some of the Mapillas at Tirurangadi some months ago began to give Muhammadan names to the Nayar women of their neighbourhood, who were no doubt selected as suitable additions to the harems of the future Mapilla rulers. The matter is now talked of as a joke but I understand that it was not so meant at the time.

A noticeable feature of this affair has been the manufacture of swords and knives in preparation for an outbreak. This however is not a novelty. It occurred to my personal knowledge in 1894 and also I believe on earlier occasions. I could not get firsthand information regarding the larger swords which were said to have been introduced at Pukkottur and I should think that they were possibly temple swords of a harmless type. The knife which I brought back is a nasty weapon representing a large size Malabar shikar knife. As a military arm I do not think it would be of much account. But the view which the Mapillas themselves are said to hold is that if a thousand of them armed with these knives could surround a hundred soldiers, enough of them would get through any rifle fire to get home with the knife and wipe the soldiers out. I do not consider there is serious danger of this and I regard the making of the knives merely as an indication that an outbreak is or was projected. The knives, so far as is known, are being manufactured only by two Hindu blacksmiths in Pukkottur who have been coerced by the Mapillas. The manufacture seems to have only begun after the Karachi speeches with their talk of the establishment of a republic had revived Muhammadan feeling in Malabar which had apparently been more or less quiescent since May. The fact that the manufacture of knives is not general and is confined to one place indicates to my mind that what we have to face is not a general Mapilla-Khilāfat rising, but a Mapilla outbreak of the usual localised type aggravated possibly by the assistance of Khilāfat effort.

Mr. Thomas' original plan, as his letter shows, was to sweep through Ernad with a comparatively large body of troops searching for arms and arresting all those who were suspected of complicity in the general Mapilla agitation. Before I arrived at Calicut however he had ascertained, from consultation with the Colonel of the Leinsters, that even with the force at his disposal he could make a successful raid on Tirurangadi. Tirurangadi, though it is not situated in the outbreak zone of the last 30 years, has always been a troublesome Mapilla centre. The outbreak of 1884 emanated, I think, from there. The mosque at Mambram near Tirurangadi has a peculiar sanctity for the fanatical Mapilla and the place at Tirurangadi where the bodies of those killed in an earlier outbreak were burnt has of late become a place of worship, Mapilla volunteers going there every week in uniform. There are in Tirurangadi three men in particular who are regarded both by Mr. Hitchcock and Mr. Thomas as dangerous leaders and inciters to Mapilla fanaticism. It is also believed that in Tirurangadi there will be found among the Mapillas a number of knives and swords which can only be intended for offensive purposes. I consider that a raid on Tirurangadi for the purpose of making arrests and searching for arms is entirely justified both by the local circumstances and by the fact that a blow struck there as an assertion of authority may very likely react throughout the whole Mapilla area of which Tirurangadi seems to be at present the nerve centre. The Cabinet has since my return accepted this conclusion and the raid will probably be made to-morrow.

If the Tirurangadi raid is carried out without serious resistance, it is proposed to follow it up by the arrest at Tanalur of the Mapillas who were recently guilty of rioting in connexion with the anti-liquor campaign, but whom the authorities have not hitherto dared to arrest for want of sufficient force. Whether any and if so what further operations should be undertaken must depend on the result of the action at Tirurangadi. That action may possibly bring out the Pukkottur folk. I personally think it more likely that it will for the time restore quiet and enable Mr. Thomas, without any further increase of troops, to go quietly round the taluk searching for arms in suspected places and arresting those who may be liable to arrest under the Mapilla Act. Pukkottur itself is not a place of any significance. A more dangerous area lies in the east of the taluk in Chembrasseri and Karuvarakundu to which places the trouble appears to have lately spread and where searches and arrests may be necessary. These towns are in the old outbreak area. They have lately come under

the influence of Khilāfat committees from Walluvanad. These committees tried before to get a hold in this area and failed, but apparently have now been more successful.

It was arranged that after Tirurangadi and Tanalur are dealt with, no further action is to be taken until a definite programme has been sent up and approved by Government and this arrangement has been confirmed in the orders recently passed by the Cabinet. There is therefore nothing at present to do but await Mr. Thomas' next report.

As to the general situation, I gather that the more respectable and intelligent Mapillas have come to realize that in encouraging the Khilāfat agitation in the midst of a fanatical population they are playing with edged tools. A meeting of distinguished Moulvis was held at Ponnani which succeeded in persuading some of the leading men that the Khilāfat movement was opposed to and not in accord with the teaching of Islam and this, coupled I suppose with the recognition that if a Mapilla outbreak occurred the Khilāfat followers might easily be regarded as involved, has drawn away the better class of Mapilla. The fact too that we have not heard of any trouble in connexion with the release last Monday of Yakub Hassan's associates is a hopeful sign. On the other hand, the Khilāfat movement, as has been mentioned, has revived in intensity since the Karachi meeting. New sub-committees have been formed and these have been instructed to send Mapillas into Calicut to welcome the return from jail of Gopala Menon and his associates. Again, one notable family connected in the past with outbreaks after giving up the Khilāfat movement has again taken it up: they are notable because they are the family which was responsible for the murder of Mr. Conolly of which the memory still remains strong in the Mapilla area. Further, the Kunhi Tangal at Malappuram who at one time possessed an enormous influence with the Mapillas and who, whatever his previous feelings, is now anxious to keep things quiet, is said to have completely lost his influence. The net result of the information which the district officers have is therefore that while among the better class of Mapillas the Khilāfat movement has become discredited its hold on the more ignorant and criminal classes of Mapillas is increasing and it is on this ground, apart from the actual prospect of an outbreak, that an immediate demonstration of Government's powers has been considered desirable.

In addition to the military measures, Mr. Thomas was anxious to issue a general order prohibiting Khilāfat meetings and also prohibiting the wearing of Khilāfat uniforms or badges. The prohibition of Khilāfat meetings in Malabar is not new and if it has been accepted in the past without very great remonstrance there is perhaps no reason why it should not be renewed. But the declaration of war against the Khilāfat movement which would be represented by forbidding the wearing of Khilāfat badges is a more serious matter and I warned Mr. Thomas that he must not issue his general order until Government had considered the point. I am sending the Chief Secretary a draft of Mr. Thomas' order and suggest that it should be examined in detail so that Mr. Thomas may be told how far Government consider it desirable for him to go in this respect. My own opinion is that the less we mention the word 'Khilāfat' in the prohibition orders issued in Malabar the better, not only for Malabar but possibly for our general policy. We can attack an individual exhibition of Muhammadan lawlessness without necessarily dragging in to their support the whole of the Khilāfat followers.

Among isolated items of interest is the fact that the Khilāfat movement in Malabar is largely led by one M. P. Narayana Menon, a Hindu, who however has adopted Mapilla clothing. Also it is believed that, in connexion with the non-co-operation movement against liquor, the religious feelings of the Mapilla have been invoked on the ground that alcohol is forbidden by Islam. A statement taken from Karunakara Menon, a relative of the Tirumalpad, of which I am sending the Chief Secretary a copy is also of some interest. He was only quite lately a non-co-operation leader and no doubt an associate in the Khilāfat movement. But the attack on his relative's house and his narrow escape from Mapilla outrage have apparently made him think and he is now only too anxious that the authorities should co-operate with him in saving him and his kinsfolk from the violence of his Mapilla friends.

A. R. K[NAPP]—18-8-21.

ENCLOSURE

Statement of Palakal Karunakara Menon, son of Kirathadasan, the late Tirumalpad of Nilambur, dated 10th August 1921.

On the 31st of last month, I was halting in the Nilambur palace bungalow at Manjeri. On the 1st of August at daybreak I got intimation from the 6th Tirumalpad of Nilambur at Pukkottur that he had been threatened by a gang of Mapillas numbering about three hundred armed with knives and swords the previous night under the leadership of one Kolathinal Mammathu and had extorted from him Rs. 350 and two bags of rice. I at once went to Mr. Narayana Menon, Inspector of Police, who was then camping at Pandikkad in my car. I explained to him the state of affairs at Pukkottur as far as I knew and took him with me in my car to Pukkottur. On our way we met the 6th Tirumalpad of Nilambur at Manjeri who explained to us in detail about the trouble at Pukkottur on the previous night. We took with us from Manjeri Ahmad, Adhikari of Narukara amsam and Kunharmu, an ex-police constable. On our way right up from Melmuri to Pukkottur in the road side shops and mosques we observed men collected in batches of about fifty and sixty. We stopped the car on the main road at the turning to the palace. We then walked to the palace and on reaching there Police Inspector sent word to Kolathinnal Mammathu by Kunharmu that he would like to see Mammathu to have a talk with him about the incident of the previous night. These two people went to a tea shop near by, where about three hundred men had collected. When the adhikari told them that he wanted to see Mammathu they began abusing and threatening him, so much so that adhikari Ahmad and Kunharmu returned to us and entreated as to quit the palace at once in order to save our lives, after explaining to us that the mob was bent on mischief and bloodshed: We refused to leave the place without seeing Mammathu and pacifying him. Then we heard that Mammathu was in the mosque with another batch of men. Kunharmu was then sent to the mosque to fetch him. Kunharmu returned disappointed and said that Mammathu with his armed men was in on the palace approach road and that he refused to come. Then I went alone to Mammathu and met him on the palace approach road with about 500 Mapillas almost all armed with double edged swords, single edged swords, pig spears, shikar knives and lathis. Most of them had Khilafat badges. I saw women with their faces covered inducing their youngsters to join the mob. I approached Mammathu and explained to him that we were there to redress his grievances if he had any and wanted him to meet Mr. Narayana Menon, Inspector of Police, in the palace. After considerable persuasion he promised to meet the Inspector and was following me to the palace when Inspector came in a hurry to us. Mammathu told the Inspector that his house was searched by the Police at the instigation of the 6th Tirumalpad and Peraprath Ahmad Kutti the Adhikari of Valluvambram. At first he was not in a mood to be pacified and was ready for violence. After considerable persuasion, he was pacified and he promised to meet us alone without his armed men later in the day. We then returned to the palace feeling sure that we were out of danger. About five minutes after we reached the palace, we heard violent cries of the mob both from the eastern and northern gates of the palace. We then ran up to the mob who then were about a yard close to us and explained to them that we were there not to fight with them but to redress their grievances if they had any. The rush was very violent and some of them were crying out to the effect

(1) that the palace should be converted into a mosque before they dispersed,
(2) that they must take off the heads of Messrs. Narayana Menon, Amu Sahib, sixth Tirumalpad and Valluvambram Adhikari,
(3) all kafirs should be butchered in cold blood,
(4) they would not return without bloodshed.

Such violent utterances were frequently used and some were rushing at us with swords. We thought that our end was near and every moment we expected a spear or sword to pierce us or cut our necks. Fortunately for us, Kolathinnal Mammathu and his men whom we had at first pacified began to push the mob out. Some other leaders also were induced to take the mob out. Somehow these men were forced out by the leaders and both the gates were bolted. Then the mob became all the more violent and began their war cry. The cry was very violent for some time. Then all the men together marched off to the Pukkottur mosque. We sent Moideen Kutti Haji and some other leaders to preach to the mob from the mosque and advised them to be quiet. We remained there till about 5 p.m. in the evening. The mob was afraid that we were expecting Special Force. Our continued stay there was creating suspicion in the minds of some of the men collected and so we went to Malappuram walking the whole way—a distance of about four miles from the palace—in the midst of hundreds of Mapillas armed with swords, etc. I would roughly estimate the men at the rush to be over one thousand. Though not shouting, some Khilāfat wallahs outside the gate were saying that Messrs. Hitchcock and Thomas were mischief-makers and that they also should be made short work of.

We reached Pukkottur at about 11-30 in the morning. From the moment we reached there, I heard a peculiar kind of drum beating from the mosque. The noise was quite different from the ordinary noise of the drum beating in the mosque. We tried to get some old respectable Mapillas during our stay at Pukkottur to preach to the violent mob, but all communications to the palace had been cut off as men had been posted right round the palace compound for the

purpose. I was told by the Kovilagam agents at Pukkottur that obstructions had been placed near the bridge on the palace approach road by placing iron girders across the road the previous night. This information I found was true as I saw the marks of the girders on the road. The whole day was spent pacifying the mob although death was staring us in the face.

The weapons I saw with the mob were of the following description :—

(1) Swords about 2 feet long with horned handles—single edged and double edged, pointed at the top.

(2) Big shikar knives about one and a half feet long.

(3) Ordinary Mapilla knives.

(4) Pig spears cut in the middle about three feet in length.

(5) Lathis.

(6) Mammuthi and axe handles.

The next day Kunhi Tangal of Malappuram came with us to pacify the mob at Pukkottur. For the past nine days I had been going to Pukkottur with the Deputy Superintendent and Inspector of Police and at times alone to pacify the rioters.

For perusal and orders.

We have already issued orders in general terms as to **A**.

And telegrams have gone to the Inspector-General of Prisons and District Magistrate about **B**.

G. R. F. Tottenham—19-8-21. N. E. Marjoribanks—19-8-21.

L. D[avidson]—20-8-21.

[Page 22, c.f.]—*From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/26-G., dated 20th August* 1921.

For perusal.

G.R.F.T.—24-8-21. N.E.M.—24-8-21.

A valuable justification from an experienced soldier of the action taken by Government on the Hon'ble Mr. Knapp's return from Calicut on 16th August 1921.

L. D[avidson]—26-8-21.

CHAPTER III.

THE REBELLION.

(i) SUMMARY OF THE IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE REBELLION, BY UNDER SECRETARY.

In the early hours of the morning of Saturday, August 20th 1921, the District Magistrate, Mr. E. F. Thomas, accompanied by the District Superintendent of Police, Mr. Hitchcock, and 100 of the special Force of Police, and supported by a detachment of the Leinster Regiment under Captain McEnory, D.S.O., M.C., numbering 70, left Calicut for Tirurangadi, in order to carry out the arrest of Ali Mussaliar and certain Mapilla leaders and to search for arms, according to the plan approved by Government after the visit of the Hon'ble Mr. Knapp to Malabar. (See chapter II.) **August.**

The operations were successful up to a certain point, the searches were carried out without opposition and a few arrests were made, though not as many as was hoped. At about 10.00 the first encounter with the rebels took place and the police engaged and pushed back a hostile crowd of several thousand, which appeared from the West. Meanwhile an even larger crowd from the East attacked a small detachment left behind in Tirurangadi and we suffered out first casualties. Lieut. Johnstone of the Leinsters and Mr. Rowley, Assistant Superintendent of Police, were killed, and when the whole force became united they were compelled to remain on the defensive in the Sub-Magistrate's office. The events at Tirurangadi were the signal for a general outbreak, which was dircted first of all to the destruction of the Railway line and other communications, and secondly to the looting and burning of public offices, etc. The force at Tirurangadi spent an anxious but unmolested night and the next day, Sunday, they decided to evacuate the place and fought their back against considerable opposition to the Railway line at Parappanangadi and thence along the line to Feroke—a distance of 15 miles. Here they finally entrained for Calicut, which they reached at midnight. Considerable execution was done on the way by rifle and Lewis gun fire against parties of Mapillas who endeavoured to impede their progress along the Railway line. On Saturday evening at Tirurangadi the District Magistrate handed over control to Captain McEnroy and on Monday the 22nd he handed over control in Calicut, and collected the European and official Anglo-Indian population of Calicut at West Hill.

By Sunday evening the Railway line had been cut between Feroke and Shoranur in many places, and Calicut was isolated by rail from the rest of the Presidency It is possible that an attack might have been made on Calicut itself on the 21st, but this was prevented by the action of Mr. Tottenham, District Superintendent of Police, North Malabar, (who had been left in charge of Calicut on the 19th) in taking out a body of police and holding the Feroke Bridge. In addition to the force at Calicut, there was a small detachment at Malappuram, consisting of 30 Leinsters and 20 Special Force Police, and the Joint Magistrate, Mr. Austin, who were entirely isolated from the rest of the District.

Owing to the interruption of communications the first serious news did not reach Madras till about midday on Sunday 21st. The General Officer Commanding Madras District was immediately telegraphed to and asked to send re-inforcements, the extent and composition of which were left to his discretion. He ordered the despatch of the Dorsets from Bangalore, they left Bangalore the next day, 22nd, and on the 23rd the first troop train left Podanur, which was the first military base, and reached Shoranur. On the 22nd Col. Humphreys of the Leinsters was given command of the troops in Malabar, Railway Security measures were enforced west of Podanur, and the General Officer Commanding wired to the General Officer Commanding in Chief, Southern Command, to have two more British Battalions in readiness. The same day, 22nd, the Government telegraphed to the Government of India and asked for the promulgation of Martial Law in the Taluks of Ernad, Walluvanad and Ponnani. That evening the District Magistrate reported that the position in Calicut was very serious and asked the Government to telegraph for a warship. A telegram was sent in the early hours of the 23rd to the Naval Commander-in-Chief, and H.M.S. " Comus " left Colombo the same day for Calicut. Meanwhile nothing could be done to stem the tide of the rebellion and the Mapillas indulged in wholesale looting of public offices, police stations etc., and the destruction of property and communications. Every effort on our side was directed towards the repair of the Railway. On the 25th the " Comus " arrived at Calicut, and besides restoring confidence in a most marked fashion, rendered it possible for a relief party under Captain McEnroy to leave Calicut the same day for Malappuram. The relief was effected on the 26th after the battle of Pukkottur. This was the biggest encounter of the rebellion; the rebels lost heavily and we sustained several casualties, including Mr. Lancaster,

Assistant Superintendent of Police, who was wounded and died at Malappuram. On 25th Military Headquarters moved to Shoranur and a column was sent from that side to Malappuram where it affected a junction with Captain McEnroy on the 29th. Mr. Evans, who was appointed Special Civil Officer with the troops in Malabar on the 25th, joined Col. Humphreys at Shoranur on the 26th; on the 27th he and Col. Humhpreys succeeded in getting through to Calicut ; the line was repaired throughout the same evening and the next day Military Headquarters moved to Tirur, and plans were matured for a combined movement by the different columns on Tirurangadi. Here a number of rebels were reported to have assembled in the Mosque and to be prepared to offer resistance. The concentration was completed on the 30th and the Mosque was invested. On the 31st the rebels emerged from the Mosque and the second battle of Tirurangadi took place. Twenty rebels were killed and the remainder, thirty-eight in number, were taken prisoners. The prisoners included the notorious Ali Mussaliar, who more than any other single person was responsible for the rebellion and whose arrest had been the chief object of the visit to Tirurangadi on the 20th. (He was subsequently sentenced to death for waging war and after appealing for mercy to the Viceroy and after a great delay with the Government of India in passing orders, he was finally hanged at the end of January 1922.)

On August 24th the Government received from the Government of India a draft of the Martial Law Ordinance and replied that they accepted the proposal to omit for the present the provision for Special Tribunals and Summary General Courts Martial, but asked for the inclusion of Calicut taluk in the Martial Law area. On the 26th the District Magistrate reported the extension of the rebellion to the Taluks of Kurumbranad and Wynad, the murder of the planter Mr. Eaton and the narrow escape of several other planters. The same day the Government asked the Government of India to include these two taluks in the Martial Law area. On the 28th the Martial Law Ordinance was received by telegram from the Government of India and communicated to the District Magistrate and other local officers. Subsequently there was a difference of opinion between this Government and the Government of India, as to the date to be notified for the commencement of Martial Law in the taluks of Kurumbranad and Wynad. This Government urged that the date should be the same as for the rest of the area, i.e., August 19th, but finally (30th) agreed reluctantly to the date being fixed as the 24th. A detachment of Leinsters was sent to Gudalur at the end of August and remained there till the middle of November, when their place was taken by Police. There was never any serious trouble in the Kurumbranad Taluk. On the 31st after a conference between the Civil, Naval and Military authorities at Calicut, the " Comus " left Calicut, and with the end of the month concluded the most *critical* period of the rebellion.

September.

The whole of the interior of the affected taluks was, however, in the hands of the rebels, and, as events turned out, it was to prove a long and arduous task to round them up and deal with them satisfactorily. They soon split up into different gangs and adopted guerilla methods of warfare, and, helped as they were by their superior mobility and the enclosed nature of the country, they presented a military problem of no little difficulty. Besides attacking the forces of the Crown when they got an opportunity to do so, the rebels terrorized the whole Hindu population and were guilty of many horrible atrocities and crimes including murders, rape, dacoity and forcible conversions to Muhammadanism. The daily reports of the Special Civil Officer, Mr. Evans [see section E. (e)] give a connected account of the campaign and only the more important occurrences and dates will be noticed here. One of the earliest problems and one that was a source of constant trouble throughout the rebellion was how to deal with the prisoners convicted by the Courts established under the Martial Law Ordinance. These Courts started working at the beginning of September and by the 6th 350 rebels had been convicted. This led to the suggestion of the Inspector-General of Prisons to start a jail for Mapilla prisoners out of the remnants of the Turkish prisoners of war camp at Bellary. The suggestion was first made at the beginning of September. The Inspector-General paid a personal visit to Bellary on the 17th and after consultation with the Military authorities the formation of the jail was sanctioned on the 24th. This relieved congestion to a certain extent, but by the beginning of December it contained about 3,000 convicted prisoners and all the ordinary jails were crowded. On August the 30th the Madras Government applied to the Government of India for the establishment of a Special Tribunal under the Martial Law Ordinance, to deal with the more serious cases. The Special Tribunal Ordinance was received on September the 5th, but contained certain unexpected provisions permitting appeals to the High Court. There was some difficulty in consequence in establishing the Special Tribunal and it did not start working until September 23rd.

On September 4th normal conditions were more or less restored in Calicut and civilians returned to their own bungalows. On September 7th the District Magistrate sent in his first proposals for action under the Mapilla Outrages Act and the Government approved the issue of a notification announcing that certain Amsams should be fined unless leading rebels were surrendered and loot given up.

On September 9th the District Magistrate sent up proposals for the formation of a force of Special Police which was originally intended for employment in the affected areas after the rebellion had been quelled, but which subsequently led to the formation

of the Special Armed Police Force of 700 men which materially assisted the military in the latter stages of the rebellion. The Government first sanctioned the raising of a force of 350 men in G.O. 694, dated 30th September 1921, and subsequently sanctioned the increase of this force to double its original numbers in G.O. 809, Judicial, dated 28th October 1921. In theory this force was intended for the occupation of areas cleared by the military, but in practice they saw a great deal of active service and did extremely good work.

On September 10th, His Excellency the Governor visited Malabar in company with the Chief Secretary. He held a conference with the military authorities at Tirur on the 11th and then proceeded to Calicut. His visit was cut short by the news of the impending arrest of Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali under warrants from the Bombay Government. Muhammad Ali was arrested at Waltair on the 14th September, and the next day Gandhi arrived in Madras and announced his intention of visiting Malabar. The same day he was warned by letter that the military authorities proposed to stop him and turn him back if he attempted to do so, and eventually he gave up the idea.

On September 16th a non-official relief fund was started in Malabar under the auspices of the District Magistrate. The number of refugees increased as the rebellion went on and their treatment afforded one of the most difficult problems of the rebellion. The Government declined to admit liability for the payment of compensation for losses suffered at the hands of the rebels, and actual relief measures were left in the hands of the non-official committee until Martial Law was withdrawn, when the Government sanctioned a scheme for the grant of loans on easy terms to those who needed them.

Military operations during September were directed to the pursuit of various rebel bands (under Variankunnath Kunhammad Haji, Chembrasseri Tangal and Sithi Koya Tangal) by various columns without much success. On September 23rd the Dorsets were ambushed and lost several men, and on September 26th Colonel Herbert's column was similarly ambushed and Colonel Herbert himself was wounded. On September 26th the General Officer Commanding visited Malabar and came to the conclusion that considerable re-inforcements were needed and that the institution of Military Courts was also a necessity. This led to a conference at Ootacamund on September 29th at which all the members of the Government were present including the Ministers, and the military were represented by General Burnett Stuart and Colonel Humphreys. There were at this time five militant gangs known to be in existence in the interior of the Ernad and Walluvanad taluks; no area had been cleared and consolidated, and the rebels with their superior intelligence and mobility were still masters of the situation to all intents and purposes.

October.

On October 1st therefore the Government addressed the Government of India explaining the position and supporting the General's request for re-inforcements in the shape of a Battalion of Gurkhas and a Battalion of Burmese troops accustomed to jungle warfare; and for the institution of Military Courts Martial. As a result of these representations the Kachin Chins arrived in Malabar on the 11th October and one Battalion of Gurkhas (2/8th) on October 16th and they were supplemented by a Pack Battery and various ancillary services such as wireless sets and armoured cars.

On October 14th Military Headquarters in Malabar moved from Tirur to Malappuram and remained there for the rest of the campaign. The Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance received on the 16th October, and the Martial Law (Special Magistrates) Ordinance received on October 14th afforded considerable relief to the Special Tribunal which had hitherto made very slow progress in the disposal of cases.

The new troops commenced operations on October 20th when the Gurkhas, Dorsets and armoured cars took part in a drive of the country near the scene of the Pukkottur battle The Gurkhas succeeded in coming to grips with a band of rebels and killed 46 of them mostly with the kukri, but instead of cowing the rebels this was the signal for increased activity on their part and there were signs of the trouble spreading to the Calicut taluk which had hitherto been quiet. Sir William Vincent, the Home Member of the Government of India, visited Malabar on the 19th and witnessed the operations of the 20th.

The General Officer Commanding also witnessed the operations on the 20th and came to the conclusion that in the long run it would be more economical to have an even larger number of troops to deal with the situation and therefore asked for another Battalion of Gurkhas and a Battalion of Garhwalis. These arrived in Malabar in the first week of November by which time the larger part of the Special Armed Police had been enrolled and provided with arms. In the interval before they came into action there had been several encounters with the rebels, and on October 25th the Dorsets had killed 246 Mapillas in the Melmuri area. Not all of these probably were active rebels, and the encounter seems to have had a considerable moral effect, for shortly afterwards petitions began to be received from amsams in the neighbourhood of Malappuram offering submission. By G.O. No. 726, dated October 24th, Mr. A. R. Knapp, C.B.E., I.C.S., was appointed Special Commissioner for Malabar affairs. The duties assigned to him were mainly connected with reconstruction. He left for Malabar on 28th October 1921.

November.

On the arrival of the re-inforcements mentioned above a regular drive was planned and carried out of the country north and west of the Beypore river in the Calicut taluk in order to prevent the spread of the rebellion and to ensure the safety of the communications

with the Wynad which had been threatened at the beginning of the month. A 10 days' programme was drawn up involving the employment of 4 Battalions and beginning on November 10th. In the course of these operations the troops met determined resistance from isolated bands of Mapillas who attacked in something like the true fanatical style. We sustained several casualties, including one British officer of the Gurkhas wounded, and over 300 rebels were killed; but in spite of the magnitude of the operations the country was not wholly cleared of rebels and a certain number succeeded in escaping through the line. Further the Mapillas in the interior of Ernad seized the opportunity of the absence of the majority of the troops to make an early morning surprise attack on the Pandikkad post which was held by a company of the Gurkhas.

This attack took place on November 13th; over 60 Mapillas succeeded in penetrating the post and they killed one British officer (Captain Averell) and inflicted a number of other casualties, but they paid dearly for the attempt and 234 of their dead bodies were burnt at Pandikkad the same day. The sweeping movement of the troops continued through the interior of the Ernad up to the hills behind Kalikavu and the country round Velliyancheri. At one time a large concentration of all the rebel gangs under the principal leaders was known to have taken place in the area in front of the troops, but it dispersed as they approached, and very few rebels were met during the concluding days of the drive. The drive, however, accomplished the purpose for which it was intended. The rebellion was prevented from spreading northwards, a certain number of active rebels were accounted for, the flag was shown through the heart of the enemy country, and a large display of military force helped to restore confidence, which was badly needed, in the ordinary population and had a considerable moral effect on the waverers among the Mapillas.

On November 12th the Government approved Mr. Evans' proposal to issue a proclamation offering what amounted to an amnesty to those who were concerned in a purely subordinate capacity in offences against the State or Government property unaccompanied by the use of criminal force, committed on or before August 26th, on the condition that they notified their submission and undertook to assist the Government in arresting known criminals and giving information about the movements of active rebels. By the first week in December the number of these formal surrenders had reached 27,000, and though it is true that the really active gangs and the principal leaders were still at large, and those who surrendered were not those who were wanted from a military point of view, still the moral effect of the movement was considerable.

On November 19th occurred the deplorable tragedy of the death of 60 convicted Mappilla prisoners due to slow suffocation and heat exhaustion while being conveyed from Tirur to Podanur in a badly ventilated van. An enquiry was immediately held under the Chairmanship of the Special Commissioner for Malabar Affairs assisted by three non-officials.

On November 22nd Mr. E. F. Thomas, the District Magistrate, went on leave and was succeeded by Mr. Hill, I.C.S.

December.

After the military drives were completed on November 25th the country was divided up into areas and particular areas were allotted to particular detachments of troops to deal with in detail. On December 3rd, the General came to Madras and it was agreed at a meeting with all the members of the Government that it was not necessary to ask for any more troops for Malabar; and shortly afterwards Mr. Evans gave it as his opinion that the rebellion was collapsing. During the week ending December 12th the Suffolks, the Chins, the Gurkhas, the Garhwalis and the Special Police all had successful encounters with the rebels in their respective areas, and the leaders with a diminishing number of followers were penned into the hills behind Mannarghat, at the foot of the Attapadi valley and in the south-east of the Calicut taluk. On December 15th a disquieting incident took place. A band of Mapillas made their way up the Nadghani ghat and attacked the police post at Pandalur in the Nilgiri-Wynad They killed three policemen and wounded five. The District Superintendent of Police, Mr. Furness, was at first reported missing, but after a very narrow escape he subsequently reached Ootacamund in safety. Pandalur is not far from Gudalur where a detachment of the Leinsters had been posted since the end of August. They were withdrawn and police took their place in November. This incident led to a demand for the extension of Martial Law to the Nilgiri-Wynad from the District Magistrate, Ootacamund, at a time when the military authorities were themselves considering the possibility of withdrawing Martial Law from Malabar. The Government did not support the demand, but sanctioned the enrolment of a further detachment of 50 armed police to be stationed at Pandalur when the military were withdrawn; and no further trouble occurred in the Nilgiri-Wynad.

At this stage in the rebellion the chief difficulty was to restore confidence in the Hindu population and to induce the jenmies to return to their homes.

On December 19th Chembrasseri Tangal, one of the chief rebel leaders, surrendered with his chief lieutenant; and the next day another most important leader, Sithi Koya Tangal was captured by the 2/9 Gurkhas with 12 members of his band and a number of firearms. His Excellency the Governor visited Malabar at the beginning of the Christmas

holidays, and as a result of these surrenders and other evidence that the rebellion for all practical purposes was nearly over, and with the concurrence of the General Officer Commanding, the Government after consulting Mr. Evans who came to Madras for a few days at the beginning of January, suggested to the Government of India that Martial Law might be withdrawn on January 13th—the day of the arrival of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Madras. They insisted, however, that before Martial Law was withdrawn a comprehensive ordinance should be promulgated giving the local Government the power to make such regulations as they might deem necessary for the maintenance of law and order and the restoration of normal conditions, and providing for the continuance of certain special courts for the trial of the very large numbers who had been arrested and the splitting up of the Special Tribunal into three Judges' Courts sitting separately. A draft ordinance on these lines was prepared and sent up to the Government of India on January 4th. Mr. Evans however reported on his return to Malabar on the 4th that a large rebel band under the Konnara Tangal had made its appearance south of the Beypore river near Kondotti and advised postponement of the withdrawal of Martial Law. Meanwhile the surrender or capture of important leaders continued. On December 23rd two important rebels, Kunhalavi and M. Abdulla Kutti were killed by the Special police. On December 26th Moidu Haji, a lieutenant of Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, surrendered at Melattur; and the remnants of Sithi Koya's band were captured at Mannarghat. On January 6th, Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji himself, the most important leader, with 21 followers and a number of rifles, was captured by a detachment of the Special Police at Chokad. Several important leaders however were still at large with a considerable though diminishing following. One was Karath Moideen Kutti Haji and two more were the Konnara Tangal and Avoker Musaliar. All efforts were devoted to pursuing them and the first was caught by the police on January 28th. Another rebel of some importance, Koyamu Haji was captured by the local police with the aid of local Mapillas on January 30th and on February 3rd a band of four desperate rebels armed with the last remaining .303 rifle which had been lost by the troops were surrounded in a kalam near Mankada and died fighting.

January 1922.

Meanwhile steady progress had been made in the withdrawal of troops from the affected area. The 10th Pack Battery, R.G.A., left Tirur on December 19th, the 83rd W.L.I. and the Pioneers followed on the 27th; the Leinsters left on January 2nd; headquarters and one Company of the Suffolks returned to Wellington on January 4th; and on January 9th the 9th Field Company Q.V.O. Sappers and Miners returned to Bangalore and the Armoured Car Company left for Madras, where they were required in connexion with the Royal visit. They subsequently went on to Guntur where a campaign for the non-payment of taxes had been started. The 28th Mule Corps left Tirur on January 19th, the 2/8th Gurkhas left the same week, the Chin Kachin Battalion sailed for Burma at the end of January, and the 2/9th Gurkhas left Malabar in the second week in February.

February

At the beginning of February there was a debate in the Legislative Assembly on the withdrawal of Martial Law and the Home Member of the Government of India explained that the Martial Law Ordinance which was only valid for six months would expire automatically on February 25th and that it was proposed to substitute for it an ordinance which would enable the Local Government to carry on the administration under the exceptional circumstances which still obtained in Malabar.

The ordinance, known as the Malabar Restoration of Order Ordinance, was drawn up on the lines of the draft sent to the Government of India at the beginning of January; and after certain alterations had been made at the suggestion of this Government it was finally published in a *Gazette Extraordinary* on February 25th together with the Regulations framed under it, and Martial Law was withdrawn.

The Military forces in Malabar then consisted of two companies of the Suffolks and the 1/39th Garhwalis and the two rebel leaders Konnara Tangal and Avoker Musaliar were still at large but hard pressed and confined to the hills in Calicut with about 50 followers.

(ii) NOTE ON THE REBELLION BY Mr. F. B. EVANS, C.S.I., I.C.S.

I.—The Outbreak.

The main facts are conveniently set out in the Special Tribunal's judgment in the Ali Musaliar Case (No. 7/21), from which the following extracts may be quoted.

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4. " It was not mere fanaticism, it was not agrarian trouble, it was not destitution that worked on the minds of Ali Musaliar and his followers. The evidence conclusively shows that it was the influence of the Khilafat and non-co-operation movements that drove them to their crime.

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Khilafat Committees were formed in Tirurangadi and Tanur in October-November 1920 and there were similar committees in existence in Malappuram and Pukkottur. Ali Musaliar who has been a teacher of the Koran at Kizhakkepalli Mosque for the last fourteen years was one of the Secretaries at Tirurangadi. Kunhi Kadir was Secretary at Tanur. Kunhi Koya Thangal was President at Malappuram and Vadakkeveettil Muhammad was Secretary at Pukkottur.

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Vadakkeveettil Muhammad was a disciple of Ali Musaliar. Kunhi Koya Thangal was also his great friend and associate. Kunhi Kadir, an influential man of Tanur, attended a meeting at Tanur at which Ali Musaliar spoke and later on, as we shall see, carried out vigorously the policy then outlined. One Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji a Khilafat leader at Nellikuth, the birth-place of Ali Musaliar, is a relation of Ali Musaliar by marriage.

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The authorities in due course took security proceedings under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code, against some leaders of the Khilafat movement at Tirurangadi, but apparently not against Ali Musaliar himself. The inquiry was held at Tirurangadi and caused much local excitement.

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Mapillas enraged at the proceedings collected in threatening attitude at Parappanangadi Railway station when the prisoners were despatched to Cannanore. In other parts of the district there was similar Khilafat activity and security proceedings were taken there.

We do not know the precise objects of these various Khilafat Committees. But so far as Tirurangadi is concerned, we know very well from the evidence what the preaching of Ali Musaliar was, and the result on his followers, and the various Khilafat activities there.

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Ali Musaliar was preaching violence and saying that the Amir of Afghanistan would come to overthrow the British Government and conquer India and Gandhi and Ali brothers were determined to help them and Mapillas should help Gandhi and the Ali brothers. He advised that Government officers must be murdered and British Courts must be boycotted. He collected arms and ammunition and used to give orders for swords in different places.

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In addition to this which is an obvious preparation for war, he was very busy in getting together bands of what are termed " Khilafat Volunteers."

Khilafat volunteers must, we should think, be unpaid soldiers, who are meant to fight, when occasion arises, in support of the cause for which they are enrolled. This would be the ordinary interpretation of the word " Volunteers." Such volunteers have certainly been enrolled in large numbers in this district and have in due course fought accordingly.

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The volunteer was made to take an oath by holding the Koran in one hand and a sword in the other. Ali Musaliar administered the oath. These volunteers wear a uniform consisting of khaki trousers and coat, red Turkey cap with an emblem on it. Ali Musaliar's volunteers used to go about the road with their uniforms on and with weapons, long knives.

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It is clear from the evidence that by May and June the volunteer forces had been thoroughly organized and arms were in preparation.

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On June 8th, Ramzan day, the first accused headed a procession of 300 to 400 Khilafat volunteers, who were mostly dressed in khaki and had swords, and went from Kizhakkepalli at 3 p.m. to the compound next to the public offices at Tirurangadi, where Mapillas, killed in one of the outbreaks of the last century, were buried.

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The precise purpose for which the volunteers went to the compound is not proved. It is not proved, as the prosecution would suggest, that they went there to consecrate themselves to the Khilafat cause by the memory of martyrs who had died for the faith. But there must have been some such purpose. It may reasonably be inferred that just as the Mambram Thangal's tomb had become the chosen shrine where the Sahib invoked the blessing of Heaven on his enterprise and prayers at this shrine preceded some desperate deed (vide District Gazetteer, pages 84 and 85) this burial place of the outlaws of a former generation was selected for offering prayers for the success of the Khilafat cause.

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P.W. 2 went to Tirurangadi to question Ali Musaliar about these doings but the latter said he was a non-cooperator and refused to meet him.

On June 18th P.W. 2 visited Tirurangadi again to interview him. The first accused met him with a mob of 600 Mapillas among whom were 50 Khilafat volunteers wearing uniforms and emblems and carrying knives in sheaths.

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There was a rumour that he was going to arrest Ali Musaliar. So a large party of Ali Musaliar's adherents from Pukkottur and Pudiyat, some 400 to 500 strong, some wearing Khilafat shirt and cap with the crescent and all armed with knives, marched to Tirurangadi under the leadership of Vadakkeveettil Muhammad and Karada Mohiudin Kutti Haji, on the 18th and 19th June and met P.W. 2 in a menacing attitude; but he assured them that Ali Musaliar was not to be arrested and they went back. This extraordinary incident shows that Ali Musaliar and his men were openly defying the authorities and were indeed taking charge of the situation. Nothing could be done against them. It shows further not only that the first accused had completed a volunteer organization at Tirurangadi and succeeded in arming the members but that he could depend upon sister organizations rallying to his support against the Government.

To counteract the effect of Khilafat agitation a meeting of Moulvis had been arranged to take place at Ponnani on July 24th. The first accused turned up there with his volunteer force—about 50 to 100 volunteers—armed with big Khilafat knives, and clad in Khilafat uniform marching under a red flag with shouts of "Allah-ho-Akbar." Unlicensed processions had been prohibited by a police order but the volunteers rushed the police in the bazaar. A breach of the peace was however averted.

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The situation was rapidly growing worse. The next incident of which evidence has been let in proves the strength of the agitation and the power of the Khilafat party to paralyze the administration. Ali Musaliar is not directly connected with it nor any of the other accused but it arose at Pukkottur which had sent volunteers to his support at Tirurangadi in June and intimately concerned Vadakkeveettil Muhammad. This man was employed under the sixth Tirumulpad of Nilambur who has a Kovilagam at Pukkottur and generally resides there. Differences had arisen between them. Towards the end of July a house-breaking was reported in Pukkottur. The Manjeri Sub-Inspector went to investigate it but the Mapillas opposed it. He reported this to the Inspector (P.W. 8) and searched the house of Muhammad. This led to very serious trouble. P.W. 2 says that on 31st July and 1st August all the Mapillas of Pukkottur and Pudayat rose in revolt. When the Circle Inspector turned up on the 1st of August at Pukkottur he found 2,000 Mapillas armed with swords, sticks and spears. Several of them had Khilafat uniforms and emblems on their caps.

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The Mapillas shouted that they would turn the Kovilagam into a mosque and that Ali Musaliar had ordered the heads of the Police officers from the Deputy Superintendent downwards and of the adhigari of Valluvambram to be cut off because they were working against Khilafat. P.W. 8 escaped to Malappuram and the crisis which had developed was averted only by the aged Kunhi Thangal coming and pacifying the Pukkottur men. They insisted however that there were to be no arrests and no attempts to serve legal processes in Pukkottur. Three days later, the Deputy Superintendent (P.W.2) visited Pukkottur in order to stop these hostile demonstrations. He was met by an armed mob of 600 Mapillas, prominent among whom were V. Muhammad, K. Mohiudin Kutti Haji, Parayeri Kunhormu Kutti and Thorayil Kunhamad Haji, all of whom are, according to P.W. 2, disciples of Ali Musaliar. They expressed their determination to kill the sixth Tirumulpad because he had been instrumental in getting the Police to search Muhammad's house P.W. 2 pacified them and visited the place again on the 9th and 14th August. He testifies that no legal process could be executed in Pukkottur as the Mapillas of Pukkottur, Pudiyat and Tirurangadi were prepared to rise in armed rebellion.

The armed rebellion was not long in coming. On the 20th August the rebellion broke out in full force in Tirurangadi.

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P.W. 2 describes what happened on the 20th. On that date the District Magistrate went with a party of Police and troops to Tirurangadi. They arrived there early in the morning intending to surprise the place and to arrest the first accused and some others and to search some houses for war-knives, the possession of which is prohibited by the Malabar War Knives Act (Act XXV of 1854). The first accused was not to be found but three others were arrested. The 18th accused played a trick upon the police. He told Mr. Hitchcock that he would point out where one of the persons wanted was. He showed a house, went inside the house and disappeared. The Police left a party in the bazaar to look for the absconding persons and went to the Kacheri. Mr. Rowley and second Lieutenant Johnstone went to meet a mob on the east of the Kacheri. Then at the Kacheri information was received that a large mob was coming from Parappanangadi side to attack the troops and the Police. So a party of reserve constables under Mr. Mainwaring and Mr. Hitchcock left Tirurangadi about 11 o'clock to meet them. A small party of Leinsters went with them. Two miles from Tirurangadi they met a mob numbering more than 3,000, who were armed with knives and sticks. There was a standard bearer with a Khilafat flag. Kunhi Kadir was the leader. The Mapillas attacked the troops, who fired in return, and some of the mob were killed and Kunhi Kadir was captured along with others. The Police and troops returned to Tirurangadi. The Police party that was there was being attacked by another mob which had also to be dispersed by fire. It was then learnt that Messrs. Rowley, Johnstone, and head constable Mohiudin had been killed by the mob and that another head constable and a constable were missing. In the evening the mutilated dead bodies of Messrs. Rowley and Johnstone were found on the public road and also the dead body of Mohiudin.

The next morning the District Magistrate, Deputy Inspector-General and District Superintendent of Police with a column of troops and Police escorting the prisoners, left for Calicut via Parappanangadi. They were met with great opposition on the way. They were attacked at different places by large mobs. They found the Railway station at Parappanangadi looted. Rails had been removed. The column had to walk along the line and had to go very slowly. At Vadakkambat bridge they found a large crowd actually engaged in damaging the bridge and tearing up the rails. They had to disperse this mob too with fire. At Feroke a relief train, which had been brought up by Mr. Tottenham from Calicut, took them all into Headquarters.

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As soon as the District Magistrate's back was turned the rebels burnt the public buildings at Tirurangadi. P.W. 5 saw this himself and speaks about it. They said that they did not want Government buildings and would have their own buildings.

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There is no evidence that Ali Musaliar and the other accused (except 18 and 32) were taking any part personally in the doings of the 20th, which have just been narrated. But the history of that day is necessary to show the grievous condition of rebellion to which this part of the district had been brought by the Khilafat movement of which Ali Musaliar was an energetic advocate. It was to arrest him among others that the District Magistrate went to Tirurangadi. Kunhi Kadir of Tanur was obviously going with his force to his relief and the whole evidence leads to the inference that the outbreaks of the 20th were the inevitable result of the teachings of Ali Musaliar and were exactly what he intended to bring about. He knew that steps would be taken to arrest him. He prepared for it, and was ready for it, and the events of the 20th were the signal for the general rebellion.

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Ali Musaliar had been hiding on the 20th. He had left his usual abode, the Kizhakkepalli mosque, and could not be found. Next day after the departure of the troops he emerged from his hiding place. At about 3 or 4 p.m. the Mapillas came and took P.W. 5 to Ali Musaliar who was standing in the bazaar at the cross roads. Ali Musaliar was wearing a garment of Gandhi cloth. He had a long robe reaching down to the feet and was wearing a Turkey cap covered with green cloth. He had a sword in his hand.

Pokker's evidence, in his own words continues: "I was taken before him. He had many other persons with him. He said 'you deserve death.' You have been against us for some time. Since you are born a Muhammadan, I do not kill you, but you must repeat 'Kalima' and be taken into our fold. Before I uttered 'Kalima' the first accused told me 'where is your adhigari and your Sub-Inspector and Circle Inspector and your Ammu and your Hitchcock and Thomas, where are these persons and where am I? Am I not your King? I am King to-day, you must all obey me.' I uttered the Kalima, which is the formula uttered by persons when they are converted to the Muhammadan faith. I was made to utter Kalima because I was assisting the Government."

On the 22nd Ali Musaliar installed himself in the Jamaat mosque as indeed is admitted by him. On that day he with some volunteers and some other Mapillas marched in procession with a flag shouting " I am the King " and also uttering " Takbir." One party was saying " Ali Musaliar is King." Another party shouted " Takbir " which is the same as Allah-ho-Akbar.

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Ali Musaliar was holding office in the mosque and Khilafat office. He issued orders that nobody should leave the place and that all should assemble at the mosque and fight against the British Army. He also declared that the ferry and shandy belonged to them and not to the British Raj and they would collect the revenue thereafter."

2. Why matters did not come to a climax on 1st August with the murder of the Inspector is something of a mystery as difficult to explain as many subsequent failures of the rebels to persevere and press home their advantages. Why for instance having taken immense trouble to break up the railway and cut the wires on August 20th and 21st did they never again even interfere with their repair? It could have been done with the greatest of ease. I think the reason must be partly an ingrained fear of the Sirkar, which even non-co-operation and Khilafat teaching has not wholly undermined and partly an innate incapacity to elaborate any plans or organization with thoroughness. Also it is the fact that the rebels won a moral victory on August 1st.

3. In the face of much that points the other way I personally am inclined to believe that immediate action at Pukkottur in the 1st week of August with the Police and troops then available would not have been unduly dangerous and might possibly have saved the situation; but it is not a point about which I would like to dogmatise.

4. Of activities elsewhere than in the Tirurangadi and Malappuram areas the following may be cited as specific examples:—

(*a*) Some time in July M. P. Narayana Menon and Kattilasseri Muhammad Musaliar went to Tuvur and held a meeting in the mosque ; a Khilafat Association was formed with Chembrasseri Kunhi Koya Tangal, of later fame in the rebellion, as President ; Volunteers were enrolled and an anti-drink campaign started and the adhigari was marked down as a man to be killed for reporting against the Khilafat organization. (Adhigari's statement.)

(*b*) Some time in May or June Ali Musaliar went to Nellikuth, the home of Variankunnath Kunhammad Haji, and started a Khilafat Committee. In July, M. P. Narayana Menon and Kattilasseri Muhammad Musaliar visited Nellikuth and Pandikkad ; they were collecting money " for Swaraj " and the Musaliar " prayed in the Nellikuth mosque."

(This is from Variankunnath Kunhammad Haji's statement: he says that there was no Khilafat; " Khilafat is Turkish matter "; but it is obvious that the preaching of these two was the same everywhere, viz., organization for Khilafat Raj when necessary.)

(*c*) The Kattilasseri Musaliar and Parambott Achutha Kutti Menon visited Tiruvazhamkunnu at the end of July or the beginning of August, and asked the Mapillas to start a " Congress Khilafat Committee." (Tiruvazhamkunnu Adhigari's statement; he says that he kept out of it; he says that Khilafat means " The way "; he didn't understand the details. He has been shot.)

5. There is similar evidence in statements made by the Chembrasseri Tangal, Sithi Koya Tangal and others of visits made during the latter half of July and 1st half of August by M. P. Narayana Menon and Kattilasseri Musaliar to Karuvarakundu (6th August), Chembrasseri, Mannarghat, etc., at which " Congress Khilafat Committees " were started, volunteers organized and subscriptions collected. Some of them say that by Khilafat they understood some " Charitable activity " or the " Strict observance of Muslim ritual "; others say that " Non-violence " was taught; others more honestly, that by Khilafat they understood " Muslim Rule."

6. There is nothing specific in the evidence that I have seen to prove definitely that the campaign of M. P. Narayana Menon and the Kattilasseri Musaliar in July and August was connected with Ali Musaliar's more openly rebellious activities at Tirurangadi and Pukkottur; but it is a fair inference from Variankunnath Kunhammad Haji's statement that the visit of these two followed that of Ali Musaliar in Nellikuth. And that some general plan of rebellion had been outlined from Tirurangadi and preached during July and August from Nilambur to Mannarghat is sufficiently established by facts such as that at once on the 21st August, as soon as the news of what happened, or rather, what was alleged to have happened, at Tirurangadi on the 20th reached Pandikkad, the Chembrasseri Tangal, the chief local Khilafat President, came out and divided up the country into " Khilafat Kingdoms " and appointed " Rulers." (This is from Variankunnath Kunhammad Haji's statement.)

7. I think it improbable that any definite date had been settled for a general rising or that any detailed plan of campaign had been drawn up; but I think that there is little doubt that by the middle of August at least Ali Musaliar and other leaders thought that their organization was sufficiently advanced to enable them to be sure that when a message was sent round there would be simultaneous outbreaks on uniform lines throughout Ernad and most of Walluvanad and Ponnani.

8. *Tirurangadi, August* 20.—I doubt whether the movement of troops was really a surprise; the failure to find Ali Musaliar and other men wanted suggests that something at least was known about it. It was proved in the trial of Kunhi Kadir of Tanur (case 4/21, Special Tribunal) that a man from Tirurangadi had got to Tanur by 8-30 a.m. and reported the arrival of the troops there, and said that he had been sent to raise Tanur to rescue Ali Musaliar and destroy the troops; and the crowds that attacked in the afternoon came from both Kottakkal and Pukkottur and must have been summoned similarly from Tirurangadi as soon as the troops arrived.

9. It is not easy to understand why the rebels did not attack the Deputy Tahsildar's office at night; though they were beaten back by the Leinsters in the afternoon they had not suffered severely and they could apparently have mustered large enough numbers and they knew that Tirurangadi was isolated. Presumably they thought it best to send out to the east the story that the Mambram mosque had been " burned " or destroyed, and the District Magistrate and District Superintendent of Police killed, and so make sure of the completeness of the rebellion. This was the story that got to Manjeri, Pandikkad, Tuvur, Karuvarakundu, etc. on the 21st August 1921 (according to the statements of Variankunnath Kunhammad Haji and Kozhisseri Mammad) and according to the Chembrasseri Tangal a written message was sent round to that effect by Ali Musaliar himself. I think there is little doubt that this rallying cry had the decisive effect in stirring up the old " Fanatical Zone " and it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was deliberately adopted in the discussion that took place in the mosque at Tirurangadi on the night of the 20th. There is some evidence that the story was afterwards sent down south also to Chowghat and beyond; but the predominant motive in the attacks on Government buildings and dacoities in Ponnani and Walluvanad was to establish Khilafat Raj rather than to die in revenge for an insult to the faith; the evidence in a large number of dacoity cases before the Tribunal was that the mob leaders said " There is no British Government any more; we are Khilafat people; you must give money for Khilafat "; and Ali Musaliar himself after the authorities left Tirurangadi on the 21st immediately set himself up as " King." It is of course really impossible to differentiate between religious and political motives when you are dealing with a true Muhammadan, but I think the Khilafat leaders such as Ali Musaliar were clever enough to know that it would be of great assistance to their rebellion to have some clearly religious crime to put to the Ernad Mapilla, though " pure Khilafat " was enough for the more sophisticated parts of Ponnani and Walluvanad. I refer to the point because various persons have attempted to make political capital out of the " fanatical " elements in the rebellion. There is ample evidence that the main motive of the leaders everywhere was to substitute Islam Raj for the British Raj; even the arch fanatic Variankunnath Kunhammad Haji called himself " King " and " Colonel," not " Prophet "; but there is little doubt that everywhere when necessary they appealed to religious motives to urge on their followers, relying on alleged particular insults to the faith, etc.

10. The questions have been raised (1) whether a more vigorous offensive by the troops and Police when they first came into contact with the mobs on the 20th August would have had a decisive effect in nipping the rising in the bud, and (2) whether it was wise for them to leave Tirurangadi on the 21st. I think that both Police and Leinsters were unduly backward in taking the offensive; but I doubt whether more drastic action would have made much difference, since I believe that the word for a general rising had gone round before the opposing parties came into contact. But I think that a more vigorous offensive should have been tried. No doubt the " Manual of Instructions " and all that led up to it, had its effect. As to staying at Tirurangadi, it was impossible for want of food, and that was perhaps a defect in the plan. There is no doubt that the retreat to Calicut, however inevitable, had a bad moral effect generally. Later rebellion experience proves, I think, that a force of 170 rifles (the number that they had in all at Tirurangadi) with Lewis guns is sufficient to deal with practically any number of Mapillas; except perhaps at the Pukkottur battle the number of real fanatical " diehards " seldom amounted to more than 10 per cent of the gross total.

11. Between 21st and 25th August most of the public offices in Ernad, Walluvanad and Ponnani, north of the river, were attacked, and a very large number of Hindu houses looted and liquor shops burnt in these taluks and also in the south-east of Calicut taluk. Offices at Tanur and Parappanangadi were sacked on the 20th at Tirur, Manjeri, Nilambur and Kottakal on the 21st, at Perintalmanna and Mannarghat on the 22nd; the railway line was broken in many places, from Feroke to Pallipuram, mostly on the 21st; for lengths of a mile every key was removed and every other pot-sleeper smashed; most of the main roads were blocked on the same day, trees being dropped across and bridges and culverts broken. The dacoities were mostly on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th. The crowds were mainly composed of Mapillas, but in many parts of Walluvanad and some parts of Ponnani they included Nambudiris, Nayars and Tiyyans, sometimes as leaders, as for instance in the attacks on the public offices at Perintalmanna and Mannarghat. In all cases the cry was the same; " There was no longer any Government; they must obey the Khilafat Government and hand over arms and money and paddy for Khilafat use "; cries of " Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai " " Shaukat Ali-ki-jai " were mingled with the Takbir.

12. *Tirur.*—There has been some criticism of the "surrender" at Tirur. The facts are as follows:—On the 20th 1 Head constable and 17 Police constables of the reserve and two privates of the Leinsters arrived from Parappanangadi with ammunition and luggage which they had been given to take on to Tirurangadi, but which they had been prevented from so taking by the mob that had gone from Tanur and Parappanangadi to attack Tirurangadi, there were also at Tirur 2 Inspectors, 3 Sub-Inspectors, 2 local Head constables and 8 Police constables. News came in of the looting of the offices at Tanur and Parappanangadi and an attack on the Tirur offices was threatened that night, but it was not made. Next morning the Tirur Mapillas were reinforced by large crowds from surrounding amsams and from Tirurangadi and other distant places; the total numbers are put at over 10,000. The railway line north of the station was torn up and the goods waggons in the station looted; and the mob threatened the Deputy Tahsildar's office, saying that they would murder all officials and all who helped them and shouting all the usual non-co-operation and Khilafat cries. The Sub-Magistrate and police decided that resistance would only lead to their being burnt out with useless slaughter and so they parleyed, agreeing to throw their arms and ammunition into the river as a guarantee that they would not be used against the mob; but as these negotiations were about to be completed a more infuriated section of the mob rushed in and got upstairs and succeeded in capturing most of the arms and ammunition. The Khilafat flag was hoisted over the office. What exactly happened then is not clear; but some at least of the Khilafat leaders were not out for murder and the lives of the Police and European privates were saved. The latter were hidden for a time in the warehouse of the local Khilafat Secretary Muhammad Haji, with the assistance of Mr. Manjeri Rama Ayyar, and subsequently in the house of Mr. Adinarayana Ayyar. Records were destroyed and a good deal of damage done to the office on the 21st, but general looting was kept in check by the mob leaders. Tirur was however in complete possession of the rebels, until the railway was restored and military arrived on the 27th.

13. *At Manjeri* what happened is briefly as follows:—

On the 21st morning it was known that a gang of Pukkottur Mapillas had marched to Nilambur destroying bridges and wires and had attacked the Nilambur Kovilagam and murdered 13 persons there, and were returning to loot Manjeri. The Police arms were hidden and the mob was at first diverted from Manjeri by the Inspector, but they came back at night and attacked the Taluk Office; they destroyed records and stamps, but did not on this occasion succeed in opening the treasury boxes which contained about 6 lakhs of rupees. The next day they came again and did more damage; but it was on the 23rd when gangs from Pandalur, Pandikkad, Kalikavu and Karuvarakundu came that the most serious attack was made: the treasury was looted completely and prisoners released from the Sub-Jail. Finally on the 30th Variankunnath Kunhammad Haji's gang came on from Anakkayam after murdering the retired Inspector, Khan Bahadur Chekkutti Sahib and burnt the District Munsif's office. Troops reached Manjeri on 2nd September.

14. *Malappuram.*—Two officers and 30 men of the Leinsters arrived on the 20th morning from Calicut, as previously arranged in connexion with the Tirurangadi operation; that afterwards news was received of the looting at Tanur, and of the murder of the policemen who had been sent with the motor busses to Tirurangadi to bring on the force from Tirurangadi to Malappuram in accordance with the original plan, and it was decided to concentrate troops and police in the police barracks. On the 21st there was a good deal of looting in lower Malappuram and the wires were cut and the road blocked on the hill. For the next four days the Malappuram garrison was more or less beseiged though it was possible for the troops to make sallies for food and also to make a few arrests. On Friday the 26th they were relieved by a column from Calicut under Captain McEnroy; it arrived in the afternoon after having fought a very severe battle at Pukkottur. Further troops arrived on the 28th; and Malappuram was the advance headquarters of the military, till it became general headquarters in October.

15. *Perintalmanna.*—The taluk and other public offices were attacked on the 22nd by a local mob; amongst the leaders were some Hindu non-co-operators, one of whom held court as a Magistrate after the capture of the office. The police arms were captured, and records destroyed, but not very much damage was done otherwise. The local officials and others then negotiated with some of the rebels and formed a sort of vigilance committee which prevented further disturbances for the time, though here as elsewhere the place was under rebel control. On the 28th more violent rebel gangs from Karuvarakundu and Melattur came and demanded the surrender of the arms, etc., which the local mob had captured on the 22nd, and being met with some opposition they attacked the offices and completed their destruction and drove out all the officials and Hindus. Troops reached Perintalmanna on the 6th September.

16. *Ponnani.*—There was considerable local excitement when the news from Tirurangadi and Tirur reached Ponnani, but the Khilafat and non-co-operation leaders seem to have thought discretion the better part of valour and restrained the mob. There were fairly strongly anti-Khilafat influences at Ponnani, strengthened by authority in the July meeting. The Taluk office was in danger on the 21st night when some of the more violent of the Tirur rebels arrived; but they were successfully opposed and no attack developed.

The offices were protected by a Mapilla guard but the officials had a precarious time for a week. The mob from Tirur and outside burnt a good many toddy shops on its way back and for two or three days there were a series of arsons and dacoities throughout the taluk south of the river. At Chowghat and other places to the south there were alarms and local guards had to be mobilized to protect public offices but little actual damage was done.

17. Apart from Tirurangadi and Pukkottur the most serious early development of the rebellion was in the country which would be enclosed roughly by lines drawn between, Nilambur, Manjeri, Perintalmanna and Mannarghat. This country was divided up into areas or kingdoms and allotted at a meeting at Pandikkad on the 21st, and some attempt was made at once to organize Khilafat Raj. In Tuvur according to the Adhigari, the Chembrasseri Tangal was proclaimed King by beat of tom-tom, and the Tuvur mosque was declared the " huzur "; the Khilafat Code was to be law, with the old punishments of mutilation, etc.; all arms were to be handed over to the " King's " agents, as well as money and food on demand; no one was to leave the amsam without permission and no letters to be sent. The Nilambur kingdom was organized similarly under Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji. The District Forest Officer was threatened with death if he did not accept Islam, and was only saved by the intercession of Mapillas from Mambad. A Sub-Inspector and two constables from the Nilgiris were murdered at the frontier of the Raj; no one was allowed to enter or proceed without a pass. Later on this Raj was still more strictly administered. In Mannarghat the rebellion was started by the Chembrasseri Tangal on 22nd August 1921; the Elaya Nayar and other Hindus certainly took some part in the outbreak. Sithi Koya Tangal was made the leader (according to him against his will) at a second visit by the Chembrasseri Tangal a week later.

18. Fighting gangs were organized over this area on something of a military basis from the first, and Police stations and houses systematically looted for arms. Though Police and other officials had to hide and run for their lives, there were comparatively few murders of private persons at first; at Nilambur the murders on the 21st were rather a special case due partly to resistance at the Kovilagam and partly to special grudge, and at Pullangode Mr. Eaton's murder was hardly deliberately pre-meditated; but the requirements of allegiance to Islam and the Khilafat soon began to be more rigorously enforced and by the end of September there had been nearly 50 " executions "for refusal. There would no doubt have been more if the worst rebel areas had not been quickly evacuated by the great majority of Hindus.

II.—Military Operations.

First phase.—The position at the time of the promulgation of Martial Law and of the arrival of the first main force in the field (August 26th) was more or less as follows:—

The whole of Ernad and Ponnani north of the river and almost the whole of Walluvanad were in a state of open rebellion; no Government officer could function in those areas; and large parts had already been parcelled out into rebel " kingdoms " and armed gangs were being organized in them; dacoities were rife in South Ponnani and South-east Calicut and there was danger of a general rising in both these areas; Railway communication had been opened up to Tanur from Calicut and up to Kuttipuram from the east, but the line had to be patrolled; all the main roads in Ernad and Walluvanad were blocked and all wires cut.

2. *Pukkottur, August 26th.*—The object of the move which led to the Pukkottur battle was to relieve the small garrison which was holding out at Malappuram, as a preliminary to the more general offensive that would begin as soon as the main force from Bangalore got into position; it was also reported that rebels were concentrated near Kondotti and it was intended to engage them if possible. The enemy had in fact laid a very formidable ambush at Pukkottur, no doubt with the object of catching any column that marched to the relief of Malappuram. There were men from both Tirurangadi and from Nellikuth in the battle, and it is not improbable that the plan was made in communication with both Ali Musaliar and Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji though details were the work of the original " Pukkottur gang " which included ex-sepoys. The column consisted of 100 Leinsters (with Lewis guns) and 70 special Police; enemy numbers are very uncertain, but they probably ran well into four figures; their position was carefully chosen and a large proportion were out to die; at one stage matters were distinctly critical. In the result over 300 rebels were killed; our losses were three killed and four wounded. The rebel casualties were no doubt so high because they rushed on again and again in fanatical fury; but the result shows that with Lewis guns and proper handling a company of trained troops has not much to fear from any Mapilla attack.

The effect of the defeat on the Mapillas is uncertain; it may have prevented a battle at Tirurangadi on the 30th and it was probably one reason why the rebels avoided any big offensive for so long afterwards; but its direct effect seems to have been less than might have been expected.

3. The information in possession of the Military Commander was at first very sketchy; and as nothing definite was known about the garrison at Malappuram and Tirurangadi was still reported to be the storm centre, with a concentration of anything up to 3,000 rebels, the first move ordered was one column from Kuttipuram to Malappuram, and thence to

Tirurangadi, to be joined there by another column marching from Tirur. The first column reached Malappuram on August 28th, and found it already relieved by the column from Calicut. The two columns effected their junctions at Tirurangadi on the 30th; they had met with no opposition and they found no enemy concentration at Tirurangadi ready for battle. The village was deserted, but the Jamath mosque was occupied by a number of Mapillas who refused to surrender. One column was therefore left to surround the mosque and the other sent back to Malappuram. Next morning the rebels opened fire from the mosque and some rushed out; twenty-four in all were killed and thirty-eight surrendered including Ali Musaliar; a few had escaped across the river in the night. Sixteen fire-arms were taken, a quantity of ammunition and a large number of swords. The second column then went on to Malappuram.

4. The surrender at Tirurangadi and the failure to find any big concentration suggested doubts whether the rebels were prepared to "give battle" anywhere; but as there were fairly definite reports of big armed gangs moving about in the east, it was decided to send out two columns, one through Ernad and the other through Walluvanad, to visit the principal places and try to engage the gangs. Neither of these columns met with any opposition; the Ernad column visited Pandikkad, Wandur, Nilambur and Edavanna in the first week of September but failed to get into touch with any gang; the places visited were quiet if not deserted; the other column visited Perintalmanna (where they recovered arms that had been taken at the sack of the Taluk office), and took a good many prisoners) Mannarghat and Melattur (both of which were deserted); but could get no reliable information of any big gangs.

5. It was therefore decided to post garrisons at Manjeri, Pandikkad, Tuvur, Wandur, Edavanna, Nilambur and Perintalmanna, whose duty it would be to operate round the posts and make arrests on information from the Police, and also to have two movable columns based on Wandur and Pandikkad to move as circumstances indicated. Information pointed to two principal gangs, one led by Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji moving between Nilambur and Pandikkad and the other under Chembrasseri Tangal operating in the Tuvur-Melattur area. Garrisons were posted accordingly in the second and third weeks of September and the movable columns went out, but little definite progress was achieved and on the 24th September on a review of the situation it was decided to ask for reinforcements. It was becoming apparent that the rebels had chosen to adopt Guerilla tactics; both movable columns had got near gangs on three or four occasions, but had seldom succeeded in engaging in more than skirmishes or firing at long ranges, the rebel gangs splitting up and re-uniting without difficulty in country that was all in favour of such tactics. Little had also been effected by the post garrisons, while there had been several more or less successful ambushes of columns along the main roads. In North Ponnani the troops had been equally unsuccessful in rounding up the rebels who there worked in smaller bands rather after the manner of dacoits. In the Tirurangadi and Pukkottur areas which had been more or less left alone by the troops since August 31st, rebel gangs were increasing in activity.

6. The situation remained much the same, and certainly showed little improvement, up to the middle of October when a Battalion of Chins and one of Gurkhas took the field. In East Ernad and in Walluvanad from Mannarghat to Melattur the country was still in the hands of the rebels, though we occupied posts at all the important places; no roads were safe and all supplies had to be escorted; rebel spies were everywhere and our scouts were frequently murdered; the few Hindus who remained in the area were given the choice of Islam or death, and those suspected of helping the troops were freely murdered; armed gangs aggregating probably over 5,000, were waging active war round Mannarghat, Melattur, Tuvur, Karuvarakundu, Kalikavu, Nilambur, Pandalur, Manjeri and Pukkottur; in West Ernad murders and dacoities were on the increase and there were indications of the imminence of a more violent outburst in the Kondotti and Arikkod areas; in North Ponnani there had been a serious recrudescence of murders and dacoities; the police had been driven out from two Police stations that they had re-occupied, and military operations had failed to achieve any tangible result against the dacoits; there was a general panic all along the Railway on both sides from Kuttipuram to Feroke. In fact, though probably more than 700 rebels had been killed and more than 1,000 arrested, though authority had been re-established in South Ponnani and in Walluvanad south of the Thutha river and in headquarters such as Tirur, Perintalmanna, Manjeri and though Calicut taluk as a whole had been kept quiet, it can hardly be said that much net progress had been made in quashing the rebellion by the middle of October.

Second phase.

The second phase of operations is that which extended from the arrival of the 2/8 Gurkhas on 16th October 1921 to 10th November 1921, when the second battalion of Gurkhas and a battalion of Gharwalis had also arrived and got into position.

2. On 20th October 1921 there was a combined operation to deal with the "Pukkottur gang" in the area Kondotti—Arikkod—Manjeri—Malappuram; the movement failed to round up as many rebels as was expected, but the Gurkhas got to close quarters with a

well armed gang of 80 to 100 and killed about 50 and recovered several police carbines and other guns. In the whole day a total of 85 rebels was accounted for. This was the first occasion since the Pukkottur battle on which a gang had been forced to a hand-to-hand fight, and the result probably had a considerable effect, even though the day's operation as a whole was not very successful.

3. The area system was then reverted to with the exception that two companies of Gurkhas from Perintalmanna were given the definite objective of engaging the Chembrasseri Tangal in conjunction with a company of Suffolks from Mannarghat. They failed to bring about any big engagement though there were various such encounters. The posts in the Wandur, Pandikkad and Mannarghat areas also failed to engage any big gangs though they succeeded in keeping them to the hills and began to make it difficult for them to get food.

4. Meanwhile there had been a serious increase in rebel activity in the west, especially in the area between Malappuram, Tirurangadi and Kondotti and in the Arikkod area extending to the Calicut Taluk. The Dorsets from Malappuram dealt with the former, the principal operation being a drastic treatment of Melmuri Amsam which was reported to be the centre of a troublesome gang; a fairly large area was successfully surrounded on 25th October 1921 and 246 rebels were accounted for. This operation and subsequent similar but smaller ones in the neighbourhood had an undoubted effect and overtures of surrender began to be made from Amsams round Malappuram. Arrangements were made, with the assistance of the Malappuram Kazi, and developed in the first half of November, by which in certain Amsams the Mapillas ready to surrender were paraded at chosen centres and had their names recorded; and they were promised that if they gave active assistance to the authorities in arresting rebels wanted and in preventing gangs from entering their Amsams active military operations would if possible not be carried on in their Amsams; they were also promised that subject to good behaviour legal proceedings would not be taken against surrenderers against whom there were only charges of action in a subordinate capacity against Government property committed on or before August 26th.

5. The situation in the Arikkod area continued to get worse. At the beginning of the rebellion there were dacoities in this area, and there were Khilafat demonstrations by armed parties at Arikkod itself and in the neighbourhood during the first six weeks; but owing partly to the influence of local leaders and partly to the police there was little active rebellion. By the middle of October however the infection had spread, fostered apparently by visits from K. Moidin Kutti Haji and other Pukkottur leaders and from some of Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji's lieutenants (he said that he only went there himself to stop the policy of forcible conversions). The public offices at Arikkod were burnt and the Adhigari murdered on the 14th and 15th October, and during the latter half of the month the Amsams west and north of Arikkod, extending nearly to Tamarasseri in the Calicut Taluk, were the scene of a furious jehad, accompanied by a large number of brutal murders and forcible conversions; the chief leaders were Konnara Tangal and Avoker Musaliar. (The latter is said to be responsible for filling two wells at Puthur with corpses of some hundred Hindus, beheaded for refusing to embrace Islam). The infection was spreading towards Feroke and Calicut: and several more murders and forcible conversions were reported in the Tirurangadi area.

6. It was therefore decided in the beginning of November to utilize all available forces, as soon as the further reinforcement of two battalions arrived, to arrest the spread of the rebellion westwards and northwards by a large sweeping movement, intended to drive the rebels in the south-east of Calicut Taluk southwards and eastwards, and similarly to sweep the Ernad country eastwards from Feroke.

7. Three companies of armed police, newly raised and equipped with 303 rifles, were ready by October 26th. One company was sent to the Kunnamangalam—Manasseri area, and the other two to advance from Feroke towards Arikkod. The former found the country deserted and roads blocked, but failed to get into touch with any gangs; the latter met with severe opposition in two ambushes in Cherukavu, but did well, killing about 25 rebels. Then, pending the combined operation, one company was ordered to Feroke, and the other two were given the task of clearing the triangle Kunnamangalam, Tamarasseri, Manasseri, as the big drive was to start south of it. This proved a most difficult task; the police had skirmishes with small parties, but failed to engage any large gang. The country is very thick and very hilly, and experience during the last four months has proved that the rebels there have little difficulty in eluding police or regular troops alike.

8. This second phase was also marked by more vigorous rebel action against persons who in any way assisted the military or the police, the most striking instance being the murder of some 15 Hindus between Melattur and Perintalmanna on 26th October 1921, as they were returning after working for the Gurkhas. The Dorsets responded with a punitive operation; but such action of course increased the general difficulty of getting information. Various indications suggested that the rebel leaders were aware of the approach of reinforcements and were anxious to bring matters to a crisis; though they could not agree on a plan nor get a ready response from their followers. Rebel activity generally may be said to have reached its greatest extent and intensity by the middle of November.

The troops were in position on November 10th, and the combined movement began on the 11th. The Beypore River was reached on the afternoon of the 12th with little opposition except at the Cheruvadi Mosque where 56 rebels were accounted for by the 2/8th Gurkhas. The drive was then continued eastwards up to the Edavanna-Malappuram road which was reached on the 18th. Most of the country traversed was hilly and comparatively sparsely inhabited; it was easy for the " Passive rebel " to leave his house and hide in the jungle close by, and as it proved in one or two instances it was not difficult for small fighting gangs to dodge the advancing platoons; few rebels were seen and it was not easy to gauge how far the movement had been successful in driving the fighters as a whole eastwards. In the first two days probably somewhat over 100 rebels were killed; in the next six rather less, but more prisoners were taken. Many houses were destroyed.

2. In the meantime since the concentration of troops began for the combined movement in the west there had been persistent rumours of rebel concentrations in the Chembrasseri areas and of intentions to make a big attack on one or other of the posts, which were now held with minimum garrisons. They culminated in a determined attack on the Pandikkad post on the early morning of November 14 by some two thousand rebels. Though they actually got into the post, the attack was repelled with a loss of 234 killed to the rebels. The post was held by one company of the 2/8th Gurkhas; they lost one British Officer and two other ranks killed and 34 wounded. It appeared subsequently that though most of the rebel dead were from Karuvarakundu and that neighbourhood, the attack had been decided upon at a big meeting attended by the Chembrasseri Tangal, Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and other leaders, and the force that started out for it must have included men from most of the fighting gangs from Nilambur to Melattur; they were promised that British bullets would not hurt them etc., but that sort of appeal did not convince any large proportion of them; probably not much more than 500, or 25 per cent of the whole number, actually pressed home in the real fanatical rush.

3. The rebel leaders seem to have succeeded in minimising the failure of the Pandikkad attack, and further concentrations in the Karuvarakundu-Melattur area were reported. It was therefore decided to continue the advance of the whole force lined on the Edavanna-Malappuram road in the hope that the enemy would risk a general action. The line Wandur-Pandikkad was reached on the 21st and pivoting on Pandikkad the line Pandikkad-Karuvarakundu on the 23rd. So far the rebels had refused action but as they were still apparently in front of the line, the movement was continued pivoting on Karuvarakundu with the hope of driving them into the foot-hills of the Ghats. The hills were reached on the 25th without opposition beyond sniping, and it was evident that the rebels had no intention of allowing the troops to come to close quarters if they could avoid it.

4. The actual results of the sweeping movement had proved disappointing, and it was decided to revert to the area system. The whole rebel area south of the Beypore River was divided into five parts one of which was allotted to each battalion in the force. Two companies of the Special Police were given the area north of the Beypore River, one was stationed at Feroke and a fourth which was complete by November 26th was placed at Tirur. These moves were completed by December 1st. All area commanders were instructed to proceed with the utmost vigour against any rebel gangs found in their area.

5. It had become evident during the latter stages of the sweeping movement in the east that the earlier stages had had a greater moral effect in the Arikkod-Kondotti-Malappuram areas than had at first been suspected; petitions for surrender were being received from a large number of Amsams and there was a different atmosphere noticeable along the roads. This change became more noticeable as the battalions settled into their areas. To quote from the military Commander's despatch:—

" The majority of the inhabitants though not actively hostile had inclined to the rebel side partly through fear and partly because they had no idea of the forces ranged against them. The advance had shown them the falsity of their ideas and when they saw troops settling down in their neighbourhood for an apparently extended stay. . . the surrender movement spread rapidly. At first few arms were handed in, but later as confidence was restored they began to come in in large numbers. The effect of these surrenders was two-fold; (*a*) it limited the area open to rebel gangs, and (*b*) information as to the whereabouts of the rebels and the rapidity of the receipt of the news increased very considerably."

6. In the meantime while attention had been principally devoted to the Arikkod area and to East Ernad and Walluvanad rebel activity had been increasing in the Tirurangadi area and round Urothmala. The Suffolk regiment which had relieved the Dorsets on November 21st was given the task of dealing with this area; and a company of the 83rd, Wallajahbad Light Infantry was placed at Tirurangadi to assist them. After a good many inconclusive operations some 40 rebels were killed near Olakara on November 30th, a gang of 80 was accounted for in a house near Cherur on December 9th and the next day a gang of 50 was rounded up by the police from Tirur near Perumanna. These actions went far to clear the Tirurangadi area though the worst leaders still remained at large and were not killed till the end of the month.

7. The operations during the latter part of the drive in the Wandur-Kalikavu area had included some successful skirmishes in the foot-hills, and these were continued when the Chin Battalion took over the area, and culminated in a more definite engagement

on December 8th at Kallamula when a large number of rebels were killed in a series of encounters. There appears to have been a large gathering of rebels in the neighbourhood at the time (a man subsequently captured put it at 6,000) including the Chembrasseri Tangal, Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, Karath Moidin Kutti Haji, Abdu Haji, Mukri Ayamad, the Konnara Tangal and other leaders, and that their spirit was not yet broken was shown by the fact that they then planned a raid up to Pandalur in the Nilgiri-Wynaad, apparently to get arms and ammunition. A select party of two or three hundred was chosen and the raid successfully carried out on the night of the 14th December; the gang went up through the forest, surprised the special police, killed three of them and some surveyors and carried off seven police guns and a good deal of ammunition and some survey instruments. They returned at once, and distributed the spoil and then apparently split up; the leader who went up to Pandalur, Mukri Ayamad, with some 50 or 60 came into contact with the 2/9th Gurkhas between Perintalmanna and Mannarghat on the 20th and 22 of them were killed. Others surrendered at Perintalmanna on the 26th.

8. Other leaders had been throwing out feelers in the direction of surrender; and the result of constant pressure by the 2/8th Gurkhas in the Karuvarakundu-Melattur area was that on December 19th, the Chembrasseri Tangal surrendered to the police. Similar constant pressure by the 2/9th on his gang in the hills round Tiruvazhamkunnu and the Attapadi valley brought about the surrender of Sithi Koya Tangal on December 20th; and the majority of the gangs of these two leaders came in or were captured in the course of the next week.

9. By the end of the year it was obvious that the rebellion was collapsing fast. The principal gangs at large were those under (1) Avoker Mussaliar in the Tamarasseri area, (2) the Konnara Tangal and (3) Karath Moidin Kutti Haji, in the hills north of Arikkod, (4) Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, in the neighbourhood of Kalikavu (5) Thonikara Ayamu in the neighbourhood of Nilambur and (6) Abdu Haji in the Arikkod or Nilambur area. There were also half a dozen other leaders alone or with very small personal guards in the Tirurangadi, Perintalmanna and Pandalur areas. The gangs however still continued to be mobile and elusive; and in the beginning of January there was a concentration in the Arikkod area and the last of many rumoured attempts at a rally in the Mambram Mosque. Some 500 rebels with the Konnara Tangal, Karath Moidin Kutti Haji, Abdu Haji and other leaders got close to Tirurangadi and drew in a good many adherents on the way, and this was sufficient to arouse considerable alarm even in Calicut. But finding troops in the neighbourhood the gangs split up and returned north and east to the hills in the Arikkod area and across the Beypore River. This seems to have been the last attempt at any combined effort on the part of the rebels, and during the rest of the period up to the time of the withdrawal of Martial Law there were a series of small encounters and of captures and surrenders of small parties and individuals. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji with 21 men was captured by a party of Special Police near Chokkad on January 6th; one service rifle, 10 police carbines and 4 other guns were taken; others of his gang were rounded up in the ensuing fortnight. Karath Moidin Kutti Haji's gang was harried by the Garhwalis and Special Police in the Arikkod area ; a few were killed in two encounters and three batches of 14 and 20 surrendered on three successive days; another small party was surprised attempting to escape through the Nilambur forests, and finally on the 28th January Karath Moidin Kutti Haji himself was captured alone not far from Malappuram; he had been wandering as far as Edakkara and had had no food for a week. Thonikkara Ayamu was captured with a few men near Nilambur on January 10th; others of his gang surrendered two days afterwards. Abdu Haji's gang melted away similarly and finally he himself with four followers took post in a Hindu temple near Pukkottur and proclaimed his readiness to die in the old fashioned style; the party was killed by the Suffolks on January 26th, but with the loss of one British soldier. There were four other similar stands of small parties in temples before the end of February and there will probably be more; but there should be little danger of their attracting sympathisers. In all these cases and in many of the arrests and encounters during the last few months of the rebellion information and assistance was readily given by the local Mapillas.

10. With the dispersal of the gangs under Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and Karath Moidin Kutti Haji it was thought safe to dispense with two battalions and the 2/8th Gurkhas accordingly left on January 21 and the Chin Battalion on January 26 th. By the end of January no fighting gangs were left except those under the Konnara Tangal and Avoker Mussaliar aggregating possibly 250, and they were confined to the Hill country in south-east Calicut taluk, where they still are reduced in numbers. The withdrawal of the other battalion of Gurkhas was therefore recommended and they left on February 18th. This left in the district two companies of Suffolks, at Malappuram, and Calicut, the 1/39 Royal Garhwalis with headquarters at Arikkod and six companies of Special Police at Perintalmanna, Nilambur, Kottakkal, Tirurangadi, and south-east Calicut taluk. Martial Law was withdrawn on February 25th, and a new ordinance substituted continuing Special Courts, and giving the Military and Police a few special powers required by the nature of the country and the rebels remaining to be dealt with.

The above is a conspectus based mainly on the military reports and supplemented by information from other sources that has come to light gradually. I have hardly material for a more exhaustive treatment; and what material there is still requires much sifting.

2. The campaign all through was rendered most difficult both by the nature of the country and the impossibility of obtaining good information. At the beginning there was absolute panic throughout the whole area, not only amongst officials and Hindus, but also amongst the Mapillas, many of whom were probably equally frightened of the troops and the rebels. Few officials at first distinguished themselves by any conspicuous display of courage or initiative; but seeing the plight of those who found their way to the Railway in the first few days I was hardly surprised, if disappointed.

3. The inevitable result, apart from the real difficulty of determining who was a rebel, was that the military had to proceed at first on the general idea that they had to " reconquer an enemy country " and that they tended to treat every Mapilla as *prima facie* an enemy. The nature of the country and the tactics of the rebels also made it inevitable to employ many small units acting independently, and it was impossible to provide an adequate supply of efficient civil guidance. A young officer with perhaps a little experience of France or Mespot, would be put down in a post with only a young Sub-Inspector to advice him and told to hunt rebel gangs over an indefinite area of jungly country, where the loyal inhabitants ran away from him no less than the rebel, and where a rebel could at any moment drop his sword behind a bush and come forward as a harmless citizen. It is not surprising, if unwise things were sometimes done. Even the more senior officers were inclined to rely on inapplicable experiences in South Africa, etc.

4. An obvious question that suggests itself is whether the employment of a larger force from the start would not have reduced the length of the campaign. It is natural to suppose that it would; but it is almost impossible to eliminate from the consideration of such a question the experience and information acquired in the latter stages of the operations. Much would have depended on how the larger force was used; it is doubtful whether the more drastic action taken in the November drive would have been justifiable in September or effective. In a country like Malabar it is not difficult to prolong guerilla warfare almost indefinitely against very large forces. The collapse of the rebellion was mainly a question of morale, and time was an important element in it.

5. The Martial Law instructions lay down that a Martial Law area " is not an enemy country and even if the population or a part of it is in rebellion the inhabitants are our fellow subjects whose loyalty and affection it is desirable to recover and retain." It is not a very lucid satement, nor easy to explain to a Tommy, still less to a Chin; the conditions of the campaign were those of regular war, the few Hindus with whom the troops came into contact were all out for blood, few houses were occupied and most Mapillas at least sympathized with the fighting rebels. It is not suprising therefore if Mapillas generally were in practice treated as enemies nor if houses were looted etc., as though the area were " enemy country ", though to a " civil authority " unaccustomed to war the standard of respect for the rights of person and property was disconcerting. On the whole it is the general impression that the troops and police behaved ~~fairly~~ well.

6. The intelligence work fell almost entirely on the police and considering the difficulties with which they had to contend was very well done, especially in the latter stages when some confidence had been restored in the country. Police officers generally had a very strenuous time as in addition to military intelligence duties which kept them constantly with the units to which they were attached they had, as best they could, to arrest criminals and charge cases; most of them responded well to the calls upon them, and in many cases displayed courage and endurance sufficient to refute the insinuations of pusillanimity that were brought against the police generally at the beginning. The Martial Law Regulations, the summary procedure provided for the trial of rebels and the general disorganization naturally offered scope for corruption, especially on the fringe of the Martial Law area while the attention of the superior officers was concentrated within; but so far no serious instances have come to light.

7. The Magistrates as a whole did not distinguish themselves in the administration of Martial Law. Few of them seemed able to recover their nerve, or to apply much commonsense or ordinary acumen to the trial of summary cases.

8. The Special Police took the field with little training or organization in their new units, but did on the whole very well; if not always very steady in action at first, most units displayed considerable bravery when put to it, and all proved their mobility. The Malayalee is inclined to be impulsive and sensitive, like a spoilt child, but if these police can be imbued with a real sense of discipline and *esprit de corps* they should prove a very useful force.

9. I have commented on the Ordinances separately in a demi-official to Knapp. I doubt whether it is possible to stereotype an ordinance generally suitable to all the varying circumstances in which a proclamation of Martial Law might be required. Our ordinances on the whole worked all right, but it would have been an advantage if all four had been enacted in the beginning in one consolidated ordinance. The practical difficulties of dealing with the mass of prisoners that such a rebellion must involve are hardly capable of being provided for by any general regulation.

15*th March* 1922. F. B. Evans.

SECTION A—TELEGRAMS, ETC., GIVING INFORMATION ONLY, FROM THE MILITARY AND DISTRICT AUTHORITIES, ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

I

From the Personal Assistant to the Collector of Malabar, dated the 20th August 1921. Despatched at 21–5 hours; received at 21–20 hours.

Stationmaster, Kadalundi, wires following: gang maistri No. 6 reports Mapillas suddenly came 16 hours and threatened to murder us and broke open stores and removed stores and removing rails at mile 397/0 and 9. No. 77 detained here as no answer both morse and block Parappanangadi—*ends*. All telegraph wires are interrupted—no communication from Calicut any section beyond Feroke. Collector left yesterday night for Tirurangadi. No telegraphic communication possible to him.

II

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 21st August 1921. Despatched at 10-55 hours; received here at 11–7 hours.

(Presumably sent in by hand on 20th August for despatch from Calicut.)

Tirurangadi raid complete surprise. Returned cutcherry compound about noon. News received armed hostile crowd about three thousand from Tanur coming from Parappanangadi station. Police supported by troops proceeded disperse crowd. Firing became necessary. Casualties about 9, arrest about 20. Meanwhile 30 men left to make arrests Tirurangadi driven in about 14–25 by armed hostile crowd estimated number some thousands from eastern amsams and local crowd. Cutcherry attacked. Attack driven off. Our casualties—one officer Leinsters, A.S.P. Rowley missing, also two constables. Situation extremely serious. Imperative despatch forthwith one battalion troops.

III

From the Personal Assistant to the Collector of Malabar, dated the 21st August 1921. Despatched at 11–55 hours.

Subdivisional Magistrate, Palghat, wires: *Begins* "Tanur post office looted by armed Mapillas and property worth Rs. 600 carried away, also telegraph lines cut and expects trouble at Tirur"—*ends*.

IV

From C. G. Tottenham, Esq., District Superintendent of Police, Calicut, dated the 21st August 1921. Despatched at 11–25 hours; received 12–26 hours.

Proceeded to Parappanangadi with escort and repairing parties by special train this morning, reached Parappanangadi safely, found two rails and some wooden blocks removed at the station also about 8 telegraph poles thrown down, station looted, wires cut. Repairing parties got to work but on receiving sure information that line shortly ahead was being cut it seemed useless and dangerous to remain; so entrained and returned to Calicut. There is no sign of an advance on Calicut. Large bodies of armed Mapillas are moving about between Parappanangadi and Tirurangadi. The column has been in action but accounts conflicting. We rescued railway station cash chest.

[Similar telegram received by Inspector-General of Police and telephoned over. In that telegram however Mr. Tottenham mentions that he had been reconnoitering from Calicut, could not establish communication with Deputy Inspector-General (Mainwaring, who must be with Thomas) or with Distrate and was about to investigate threatened trouble at Feroke immediately south of Calicut.]

V

From the Joint Magistrate, Malappuram, dated the 21st August 1921.

Am wiring, as cannot get through to Calicut or Collector who probably held up Tirurangadi where firing been heard during day.

Tirur postmaster wired Tanur and Parappanangadi post offices looted and mobs advancing Tirur firing, pulling up rails, placing trees across roads.

Am holding guard room and magazine with 30 Leinsters and 20 special force; driver of motor bus which brought Leinsters here murdered on way to Tirurangadi at Vengara; one constable in bus also murdered; drivers of bus going last were forced abandon bus Vengara and have no information as to whether other bus and car reached Tirurangadi; Manjeri has wired for help expecting attack treasury; unable spare men; have so wired back telling them hold on; have no motor transport here; wives, children of special force sergeants with us guard room.

VI

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 21st August 1921. Received 20–15 hours.

Requested Officer Commanding troops take charge as situation beyond Civil control. To-day 8–30 hours evacuated Tirurangadi, abandoning public buildings. Post office and railway station Parappanangadi wrecked. Line cut. Tanur post office wrecked. State of rebellion prevails Ernad and North Ponnani. Urge proclamation Martial Law.

VII

From the Divisional Magistrate, Palghat, dated 21st August 1921. Despatched 19–20 hours; received 20–59 hours.

Am wiring as no communication with Collector possible. All wires cut at Tirur. Police wired Mapillas looted Tanur post office, cut telegraph wire and danger imminent. I proceeded Tirur but held up at Shoranur where I heard several bridges and rails damaged by Mapillas. No train running beyond Shoranur. Mapillas still wrecking permanent-way. All roads blocked by trees and stones, several men reported killed. Communication with stations in Ponnani taluk impossible as rioting reported Palghat. I returned but no rioting here.

VIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/44-G., dated the 22nd August 1921.

Reference India 32 miles to inch. Sheet ten. Situation 23–00 hours 21st. Mapillas in Ernad and Ponnani taluks in state of rebellion. Several encounters have occurred. Civil authority handed over local control. Troops sent from Calicut to assist police search for arms, withdrawing Calicut. South Indian Railway cut several places between Beypore and Tirur. Second Dorsets are leaving Bangalore to-morrow for Podanur followed by section Royal Field Artillery and Squadron, Queen's Bays. Colonel Humphreys, Leinsters, to command troops in Malabar. Force will be based on Podanur in first instance. Government given free hand. Southern Command informed more British Infantry may be required.

Addressed C.G.S. Repeated Chief Secretary, Madras.

IX

From the Inspector-General of Police, dated Podanur Station, 22nd August 1921. Despatched 12–40 hours.

Line open to Pattambi. Military advance hence Tuesday morning. I accompany. No news Calicut.

X

From the Postmaster-General, Madras, dated the 22nd August 1921.

Telegraphic intimation has been received that Parappanangadi post office was looted by a Mapilla mob on the 21st instant and that a mob of about 10,000 Mapillas are surrounding Feroke. All telegraph lines connecting Calicut and Shoranur are reported to have either been cut or interrupted. The Deputy Superintendent of Telegraphs further reports that the District Superintendent of Police is unable to

protect the post and telegraph offices at Calicut and neighbourhood with the insufficient police force at his disposal. Kindly direct posting of pickets of military, who, no doubt, would have been sent by this time, to guard the post and telegraph offices. As the main telegraph lines to Calicut have been cut, I am diverting only urgent messages to Calicut via Mercara office which will work for the present from 0 to 24 hours.

XI

Letter—from the Postmaster-General, Madras, No. O.F.-109, dated the 22nd August 1921.

I have the honour to forward a copy of the telegram cited below, received by me from the Superintendent of Post Offices, Malabar division, Cannanore. Government have, no doubt, received information about the disturbance already from the District Magistrate and I trust that necessary action is being taken to ensure the safety of post offices and telegraph lines at the places referred to.

ENCLOSURE.

From the Superintendent of Post Offices, Malabar division, to the Postmaster-General, Madras, dated the 21st August 1921.

Parappanangadi wires : *Begins* "Office looted by Mapillas despatched from Tirurangadi by Khilāfat mob. All cash and stamps removed. Records mostly destroyed. Telegraph communication cut, rails removed, situation most dangerous, my personal private property nothing left. Informed Sub-Magistrate in person, District Magistrate's immediate help necessary"—*ends*. Addressed District Magistrate, District Superintendent of Police, Inspector of Post Offices.

XII

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 22nd August 1921. Despatched 14-15 hours ; received 14-40 hours.

News received two soldiers, one European, taken by mob 10,000 at Tirur. Fate not known. Sub-Magistrate and Police Inspector also captured. Offices burnt. Line cut to Kuttipuram.

XIII

From the Subdivisional Magistrate, Palghat, dated Shoranur, the 22nd August 1921. Despatched at 17-40 hours.

Mapillas advancing along railway towards Shoranur. Line and telegraph wire ten miles west destroyed. Many gangs of Mapillas in vicinity of railways. Large military force required. Am wiring Wellington to despatch all available troops.

XIV

From the General Officer Commanding, dated the 22nd August 1921. Despatched 20–25 hours ; received 23rd morning.

Situation 18 hours 22nd. The Tirurangadi Column returned Calicut without further casualties. No news yet of Malappuram Detachment. Colonel Humphreys arrived at Podanur to-day, carries out reconnaissance to-morrow with Inspector-General of Police. Concentration Troops Podanur should be complete noon 23rd. Mapillas reported to be in force Tirur station and damaging Pallipuram bridge and removing rails westwards. Calicut at present quiet, but trouble expected.

Repeated C.G.S. and G.O.C., Southern Command.

XV

From Walluvanad Police Inspector, Ottapalam Post Office, to the Inspector-General of Police, dated the 22nd August 1921. [22–30 hours.]

Receiving information Reserve left for Tirurangadi, proceeded Ottapalam. Ascertained real particulars and returned headquarters. Found railway, telegraph cut. Cannot communicate Superintendent Police. Stranded at Cherpulcheri. Tried to reach headquarters but repulsed by outnumbering Mapilla insurgents. Hear Pandikkad, Kolatur stations attacked, guns removed, records destroyed. Rumoured similar attack on other stations. About four hundred Mapillas proceeded to destroy Mannarghat bridge prevent military reaching disturbed area that way. Some main

road bridges destroyed also, roads blocked by felling avenue trees. Communication with district officers cut off. Simultaneous Mapilla rising rumoured taluks Ernad, Walluvanad. All stations as well guarded as possible making best efforts reach headquarters. Tapals cut off since yesterday.

Submitted to Chief Secretary for information.

J. T. W. Filson,
for *Inspector-General of Police.*

XVI

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 22nd August 1921, 14-20 hrs., received August 23rd.

Situation as follows. South Ernad and North Ponnani are in state of open rebellion. Affected area probably extends near Malappuram. No information received from there. Wire to Calicut cut at 16 hours on 20th. Detachment at Malappuram of 2 British Officers, 34 other ranks, well supplied with ammunition and machine guns. Area may spread into Calicut and Walluvanad, but no information this side. Movable column returned 1 a.m. to-day. Railway broken several places between Tirur and Calicut, and troops advancing will meet opposition from all sides. Consider nothing short of prompt declaration Martial Law will meet situation. Commanding troops assumed control Calicut also.

XVII

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 23rd August 1921. Received about noon.

The situation at Calicut is as follows. Calicut is surrounded on all sides except the north. Railway cut and again, after repair, many places up to Kuttipuram. British refugees concentrated in Barracks. British force about 150, also 50 Indian Infantry at Railway Station. If mob from outside enters Calicut rising inevitable. Desire evacuate women children warship. Appearance warship will have great moral effect. Three European prisoners Tirur may be taken Ponnani or Tanur. Naval demonstration these and other coast places south Calicut feasible and essential.

XVIII

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 23rd August 1921. [17–45 hours.]

Following complete résumé events since Friday night. Contemplated surprise Tirurangadi successful as surprise, failure as regards arrests. Only three men seized, with one war-knife. Searches ceased about 10. Town then quiet. Twenty-five reserve men left continue search for absconding warrantees.

Clear that news of our action sent out round country-side. At quarter to twelve news came crowd 2,000 Mapillas from Tanur, come by train Parappanangadi and other places on west, advancing on us. At noon Police and myself went out to meet and disperse them, supported by troops. Contact made 12–30. Mob called to disperse, advanced steadily. Police charged with fixed bayonets and were met with sticks. In self-defence firing began from front rank with nine known casualties. Crowd partly yielded, partly dispersed to parambas on both flanks. Lancaster, Assistant Superintendent of Police, struck with club. Without further firing Police pushed crowd back slowly to one mile from Parappanangadi and returned with 40 prisoners at 15 hours.

Learnt then that crowd estimated 2,000 drove in Tirurangadi Police party and attacked platoon Leinsters guarding camp. Dispersed with Lewis guns and magazine fire. Rowley with this party. Not known how Rowley and Johnstone of Leinsters became separated from men. After much needed meal were preparing search for them when, after 17 hours, news came that bodies and head constable's body lying by road near camp. Bodies recovered hours 17–30. Bodies terribly mutilated, and hacked. Rowley's penis cut off. Reason believe grave since desecrated. Body answering Rowley's description seen mouth Chaliar river. Returned camp and prepared defence for night anticipating attack from two thousand men reported assembled

in mosque. Nineteen hours Deputy Tahsildar reported from Parappanangadi, railway station and post office sacked and line cut. About 19 hours handed over situation Officer Commanding as one beyond civil powers. Unexpectedly night was peaceful. Sunday at 8-30 hours after burying our dead marched back Parappanangadi. Impossible remain without rations or communications in face vastly superior numbers. Arrived Parappanangadi 10-30 hours. Halted for food, got none locally. At 14 hours column began march along Railway for Kadalundi beating off several attacks on both flanks, front and rear during first three miles. Lewis guns used with great effect. Line had been cut three places, intention obviously being to isolate column. Arrived Kadalundi 17 hours. Learnt line being cut near Chaliar Bridge and tried to intercept. Came too late and therefore marched to Feroke. Arrived 20 hours, line cut Calicut side Feroke Bridge being then under repair. Train awaiting. Entrained about 22 hours, arrived Calicut midnight, having had practically no food since 8 a.m. Had column not returned most probably Calicut would have been looted. Monday morning required Officer Commanding take charge Calicut for sufficient reasons.

Rebellion is in name Khilāfat which has practically declared war on Government. Has now begun killing Hindus. Line repairs proceeded with. Situation now as follows. Known that Malappuram detachment isolated. Line cut to Kuttipuram, perhaps beyond. Road blocked, bridges broken from tenth mile from Calicut, also Malappuram, Tirur and Nilambur roads similarly blocked, probably also other trunk roads. Kottakkal Sub-Registrar's office and Post office, Tirur offices, Manjeri Treasury, Tirurangadi offices, after our evacuation, known to have been gutted. All Ernad and North Ponnani in open rebellion. No certain information regarding rest South Malabar. North Malabar all right so far. If Calicut goes, North Malabar must follow. Monday afternoon on my own responsibility ordered collection Europeans, and official Anglo-Indian population at West-Hill fearing they would be murdered in detail. Two British soldiers, one European from Tile-works, fifteen police and the local officials Tirur prisoners. British detachment ready co-operate with Humphreys' movable column. Arrival *Comus* will make situation completely safe Calicut. Calicut quiet and will not ries, in any case, unless a large outside mob comes in.

XIX

From the General Officer Commanding, to the C.G.S., Simla, G.O.C., Southern Command and Chief Secretary, Madras, No. S. 250/69/G., dated the 23rd August 1921. Received 23-30.

[*Note.*—Situation telegrams from General Officer Commanding are all addressed to these addressees. The names will not be printed in subsequent telegrams.]

Situation 18 hours. Commanding Malabar column reports that patrol train was sent forward 23-30 hours last night from Podanur, followed at 4-15 hours to-day by leading troop train which has reached Shoranur up to which place all reported quiet. Second train followed 11-40 hours. Intention push on to Pattambi if possible. Other trains will follow. Leading troops to-night at, or in advance of, Shoranur. Three platoons left at Olavakkod. Calicut reports situation much improved. Internal security scheme in force and repair of line southward in progress. Administrative and Railway security arrangements working well. No further news Malappuram. Hope establish base far enough forward to-morrow to start relief column to Malappuram.

XX

From Tahsildar, Walluvanad, dated Ottapalam, the 24th August 1921. Despatched 13-45 hours; received 14-56 hours.

Mapilla rioters numbering thousands looted public offices and treasury Walluvanad yesterday. All communications stopped. Helpless.

XXI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/70/G., dated the 24th August 1921. Hours 20–55; received early 25th.

Situation 18 hours Calicut. Detachment Malappuram reported unmolested. Force leaving relieve it by Kondotti. South Indian Railway clear south of Calicut to mile 395. Outbreaks Ernad and Walluvanad continue. Two hundred and ninety Mapillas reported moving Nilambur on Gudalur last night. Police failed locate them on road to-day.

XXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/80/G., dated the 24th August 1921. Received early 25th.

Continuation my No. S. 250/70/G. Situation 18 hours Podanur force. Advance troops this morning Pattambi. Situation quiet. Line clear to bridge 374 miles which should be repaired to-night. Should reach Kuttipuram to-morrow. Unrest among Mapilla workmen, Cauvery Bridge, Erode. If necessary South Indian Railway Auxiliary Force, Podanur, will despatch platoon guard it and junction.

XXIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 15, dated Podanur, the 24th August 1921. Despatched 19 hours; received 19–20 hours.

(Situation telegrams from Officer Commanding, Malabar, are all addressed to General Officer Commanding, District Magistrate and Chief Secretary; the names will not be printed in future telegrams.)

Bridge at 374 miles should be repaired to-night and expect to reach Kuttipuram to-morrow. Addressed Madist, Wellington; Madras, Madras; and Distrate, Calicut.

XXIV

From the Postmaster-General, Madras, dated the 25th August 1921.

Superintendent, Post offices, Calicut, reports that the Postmaster, Kunnamangalam, situated on the Calicut-Vayittri road, has telegraphed to say that serious rioting is taking place in the neighbourhood. The first batch of mails sent by Ootacamund reached Calicut safely last evening. In view of Postal Superintendent's report, that the Officer Commanding, Calicut, has pronounced the Ootacamund and Vayittri road unsafe I am diverting all mails via Mysore and Siddapur in Coorg to Tellicherry.

XXV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 19, dated Podanur, the 25th August 1921. Despatched 10–30 hours; received 11–42 hours.

Bridge at 377/7 requires six hours to repair. Line thence to 370 reported intact. Moving to Kuttipuram as soon as railway admits.

XXVI

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 25th August 1921. Received 20–30 hours.

Walluvanad and whole of Ponnani now ablaze. Dacoity, looting, murder Hindus rife. Taluk offices looted, also most Post offices in area. Railway line cleared to Tanur from Calicut, and from other side to near Kuttipuram, but extensive damage further on. May take week. Olavakkod-Mannarghat road broken up. Comus arrived, interviewed Captain. He will stand by for present. McEnroy moved on relief Malappuram Detachment to-day. May return to-morrow. Calicut town still quiet. Interior Calicut taluk on east same condition as Ernad. Government will please understand I am isolated from most of district and depend on reports coming in by hand and rumours. Have suggested early conference Naval and Military Commanders. Advise Government tell neighbouring Distrates arrest under 110-(*f*), Criminal Procedure Code or 121, Indian Penal Code, all Mapillas entering their districts. Eaton believed to have escaped Ooty with Colebrook. Inspector Reedman, Special Force, murdered with orderly last Saturday. Eaton 22nd (sic).

XXVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/93/G, dated the 25th August 1921. Despatched 20–15 hours.

Following for press. Repair of road Calicut-Malappuram and railway southwards to Tirur proceeding satisfactorily. Railway from Shoranur repaired to Pallippuram. Concentration of necessary troops completed and country in areas occupied by troops quiet. Total casualties to troops since rebellion broke out have been one officer (Lieut. Johnstone attached Leinsters) murdered and two men missing. Health of troops is excellent, all troops in the best of spirits.

XXVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/92/G, dated the 25th August 1921. Received 26th August 1921.

Situation 18 hours Calicut quiet. South Indian Railway restored as far as Tanur, working south from Calicut. Calicut-Malappuram road has been repaired for nine miles. Movable column left for Malappuram. Podanur force moving Kuttipuram to-day when bridge 377/7 repaired. Intention send force Malappuram from Kuttipuram on 27th while rest continue repair towards Tirur. Health troops good.

Platoon 86th C.I., Trichinopoly, called out aid Civil power Karur. Platoon South Indian Railway Auxiliary Force posted guard Cauvery Bridge, Erode.

XXIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 32, dated the 25th August 1921. Despatched 19–50 hours; received 22–25 hours.

Headquarters moves to Shoranur 22–00 hours to-night.

XXX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 36, dated Shoranur, the 26th August 1921. Despatched 6–40 hours; received 11–54 hours.

Situation. Line through to Kuttipuram. Movable column concentrating that place.

XXXI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S./250/110/G, dated the 26th August 1921.

Situation 17·00 and for Madras Press. No further developments to report regarding military situation in Malabar where troops are making steady progress. Widespread robbery and violence directed against Hindu population in Ernad and Walluvanad taluks is reported. Muhammadan riot Karūr dealt with by police supported by small detachment Indian Infantry. Patrol train from Calicut reached Tirur rescued two men Leinsters previously reported missing. Calicut quiet. Movable column from Calicut reported within four miles Malappuram still advancing.

XXXII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, dated Shoranur, the 26th August 1921.

Movable column leaves Kuttipuram 5 hours to-morrow for Tirurangadi.

XXXIII

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 26th August 1921.

15 hours. Railway restored except for about ten much-damaged miles. Through communication expected in about four days. Internal situation worse; Walluvanad taluk now known to be involved. Treasury and offices, Angadipuram looted Monday afternoon. Practically whole Ponnani known to be infected. Part Calicut infected. Wholesale arson, looting, dacoity, occasional murder, rife everywhere. Large parties entering Kurumbranad inland from Calicut. Tippetts, Calicut estate, escaped with life only. Rescue party sent for Norman, Kinalur estate, and troops requisitioned from Cannanore meet and disperse these gangs. Colonel Humphreys' column, constitution unknown, ready to take action Ernad. Awaiting details. Calicut quiet since arrival *Comus* but large influx deserters from Ernad observed. *Comus* lands demonstration armed party to-day. Browne, Kerala estate, almost certainly escaped. Eaton, Pullangode, certainly killed. All Tirur prisoners including three Europeans

released yesterday, arrived Calicut. Graves Tirurangadi desecrated. Mesdames Browne and Eaton brought Calicut before troubles began. Have suggested Colonel Humphreys come Calicut soon as possible confer for joint action with Naval Commander and self. Owing breakdown line expect Calicut population will soon starve unless rice poured in. Countryside owing wholesale looting already starving. Help impossible. Have replied General Officer Commanding, Madras District, list of men wanted will run into thousands. First essential restore order under military occupation when investigation and punishment criminals alone will be possible. Will join Humphreys headquarters as soon as possible. Later. Fire observed up Vayitiri road probably Kunnamangalam or Tamarasseri offices or both.

XXXIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S/250/96/G, dated the 26th August 1921. Despatched 12–30 hours.

Arrange issue 40 emergency rifles and 200 rounds S.A.A. per rifle through Auxiliary Infantry, Ootacamund, to L.M. patrols and Auxiliary Horse at Pandalur, Meppadi, Vayittri in order that these sub-units may be prepared defend themselves in event of Mapilla unrest spreading northwards. Addressed Madist and repeated Auxiliary Infantry, Ootacamund; Auxiliary Horse, Madras; Ordnance, Madras; Hill Convalescent Section, Wellington.

XXXV

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 26th August 1921. Despatched 16–55 hours; received 17–15 hours.

Continuation my 104 report now confirmed Nilambur Forest office bungalow, range officer's quarters, lines gutted; Chandy, Forest office rangers and subordinates all prisoners.

XXXVI

From the Divisional Magistrate, Palghat, dated the 26th August 1921.

Chowghat and Ponnani apprehend danger to treasury every moment. So far reported safe. Special messenger sent to those stations not yet returned. Gangs of Mapillas roaming Ponnani taluk stating that they got Swaraj, plundering houses and destroying all toddy and arrack shops. Seven rioters captured by railway police confined in Palghat jail. No information about Tirur, Tanur and adjacent places being isolated. Thupanad and other bridges Mannarghat road damaged and road to Mannarghat blocked. Looting and blackmailing going on Thupanad, Kongad and neighbouring places. Palghat so far safe. Am proceeding Thupanad to see situation. Shall wire on return.

XXXVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 40, dated the 26th August 1921.

Austin writes all well Malappuram on 25th. Railway through to 380/6 miles. All quiet.

XXXVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 56, dated Shoranur, the 27th August 1921.

Now going Calicut. Headquarters remains Shoranur.

XXXIX

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 27th August 1921.

Summary 27th 16 hours. McEnroy left in order to relieve Malappuram on morning 25th. There is no news of him yet. He is believed to have reached Malappuram. From Kuttipuram movable column left this morning for Tirurangadi. I expect to see Humphreys here to-day. I have ordered detachment 40 men from Cannanore with Deputy Magistrate to Quilandi to search for dacoits trying to enter Kurumbranad taluk. South Ponnani shops being burnt and looting everywhere. Ponnani town safe up to 25th. Landing party *Comus* did route march through Calicut. Situation remains unchanged.

XL

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 63, dated Shoranur, the 27th August 1921.

District Magistrate, Calicut, wires: *Begins*—Cochin Mapillas extreme South Ponnani now rioting unarmed, show inclination join rebellion. Please arrange strong motor boat patrol at once from south frontier district up to Chetwayi. Take machine guns. Valapad Police Sub-Inspector will give necessary information. Act as required to suppress disorder. Visit Chowghat if possible. Mobilize Auxiliary force, Cochin. Cochin meantime unaffected but police will not guarantee if troops withdrawn. Can you send troops—*Ends*. I have wired regret unable send troops. Addressed General Officer Commanding, Madras District. Repeated Chief Secretary to Government, General Officer Commanding in Chief, Southern Command, Poona, and Capt. Forshaw, Edakulam.

XLI

From the Divisional Magistrate, Palghat, dated the 27th August 1921.

Situation 26th. Visited Thupanad bridge; one span broken; impassable; tree thrown across road south of bridge removed; all quiet between Palghat and Thupanad; looters fearing military believed returned jungles; special messengers sent to Chowghat, Ponnani, Tirur returned; sub-treasuries Chowghat, Ponnani guarded with help of apparently loyal Mapillas but not dependable; police officers and Europeans stranded Tirur relieved and taken Calicut side; situation South Ponnani not very disquieting; looting however continuing in sporadic form; liquor shops destroyed everywhere; no trouble anticipated Palghat taluk.

XLII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S./250/107/G, dated the 27th August 1921.

Mapilla disturbances reported spreading into Nilgiri-Wynad and as far as Sultan's Battery. Suggest Mysore Government may care take special steps patrol their frontier; addressed Assistant Resident, Mysore, Bangalore. Repeated to the Chief Secretary to Government, Madras, and Officer Commanding, Bangalore.

XLIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S./250/106/G, dated the 27th August 1921.

In response to appeal from Nilgiri-Wynad planters communicated through the District Magistrate, Ootacamund, with definite request from him for support by troops, have sent platoon to Gudalur to form civil rallying post there. Addressed to the Chief Secretary to Government, Madras. Repeated to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona, and Officer Commanding Troops, Malabar.

XLIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S./250/113/G, dated the 27th August 1921.

For press. Detachment British infantry with Lewis guns sent out as support to police and planters in Nilgiri-Wynad. Operations progressing satisfactorily in Malabar. Troops from Calicut reported in Malappuram to-day, not yet confirmed. Column from Kuttipuram left this morning join forces with Calicut garrison.

XLV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M. C. 71, dated the 27th August 1921.

Situation. One and half companies leave Kuttipuram 05-00 hours to-morrow by road for Tirur.

XLVI

From the General Officer Commanding, dated the 27th August 1921.

Movable column from Calicut left Kondotti 05-00, 25th. Reported to have reached Malappuram to-day. Report not yet confirmed. Line reported cleared from Calicut to 386 miles.

XLVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 72, dated the 28th August 1921. Despatched 9–0 hours.

Headquarters moving Tirur 09–15 hours.

Ninety men from H.M.S. *Comus* marched through Calicut town to-day. Detachment Indian Infantry despatched from Cannanore to deal with disturbances Quilandi 26th.

Movable column H left Kuttipuram 5 hours to-day directed on Calicut in order to effect junction with Calicut force. Progress not yet reported.

Platoon Leinsters with two Lewis guns despatched noon to Gudalur watch approaches and act as rallying post for planters in Nilgiri-Wynad. Auxiliary Force Guard mobilized Jalarpet Armoury.

XLVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/121/G., dated the 28th August 1921.

Colonel Humphreys reached Calicut 19-00 hours last night. His headquarters moving Tirur 09-15 to-day. He reports rail will be through to Calicut this morning. Movable Column Dorsets left Kuttipuram by road for Tirur 05-00.

XLIX

From the Divisional Magistrate, Palghat, dated the 28th August 1921.

Reports received from Mannarghat officials show Mannarghat and Natnikat police stations looted 22nd. Guns, ammunition removed. Guns from licensees forcibly collected, houses looted, movements of Government servants watched, roads blocked, bridges damaged, looting spreading rural areas. Hindus pressed into service. Refugees arriving Palghat from Mannarghat and surrounding area. Further information shows arrival military Malabar inducing rebels take shelter hills. Palghat quiet; Ponnani, Chowghat believed quiet. Daily reports not come in.

L

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 129, dated Calicut, the 28th August 1921.

Calicut quiet. Filling with refugees, including Nambudris. Reported Mapillas own accord Ernad (sic) owing impossibility move foodstuffs. Railway line complete for running by day. Now believed McEnroy got to Malappuram 27th after fight at Pukkottur, but no report yet received from him. Ali Mussaliar at Tirurangadi calls himself Raja and will probably make stand there. Said to be short of food. Met Evans and Humphreys at Calicut to-day. Naval Commander met and discussed plans.

LI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S-250/123/G., dated the 28th August 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for press. Calicut quiet. S.S. *Nawab* arrived there to-day with supplies. Line reported through to Podanur from Calicut. No reports from Malappuram. District Magistrate, Calicut, reported rioting by unarmed Mapillas in South Ponnani last night. Detachment reports all quiet at Gudalur and on roads leading into it. Government reports famine reported probable in Malabar due to effect of looting and destruction of communications.

LII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 74, dated the 28th August 1921.

Headquarters Malabar column arrived Tirur 13-00 hours to-day.

LIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 76, dated the 28th August 1921.

Situation quiet. One and half companies Dorsets, 64th Pioneers, one Platoon Sappers and Miners at Tirur. Remainder Malabar column less Queen's Bays at fifteenth milestone on Kolatur-Malappuram road last evening. No opposition. One squadron Queen's Bays at Shoranur.

LIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 79, dated the 28th August 1921.

* Presumably to General Officer Commanding only.

Returned to headquarters. Have conferred with Thomas and the result wired you in my cipher * M.C. 80. All quiet on railway which is temporarily repaired.

LV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. 81, dated the 28th August 1921.

The column leaves Tirur for Tirurangadi to-morrow where it meets the first column (which went by Malappuram) at 10-00 hours on 30th. No news yet of the column which left Calicut for Malappuram.

LVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 82, dated the 29th August 1921.

Calicut column and Colonel Radcliff's column both at Malappuram at 10-00 hours yesterday 28th. All well. All quiet on railway but telegraphic communication difficult.

LVII

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 148, dated the 29th August 1921.

Twenty-sixth instant Calicut column, detachment Leinsters and special force, proceeding relief Malappuram attacked by Pukkottur fanatics about 11-00 hours at twenty-sixth milestone, Calicut-Malappuram road. Fanatics about four to five hundred strong displayed traditional eagerness for death and ferocity also some skill in making dispositions. After five hours' fighting attack beaten off. Enemy casualties probably four hundred killed. Our casualties—British troops two other ranks killed, one officer and one other rank severely wounded; several slightly. Deeply regret Lancaster, Police, shot and mortally wounded; died Malappuram. Other police casualties—two slightly wounded. Presume Humphreys will report details of action later. Fanatics armed with many guns, captured police and sporting rifles, plenty of swords and war-knives. Police rifles recovered. Malappuram detachment with Austin safe.

LVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 87, dated Tirur, the 29th August 1921.

Remainder Malabar column left Tirur at 13-00 hours accompanied by Colonel Humphreys, Hitchcock and Evans. Major Skinner 64th Pioneers in charge. Headquarters at Tirur.

LIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/127/G., dated the 29th August 1921.

Movable column from Calicut has returned from Malappuram bringing with it the Malappuram detachment. Column engaged rebels at Pukkottur 26th. About 400 rebels were killed. Our casualties—killed two, wounded six, including one officer. Column from Kuttipuram reported at Malappuram 27th. Columns from Tirur, Malappuram and Calicut converging on Tirurangadi to-day. Railway temporarily repaired and open to Calicut.

LX

From the Divisional Magistrate, Palghat, dated the 29th August 1921.

Situation 28th. Adhikari Kattuparutti near Kuttipuram reports rebels looted police station, post office, amsam cutcherry on 22nd. Destroyed records, uniforms, carried away guns. Chowghat reported quiet. Valapad Mapillas defiant and awaiting developments. Ernad, Walluvanad, Ponnani believed quiet as no reports received.

LXI

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 176, dated the 29th August 1921.

No report as yet from column. Telegraph repair party report interference by Mapillas at Parappanangadi. Escort proceeding with party to-morrow. Addressed General Officer Commanding, Madras district. Repeated Madras and Shoranur.

LXII

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 177, dated the 29th August 1921.

Report 29th, 16–30 hours no change situation. Reports received many looters and dacoits have fled to jungles fearing approach of troops. Presume Humphreys is keeping you informed military situation. All quiet Calicut where Tottenham now in charge town. I remain here for present under Humphreys' instructions. Observe notification Martial law includes Wynad and Kurumbranad taluks; propose keep Martial law in abeyance these taluks unless disorders develop; at present none. Have received information my Ford car, one lorry, one bus destroyed; Ford car thrown into river and four drivers murdered by Mapillas Saturday 20th same time as Inspector Reedman murdered.

LXIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/134-G, dated the 29th August 1921.

For Madras Press. Small movable column from Calicut had engagement with rebels at Pukkottur on 26th killing about four hundred; our casualties two killed, six wounded, including one officer, and this column relieved Malappuram detachment and was joined there by column from Kuttipuram. Operations along railway north of Tirur proceeding. All quiet Tirur and on railway. [Situation Karur quiet and troops withdrawn. Gudalur and vicinity quiet and troops called out Madras over mill strike to-day have situation in hand]. Further details engagement Pukkottur—rebels attempted ambush column firing from front, rear and flanks; were dispersed after four hours' hand-to-hand fighting. No further opposition and Malappuram now quiet.

LXIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/132/G, dated the 29th August 1921.

Situation 18 hours 29th. Situation quiet at Tirur and on railway. Also at Gudalur and vicinity. Light Motor Patrol, Auxhorse, Vayitri, organized and has post observing Vayitri-Calicut road. Movable columns from Calicut and Kuttipuram both at Malappuram at 10 hours 29th. Colonel Humphreys left Tirur 13 hours to-day with movable column for Tirurangadi. [Recrudescence mill trouble at Madras necessitated calling out troops 9 hours. Hundred Rifles Madras called out. Situation in hand. Karur now quiet and detachment 86th Carnatic Infantry returned Trichinopoly.]

LXV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C., (?) dated Tirur, the 30th August 1921.

Nothing to report. Addressed the General Officer Commanding, Madras district. Repeated Chief Secretary to Government, Madras, Calicut and Shoranur.

LXVI

Letter—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S/250/72-G, dated the 25th August 1921.

[Disturbances in Malabar.]

Reference this office *No. S/250/231-G, dated the 19th August 1921, the following detailed report on events subsequent to those described in my No. as above is forwarded for your information and in confirmation of telegraphic reports.

1. The period reviewed in the above letter was from the commencement of the disturbances in Malabar up to the time the Government of Madras authorized a search for arms with military support in Malabar.

2. The period reviewed in this report deals with the outbreak of rebellion on a large scale in Malabar which took place immediately after the search for arms on the 20th August 1921.

3. (*a*) 20th August 1921. At the request of the Civil Authorities, the Officer Commanding, Calicut, proceeded with one hundred men 1st Leinster Regiment to support search for arms and arrest of Mapilla leaders at Tirurangadi. A detachment of two officers and thirty-four men Leinster Regiment was sent on the same date to Malappuram to support the civil power at this centre. Fifty Leinsters were left at Calicut as garrison.

(*b*) The search for arms at Tirurangadi was completed by 10–00 and was a surprise and completely successful. Later in the day the Magistrate's office was attacked by a mob of armed Mapillas estimated at five thousand who were beaten off by fire of police only. At 14–30 another attack on the police station was made by some two thousand Mapillas who were beaten back by fire of Police and Troops; in the course of the fighting Lieut. Johnston, I.A., attached 1st Leinster Regiment, and Mr. Rowley, Assistant Superintendent of Police, were killed. It became evident that the Mapillas were collecting in very large numbers from the neighbouring villages and the column began to withdraw to Calicut with the prisoners who had been secured. The hired lorry driver was murdered.

(*c*) While the above was taking place at Tirurangadi the Mapillas in large numbers proceeded to intercept the return of the column by rail by attacking Kadalundi and Parappanangadi stations, and cutting telegraph wires and tearing up the track. The Detachment reached Kadalundi at 17–00 on the 21st and West Hill about 01–00 on the 22nd. No news was received from the Malappuram Detachment.

4. (*a*) 21st August 1921. It was evident on receipt of above information that the situation in Malabar as a whole was much more serious than had been anticipated, that a rising of the Mapillas on a large scale had occurred, and that immediate steps were necessary to reinforce the troops in Malabar. The Government of Madras wired giving me a free hand regarding the above and accordingly at 17–30 I ordered one complete movable column and remainder of the 2nd Dorset Regiment to be despatched from Bangalore by rail at once. I appointed Bt.-Col. E. T. Humphreys, C.M.G., D.S.O., 1st Leinster Regiment, to command all troops in Malabar. Troops on arrival at Podanur to come under his orders. I instructed Colonel Humphreys to advance along the South Indian Railway to Tirur, as and when the damage to the line was repaired, his role being to support the police in restoring order in Malabar. The enforcement of the Railway Security Scheme from Podanur westwards towards Calicut was ordered and patrol trains got ready.

(*b*) Later in the day reports were received that the detachment of two officers and thirty-four Leinsters were held up at Malappuram and unable to return to Calicut; also that the South Indian Railway had been damaged at various points between mile 373/12 as far north as Kadalundi and that large bands of Mapillas were reported at Tirur and Tanur.

(*c*) In view of the above, as it appeared that the force operating westwards from Podanur might be required for some time, I arranged for it to be based on Podanur and ordered ammunition reserves from Madras, a supply depot to be found from Poona and the necessary medical arrangements and increased telegraph personnel to be provided.

* To Southcom only.

(*d*) As all available British Infantry at my disposal were now employed in Malabar, and as it was not desirable to employ Indian Infantry units, more especially as all units were either on war leave, disbanding, or just reorganizing as training battalions, I reported that further reinforcements must come from outside the district.

5. (*a*) On 22nd August 1921 I confirmed this and requested that preparations to send two British battalions to Podanur or by sea to Calicut should be put in hand at once in case they were required. A British battalion at Secunderabad has now been placed at my disposal if required.

(*b*) In view of the imminent possibility of a Mapilla rising in Calicut, the completed internal security measures were enforced, the Keep and West Hill manned, local Auxiliary forces called out, and collection of Europeans ordered by the District Magistrate. Two British officers and fifty Indian other ranks of the 83rd Wallajahbad Light Infantry were also sent to reinforce Calicut from Cannanore.

I recommended that a warship, if available, should be sent to co-operate off Calicut; this was also asked for by Government independently of me. Information has now been received that this request is being complied with and H.M.S. *Comus* left for Calicut.

(*c*) During the day reports of attempts to damage the South Indian Railway further east came in and a request for military assistance was received from the Deputy Magistrate, Shoranur, as a rising was anticipated.

(*d*) I also received an unofficial report that troops would probably be called upon to assist the civil power in Kistna and Guntur shortly. This has influenced me in my decision not to call for the Secunderabad Battalion for Malabar unless absolutely necessary.

6. (*a*) 23rd August 1921. The concentration of troops from Bangalore at Podanur proceeded satisfactorily. The leading train containing a half battalion Second Dorsets reached Shoranur and is reported moving on to Pattambi. The second train, with remainder of Dorsets, left Podanur for Shoranur at 11–30, the fifth train with twelve days' supplies was to leave Bangalore this afternoon.

(*b*) As the force under Colonel Humphreys advances westwards from Shoranur it will be probably necessary to safeguard its communications; I have arranged for an officer as Officer Commanding Lines of Communication to be told off from Bangalore and propose to employ one Company 64th Pioneers in the first instance and to supplement them with a company 88th Carnatic Infantry from St. Thomas' Mount as required. I had originally warned Officer Commanding, 86th Carnatic Infantry, also to detail a company, but he reports rioting occurred at Trichinopoly, and although not called out he has been requested to march through the town; in view of this, and as most of this battalion is on war leave, I have had to cancel this order.

(*c*) I have also thought it necessary to order the recall from ordinary leave of all ranks in Madras District.

7. Officer Commanding, Malabar, hopes to establish his advanced base sufficiently far forward to-morrow to enable a relief column to be despatched to Malappuram.

Copy to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
,, to Headquarters, Bangalore Brigade Area (to be shown to the Hon'ble the Resident in Mysore).

LXVII

From the Diwan of Cochin, dated Trichur, the 30th August 1921.

On reports position in Ponnani was serious and taluk officials in dangerous isolation, took out yesterday frontier patrol force with Pitt and Brown, Police Commissioners of Travancore and Cochin States, to Ponnani. Found officials, offices and treasury safe, though officials cut off from all news from Calicut and Madras side. Numerous dacoities by Mapillas on Nambudri and Nayar landholders in the taluk since 22nd August. Large stores of paddy and rice looted. Dacoities still rife committed even in neighbourhood of taluk headquarters, 45 cases having been registered in kasba station. Nearly all toddy and arrack shops burnt.

LXVIII

Letter—from E. F. Thomas, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 92/21, dated Calicut, the 25th August 1921.

The following report is an account, necessarily incomplete, of the happenings in Ernad so far they have come to my knowledge. As the Government is aware, my intention in going to Tirurangadi by night was to effect a surprise visit and arrest six or seven people under the Mapilla Act for incitement to outrage and to search for war-knives which are known to exist and of which we have had personal experience since. The principal person to be arrested was Ali Musaliar: the others were Khilāfat volunteers. The party from Calicut consisted of about 100 men of the Reserve Police accompanied by Mr. Hitchcock and a detachment of British troops about 70 strong under the command of Captain McEnroy, D.S.O., M.C. The Special Force, Malappuram, were to meet us at Tirurangadi. I was accompanied by Mr. Fraser, Assistant Magistrate, who has been most helpful throughout. We arrived at Tirurangadi at about 4 a.m. From the military point of view, the surprise was complete. Searches for the men wanted and for arms commenced at dawn. After the exits had been blocked by pickets of troops and police, three arrests were made. Unfortunately the principal offenders made their escape. Searches for arms except in one or two cases were fruitless. Mr. Fraser and myself were present during part of the time of the searches, as also Mr. Mainwaring, Deputy Inspector-General of Police. About half past nine or ten the troops and most of the police were withdrawn and a party was left behind to continue the search for the wanted men as there was some hope that they might still be got. Mr. Rowley, Assistant Superintendent of Police, had instructions to bring samans and supplies out by the morning train from Calicut. Mr. Mainwaring's servants also got his kit out from Calicut. Besides this there was a considerable quantity of rations for the men of the detachment. The reserve ammunition, etc., left at the station under the guard of three men had to await transport. The first thing I did when I got to Tirurangadi was to send for the Deputy Tahsildar and tell him to arrange carts for the transport of the supplies and reserve ammunition, etc., waiting at Parappanangadi station and bring out also the things that Mr. Rowley might have brought. The first hitch was in connexion with the transport. The Deputy Tahsildar found it impossible at first to get any kind of conveyance and with difficulty and not before half-past eleven was he able to bring up some rations for the men and the personal effects. The situation at 11–30 was that we were waiting for food. Captain Evans, S.S.O., Wellington, who was with us and who was under orders to proceed to Wellington forthwith therefore left at about half-past eleven on a bicycle just before food arrived to get to Parappanangadi station. He ran into a crowd of armed Mapillas, many wearing Khilāfat badges led by a man with a Khilāfat banner. He estimated the number of crowd to be about 3,000. He was able to make his escape and return to report the fact. This would be at about half-past eleven. Neither the police nor the troops had any food. The police at once fell in and advanced down the road to meet them led by Mr. Hitchcock, Mr. Lancaster, Mr. Amoo and Mr. Mainwaring. About a mile and a half away from Tirurangadi the police met the crowd. Mr. Amoo called upon them to disperse. They came on steadily with shouts and war cries. The police at twenty yards distance charged with fixed bayonets. They continued to advance and met the bayonets with their clubs. The crowd did not give an inch but met the police with uplifted sticks and swords and brought them down with great clatter on the bayonets. The police then opened fire in self-defence without a word of command and indeed in the uproar no word of command would have been heard. The effect of the firing was to make the crowd retreat a few yards. The firing at once stopped. We drove them back a short way and took several prisoners and without more firing steadily drove them back to within a mile of Parappanangadi station, by which time the crowd on the road had dwindled to about 600, the rest having escaped into the fields. The road was littered with cudgels, Khilāfat caps and Khilāfat banners, and a Khilāfat banner was seized at the first onset, the bearer having been wounded (and subsequently died). Before he died he gave a dying statement to my Assistant Collector. Though the police opened fire in sheer self-defence without a word of command, I am satisfied having been present that no more force was used than was necessary to disperse this

unlawful assembly. We returned to camp at about 3 o'clock. We then learnt that a much more serious battle had been fought on the Tirurangadi side, between the few police who had been left in the town and who were driven back and five men of the detachment constituting the ammunition guard reinforced by a platoon of Leinsters with a Lewis gun. Government will appreciate that I have not yet had any leisure to make complete enquiry into all the circumstances of this battle at which I was not present. But, so far as my enquiries go at present, the following account may be taken as practically correct. The constables who, as I mentioned, had been left in the town, were at the cross roads of the town where three roads meet. They observed Mapillas collecting at the Mosque. Mr. Rowley, who having no uniform, had remained behind at the Deputy Tahsildar's cutcherry, which was our camp, was informed of this development and went out to take charge. He met the police with a handful of men. By that time the crowd had advanced to within a quarter of a mile or so of our camp. He disposed his men to the best advantage. Evidently he did not take a serious view of the situation, as his more experienced constables did and thought that he would be able to disperse this unlawful assembly without much difficulty. The crowd advanced. It was then certainly not less than 2,000 strong collected from the amsams of Tirurangadi, surrounding amsams and Kottakkal. When the mob was quite close to the police a man came out in front and called to the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Mr. Rowley. Mr. Rowley held up his hand and told the crowd to stop. This man then said, if there were any Muhammadan constables, they had better go. It is unnecessary to say that they did not, but stood by their officer and their fellow-constables. Mr. Rowley then ordered the men to load. By this time, so far as I can gather, the police had been reinforced by a lance corporal and four men who took post alongside the police : three on one side of them and two on the other. The crowd overflowed into the parambas on both sides of the road, tracking down the hedges, and outflanked and almost surrounded the party. Mr. Johnstone appears to have arrived about this time and ordered his men to load one round. The situation was critical if not hopeless. Firing began. One round was insufficient, and I believe Mr. Johnstone ordered rapid firing. But the crowd had practically encircled this party and they were certainly outflanked on both flanks and as no one saw these two officers meeting their death, I assume for the present at any rate, that they were surrounded by the mob, either killed or clubbed senseless and dragged into the parambas alongside the road to be butchered. The police and the five British soldiers retired in the face of overwhelming odds and some of these soldiers fought their way through in a hand-to-hand combat. The police and these men, whose conduct merits the highest admiration, had noticed that a platoon with a Lewis gun was coming up in support and retired down the sides of the road of the court compound.

The battle then took on two phases. There were swarms of men surrounding the court compound trying to attack under cover of trees and bushes and the compound wall was lightly held by some men of the detachment, reserve and taluk police. At the same time a solid mob armed according to one informant with cutlasses, sticks and knives, as were the other Mapillas in the fields, came in a solid body of about 1–2000 down the road. Their hostile intention was obvious. They had already killed two British officers and it was absolutely necessary in self-defence for the men of the platoon on the road to fire. They opened fire with one Lewis gun and magazine fire and drove this crowd away. At the same time the party manning the walls of the office was successful in repelling their assailants who were on three sides. This was the situation which faced us when we returned from driving back the mob on the Parappanangadi road. The first need was food. None of us had had any food that day and it was past 3 o'clock. We were just about to start together and search for the bodies of our dead when news was brought in that the bodies of the two officers and head constable Moidin, who died with Mr. Rowley, were lying on the side of the road by the post office about 250 yards up the road. We went there and recovered our dead and returned to camp. While we were consulting as to the next step to take a message arrived from the Deputy Tahsildar,

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NOTE.—From an eye-witness I have since learnt that Mr. R[owley] went in advance of his men to try to prevail on the crowd to stop, was cut off by the crowd and I presume butchered on the spot. Mr. J[ohnstone] was not with him.

who had remained at Parappanangadi and whose conduct has been quite commendable, that the mob, probably the mob we had driven back, with additions from Parappanangadi had sacked the railway station and smashed the points. This made it inevitable that we should stop that night at Tirurangadi. We heard also that three men of the detachment guarding the reserve ammunition and supplies and town reserve constables guarding our supplies for which transport had not been obtained, had left by mail to Tirur with the ammunition owing to the presence of a threatening crowd. The Deputy Tahsildar's office was put as far as possible in a state of defence. After anxious consideration I came to the conclusion that the situation was beyond the Civil power to deal with and asked Captain McEnroy to assume full control. This was at 7 p.m. We sat down to spend what I confess was to me a very uneasy night, for we had received information from friends that the crowd at Tirurangadi had not dispersed, but had assembled at the Mosque, were taking food and considering whether they should attack us in the night. Perhaps the severe casualties that they had received deterred them, for we were not molested. Next morning after burying our dead we collected our prisoners, some 40 in number, all taken in the fight with the mob from Parappanangadi except three arrested at Tirurangadi, loaded as much of our things as we could carry, abandoned the rest and marched at 8 a.m. to Parappanangadi. We reached there at about 10 and found the station wrecked and lines taken up near the signals. As the train had driven up some while before accompanied by a party of North Malabar Reserve headed by Mr. Tottenham, we waited some time to see whether it would return. Then we received information that we would be attacked by a strong body of men from Tirurangadi. This did not materialise. So at about 2 p.m. Captain McEnroy decided to march to Kadalundi where we hoped to find the line intact and get the train sent out to take us back to Calicut by the Railway authorities. It must be remembered that we had our last food before we left Tirurangadi and could not expect to get much at Parappanangadi and indeed the soldiers got little and the police only tea. All the way to Ariyalur we were subject to attacks on both flanks, in front and in rear. The enemy included a few men armed with guns. The parties in front and in rear showed more determination than those on the flanks. The front and rear attacks were beaten off with machine gun and magazine fire with heavy loss to the enemy. The line was up in two or three places and it was perfectly obvious that the enemy, for enemy they must be called, intended if they could to cut us off when, being without food as we were, our position would be hopeless. The march was a difficult one, encumbered as we were with prisoners, refugees and other non-combatants carrying the luggage with spare ammunition and marching along the railway track. At Ariyalur, about three miles and a half, we came to a friendly country where the inhabitants received us with extreme relief. After a short halt we pushed on to Kadalundi. At Kadalundi we learnt that a party was even then cutting the line at a bridge a mile and a half further on and Captain McEnroy pushed forward with two platoons to try to forestall the cutting of the line, but it was too late to do so. Mr. Mainwaring who was with the advance party was in time to see the rails thrown into the river. A few wreckers paid the penalty. We finally reached Feroke after dark at 8-30 p.m. The last opposition met was at the bridge where the line was cut. On the Calicut side of the Feroke bridge we found the line again cut but a gang was repairing it and the Railway authorities had a train ready to take us back to Calicut which we reached at about midnight. There is not the slightest doubt that the intention of the enemy was to cut us off and rush us on the line in the dark, when the attack would have been difficult to beat off seeing that we were encumbered by a large party of prisoners and other non-combatants. In fact we had to fight our way in and I think we owe it to Captain McEnroy's leadership that our object was achieved.

Before I go on to refer to other questions elsewhere I may as well refute a few lies which have already been spread by interested persons. The first is that we bombarded the Mapillas at Tirurangadi without provocation. There is no truth in this. The first shot was fired by the police against the fanatical mob well armed for hand-to-hand fighting with some of the most formidable clubs I have ever seen, having every intention to use them. The object of our raid was to arrest persons

against whom I had issued warrants and to make searches under the Mapilla Offensive Weapons Act for which also I had issued warrants. We did not fire until we were forced to do in self-defence, for the firing by the troops and nothing less could have saved our camp or ammunition and the lives of a good many of the police.

The crowd that attacked us from the west consisted of Tanur Mapillas and Muslims who, having received very speedy news of our raid, mustered at once and came in by train for this very purpose. They were reinforced by Mapillas from other amsams adjacent and from Parappanangadi. If the Tirurangadi people resented the perfectly legal proceedings I ordered to be taken we need not perhaps be surprised but the quarrel was not a quarrel of the people of Parappanangadi and the still more distant amsams as far as Tanur. Similarly the crowd that attacked us from Tirurangadi almost simultaneously with the other attack consisted of men gathered from amsams as far afield as Kottakkal. I have definite information about Kottakkal and I infer that Vengara and other amsams supplied their quota. These were not haphazard gatherings on the spur of the moment. Our arrival was not known till dawn. By 11-30 or 12 at latest the mobs had gathered in distant places and were in contact with the troops and police. This could not be done without an organization for taking the offensive on a large and complete scale. On Sunday the 20th a crowd of 10,000 Mapillas took prisoners at Tirur, the officials, the Police and two of the British soldiers who were guarding the reserve ammunition (the fate of the third is unknown), subsequently sacked the public offices and held prisoners the two soldiers and one non-official European who were stranded at Tirur. At Kottakkal public offices were sacked on the same day and the Kottakkal Kovilagam threatened and forced to pay blackmail. On Sunday or Monday the Nilambur Kovilagam also was sacked and 13 men, women and children killed. The railway line has been torn up as far as Kuttipuram, possibly further. Government probably know better than I do the state of the line further east. The roads, bridges and culverts have been destroyed on the Calicut-Manjeri-Nilambur road. Probably also on the other main roads. Manjeri and Ponnani Taluk offices were threatened by large bands, but so far as I can hear no particular damage has yet been done. [I have since learnt that Manjeri treasury with a large quantity of treasure has been looted.] The Tanur offices were also wrecked on Sunday. On Saturday the 19th Mr. Reedman, Inspector, Police Special Force, was murdered 4 miles from Malappuram with his orderly when he was going to Tirurangadi to join the Special Force as he had fallen sick the night before and had to return. Almost every moment I receive information of further outrages, dacoities and burning of Illoms. I fear very greatly for the safety of the rubber planters in Eastern Ernad. [I have just received definite information that Mr. Eaton was killed and that Mr. Browne and Mr. Colebrooke escaped up the Sispara Ghat.] I can get no information regarding the greater part of Ernad and Ponnani and can only conjecture what is happening. On the side of the Mapillas the rebellion, for it is no less, is conducted with the utmost savagery and their savagery appears at first to have been aimed particularly at European officials and Europeans generally. Government must make no mistake. This is a rebellion affecting Ernad, most of Ponnani, part of Calicut taluk regarding which I have just received further information, and it is being conducted in the light of the worst traditions for destruction of roads and houses and for murders which attach to the name of the Prussian. No one is safe except under the guns of a British detachment. I cannot conjecture what force will be required to quell this rebellion. It is no mere outbreak and seeing that the lives and property of now probably more than three hundred thousand Hindus are in peril, I consider that a declaration of Martial Law throughout South Malabar cannot be delayed any longer. The campaign will be a difficult one owing to the wholesale destruction of roads, road bridges and railways that has gone on unchecked. Again, let Government make no mistake. The fanatical outbreak spirit has now been imparted, but the rebellion is in all essentials one of Khilāfat against the British Raj. I anticipated that any action we might take at Tirurangadi might be a spark to set the whole country side ablaze. I am appalled by the extent of the conflagration. These simultaneous risings in many different parts of the two taluks point unmistakably to an organization for a rebellion which was bound to come as soon as I took anywhere any action to vindicate the law, though I did not know this till it happened. The Mapilla of Ernad and Ponnani

has been misled by the teachings of the Congress party and the Khilāfat party. He has taken their utterances at their face value and is convinced that his time is come. I fear that thousands of lives will have been lost before the mistake is brought home.

I should have mentioned before that on Saturday the 19th after we left for Tirurangadi a detachment of the Leinster Regiment numbering 34 officers and men went by motor to Malappuram. We have heard nothing of them since as the telegraph lines were cut the same day. But there is no reason to fear that they have not been able to hold out. I have heard nothing also from Mr. Austin, but hope that, as I have information that he was alright up to the 21st, he also is in safety. I beg the Government will excuse the imperfections of this letter which has been dictated before I have had time to digest the mass of reports and rumours which have been coming in all day ever since I got back from Tirurangadi and I also had much to do in organizing supplies for the British refugees who are sheltering at present at West Hill. I say nothing of letters from Congress agitators about what they are pleased to term the unfortunate happening in Ernad.

LXIX

Letter—from F. ARMITAGE, Esq., Acting Inspector-General of Police, Madras, No. R.C. 663/ Statl., dated the 30th August 1921.

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of a report received from the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Western Range, relating to the disturbance in South Malabar.

ENCLOSURE

Letter—from N. E. Q. MAINWARING, Esq., Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Western Range, to the Inspector-General of Police, Madras, dated Camp, Calicut, August 23rd, 1921.

Affairs in South Malabar culminated on Saturday 20th August 1921. A state of lawlessness has existed amongst the Mapillas for several months undoubtedly brought about by the preaching of seditionists some of whom were dealt with in February last. It was also anticipated as strongly as to amount to certain knowledge that any step taken by the authorities in the interest of law and order would precipitate matters and with this knowledge the greatest secrecy of our intentions had to be maintained. This had been reported by local officials. The largest force that could be gathered had to be used and a detachment of troops from West Hill had been requisitioned by District Magistrate which was extremely fortunate. Tirurangadi, one of the big villages in the Ernad, was a storm centre. Here Ali Musaliar, a descendant of some of the Mapillas killed in the 1884 rising, had taken to praying at the graves of the saints (i.e., the men who had been killed in that rising) every Friday accompanied by a procession. This has always been the precursory step to a rising. The neighbourhood knew that these processions would attract the attention of the officials. Apparently with the object of preventing interference the procession was of volunteers. It became imperative that Ali Musaliar and half a dozen others who were stirring up fanaticism should be dealt with under the Mapilla Act. The police were not strong enough unaided to undertake this step; hence the assistance of the Military was invoked. The plan evolved as likely to effect our object in arresting the firebrands of the district was to surprise Tirurangadi by getting there before daylight, effect the arrests of the men wanted there and search for war-knives known to exist and move off to Tanur, Pukkottur and other places in the neighbourhood with the same object. I am given to understand that the plan was drawn up by the Military. I heard from Mr. Hitchcock on Friday 19th at Mettupalaiyam that action was to be taken either on Friday or Saturday. I got into the train on Friday 19th at 7–35 p.m. for Calicut. At Tirur at 3 a.m 20th August, I got a letter from Mr. Hitchcock handed to me in the train saying that the expedition was starting that night and that a man would be at Parappanangadi to show me the way to Tirurangadi if I wished to go after them. I left Parappanangadi immediately the train arrived at about 4–30 a.m. and walked $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles to Tirurangadi cutcherry which was the headquarters of the force. There I saw the District Magistrate, Mr. Thomas, before 6 a.m. We went together into the town and saw the searches being regularly conducted. Three arrests had been made and the Captain of the Khilāfat Volunteers had just escaped through the back of a house into a tangle of vegetation and was being searched for when we arrived on the spot. The District Magistrate after remaining some time returned to the cutcherry. I remained with Mr. Hitchcock and we went about half mile away to Ali Musaliar's house into which a forcible entry had to be made as it had been vacated and locked. A spy told us Ali Musaliar was moving about and concealing himself in the jungle. He was not caught and the whole searching party was withdrawn to the cutcherry during the morning. No food had arrived for anyone. Mr. Rowley, Assistant Superintendent of Police of Palghat, who had just arrived from home, was to bring the food supply out from Parappanangadi but had been unable to get carts. This was

probably due to local opposition or refusal to supply any conveyance. We managed to get three jutkas and two carts and sent them in to bring out the food—these arrived at 11-30 a.m. In the meanwhile my camp kit that had gone on into Calicut by the train I travelled in, had returned to Parappanagadi and a message had been sent out to say it was unsafe to send it out to Tirurangadi without a very strong escort. Almost simultaneously a message was brought in that a very large number of Mapillas was advancing along the road from the station to attack us and very shortly afterwards Captain Evans, S.S.O., who had intended returning to Calicut and had been lent a cycle returned hurriedly having nearly run into the crowd. We immediately fell in without food and advanced down the road to meet them. We met them about 1½ miles from the cutcherry. Mr. Hitchcock, Mr. Lancaster, Ammu Sahib and myself were leading the special force. They were warned by Ammu Sahib to go back. There were probably three thousand of them. They continued to advance at us shouting and chanting, when they were about fifty yards off we charged them with bayonets. They did not give an inch but met us with uplifted staves that came down with a great clatter on the bayonets and rifle barrels. We were then mixed up with them and the constables without word of command commenced firing in self-defence. They then retreated down the road they had come a few yards. The firing was immediately stopped. There were nine wounded Mapillas on the road and its immediate neighbourhood. Their standard bearer was down in front of me. He had a Khilāfat cap on. I took this and the standard and handed them back to Sergeant Hartigan. As we advanced they retired, if we halted they halted, shouted and threw stones. We took forty prisoners and drove the mob in front of us to within about a mile of Parappanangadi railway station. They were then probably not more than six hundred. The remainder had taken to the fields and the road was littered with their cudgels of bamboo, banyan limbs and Khilafat batons and Khilāfat caps. We got back to the cutcherry at about 3-30 p.m. to hear that they had been attacked half an hour earlier by some two thousand Mapillas from Tirurangadi side and that Mr. Rowley and Lieutenant Johnstone were missing. No very reliable account of how they got detached from the force can be got, but it is said that the Mapillas beckoned to them and indicated that they wished to talk and these young officers went forward attended by four or five constables and were immediately hit on the head and dragged away. Later on a search was instituted. This had evidently been anticipated by the Mapillas who had evidently laid the bodies in an exposed place beside the road so that they might be found as we advanced up the road towards Tirurangadi from the cutcherry. The bamboo fence between the scrub and the place the bodies were laid had been broken outwards towards the spot, the bodies horribly mutilated were laid on their backs with arms extended. We were told by a jutkawallah when the search was about to be made where the bodies were which was quite near his house. He also told us where the dead head constable was. We brought the bodies into the cutcherry. We spent a restless night. The police had no food as we had to go just as their rice was cooking and it had cooked away by the time they got back. We heard that evening that the station at Parappanangadi had been wrecked also, that on the advice of an officer travelling on the 11 a.m. train from Calicut the ammunition wagon and escort of two privates and ten constables had been sent up to Tirur. My camp kit also went on.

On the 20th we were told that the Tirurangadi Mapillas were coming to attack us after they had eaten food. We buried the officers and got the head constable buried in a mosque next the cutcherry and marched off to the railway at 8 a.m. We found the station wrecked and rails taken up near the home signals. I should mention that last evening the District Magistrate made over the direction of affairs to the Officer Commanding Troops (Captain McEnroy) as it was quite clear that the state indicated open revolt and necessitated military action. At Parappanangadi we were informed we were to be attacked. We prepared for this event which however did not take place. At 2 p.m. we advanced down the railway line towards Ariyalur. At intervals the rails had been removed and we had not gone far when we were opposed by Mapillas in front, a large body came up behind and on both sides of the line. These had to be cleared away by rifle and Lewis gun fire. This first group of Mapillas were said to have come in to attack us from Pukkottur. I omitted to mention that while we were driving the Mapillas towards Parappanangadi yesterday a jutka came along the road from the station which contained the Khilāfat Secretary from Calicut. He must have got very early information of our movement and he must have passed through the rush that attacked from Tirurangadi while our party was out the other side. We marched up the line until we got to Feroke at 8-30 p.m. Every mile or so we met mobs of Mapillas who attempted to impede our progress. A train was waiting for us on the Calicut side of the bridge where a rail had been taken up. We got into Calicut at midnight. Mr. Hitchcock and myself walked to the club where we spent the night, so also did Mr. Lancaster. We found that all the other Europeans were sleeping at West Hill barracks.

22nd.—Word was brought to Mr. Hitchcock that a big crowd had collected at the railway station and as we could not get to the Reserve without passing through them we went to the barracks. Captain McEnroy ordered Messrs. Hitchcock and Lancaster to return to police reserves lines and stop with the men. Mr. Tottenham is defending the Feroke bridge. Most distressing reports come in. The privates who went with the ammunition truck and the police party to Tirur were taken by a huge crowd of Mapillas. Two constables who managed to escape this

morning walked here and reported. This means that the Mapillas now have arms and ammunition as well as uniforms of the S.F. men captured. I forgot to mention that when Mr. Hitchcock and myself walked from railway station to the club last night at midnight there were groups of Mapillas on the road and at street corners. The rumours were to the effect that they were out to loot which the return of the troops prevented. They might have been waiting about out of curiosity and to see what prisoners we had got. Reports in the afternoon say that the Privates of the Leinsters were being treated well and were in custody of a Tirur Vakil who had interceded on their behalf. No news has come from Malappuram up to date, but it is known the troops there are well armed with machine guns and a Stokes Mortar and should be able to look after themselves.

23rd.—No news of any disturbances during the night. The railway line seems to have been left alone. The truck we pushed along from Kadalundi with what baggage we had not scrapped and had to leave at the bridge a mile out of Feroke was left undisturbed and the baggage abandoned with it was brought last evening complete. A detachment of the 83rd Regiment (2 officers and 50 men) from Cannanore arrived at 8 p.m. last night. The weary and famished party that was out during the night of 19, 20, 21 are recovering. All motor-cars have been commandeered and were parked at West Hill last night. Military precautions are being taken and it is thought that Signallers may get in touch with the Dorsets who are believed to be coming from Podanur. I received a wire from Inspector-General at Podanur yesterday to report by cypher wire on the situation and did so. The whole of my camp office and kit are reported to have been burnt at Tirur. There was a rifle and a gun with it. My clerk is said to have escaped. Nothing appears to be known of my servants. At 9 a.m. railway constable No. 209 arrived from Tirur. He confirmed story regarding the Leinster privates being alive and said they were being taken to Ponnani in a weak condition. He also said that he saw the mutilated corpse of an European in the river at Kadalundi. It may be one of the officers we buried at Tirurangadi. The Mapillas are known to have looted the cutcherry there as soon as we left and it is possible they desecrated the grave wherein we placed Rowley and Johnstone. Three of my servants arrived about the same time as the railway constable. They confirm the story that every scrap of my belongings were burnt at Tirur and that the clerk and orderly got away. Another officer's servant also came in. It is a peculiar point that the Mapillas do not appear to be molesting other natives. It appears that they are only out against the authorities. Head constable No. 760 Achuthan, who was sent out yesterday towards Malappuram by Mr. Hitchcock, reported at 11 a.m. that he dared not go past the 14th mile as gangs of Mapillas were reported to be going about killing Hindus. The bridges at 8th and 10th miles are destroyed. He heard that the Tirumulpad's Palace at Nilambur and the cutcherry at Manjeri had been destroyed. Mr. Tottenham reports that a mob of six hundred Mapillas are said to have crossed the Feroke river by boats east of Feroke and were marching on Calicut with the object of looting. As far as I know at present, our casualties are killed two officers, two head constables and two constables and probably twenty constables in the hands of the Mapillas.

LXX

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 168, dated the 30th August 1921.

Report 30th. Chandy, Forest officer and party safe Nilambur. Expect them in by friendly Mapillas any time. Seen leading men Calicut on Martial Law proclamation and had friendly talk holding out hopes that the administration would be as little irksome in Calicut as possible. Think impression good. Dewan, Cochin, wires frontier party under Pitt visited Ponnani twenty-ninth. Offices and town safe but numerous dacoities reported from neighbourhood. Chowghat office also safe.

LXXI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. 96, dated the 30th August 1921.

All quiet on railway. Telegraph repairs proceeding without interruption. No report from column.

LXXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. 250/140/G., dated the 30th August 1921.

For Madras Press. Movable columns were to converge on Tirurangadi to-day where Collector reports large number rebels assembled. Reports of rebel attack on small British force near Pukkottur on 26th show that rebels attacked in most determined manner. Malappuram since quiet.

LXXIII

From the Subdivisional Magistrate, Palghat, dated the 30th August 1921.

More refugees arriving from Mannarghat and other places. No information received from Ponnani and Chowghat. Am watching Palghat which so far quiet.

LXXIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/143/G, dated the 30th August 1921.

Situation 18–00 hours. The movable columns from Malappuram and Tirur were due to meet at Tirurangadi 10 o'clock this morning, where the Collector reports 500 to 1,000 rebels determined to make a stand. Calicut movable column will block the ferry west of Tirurangadi from six hours. Collector says Tanur needs dealing with in force. Malappuram quiet. Railway to be guarded as follows. Squadron Bays, Shoranur. Company 64th Pioneers, Tirur. Company 83rd, Feroke. Inhabitants along the railway returning gradually. Gudalur and Vayitiri quiet. General Officer Commanding gone Calicut arrange Martial Law.

LXXV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 98, dated the 31st August 1921.

Nothing to report.

LXXVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B 5, dated the 31st August 1921.

Both columns reached Tirurangadi according to plan. Numbers of armed rebels reported between thirty and three hundred surrounded but not actively opposing. One column left to deal with them. Radcliffe's column sent Malappuram to deal with Ernad. Railway and Calicut quiet. Rejoining headquarters to-day. Repeat Chief Secretary to Government, Madras, despatched 09–00 hours 31st August.

LXXVII

From the Subdivisional Magistrate, Palghat, dated the 31st August 1921.

Mannarghat Sub-Registrar's office broken open records removed 29th. Many Melattur Hindus forcibly converted Muhammadanism. Chavakudi quiet; dacoities committed Trittla, Vettompallipuram, Angadi, Kavakkodi, Pathi, Thara, since 23rd. Rebels collecting Vettompallipuram intending mischief.

LXXVIII

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 177, dated the 31st August 1921.

Report 31st. Chandy Forest Officer and subordinates came in to-day; their lives saved by loyal Mapilla Mambat Kunhi Mamu Mussaliar. Calicut town and taluks and North Malabar remain quiet. Rumoured Manjeri being sacked by rebels. This requires confirmation.

LXXIX

Letter—from N. E. Q. Mainwaring, Esq., Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Western Range, to the Inspector-General of Police, Madras, dated Calicut, the 24th August 1921.

The situation as far as Calicut is concerned remains unchanged. I have not left the barrack since arrival owing to a sprained muscle in my right calf done by stepping on an upright bolt crossing a culvert on the railway in the dark on the night of 21st when marching into Feroke. To-day I went to the railway station and the Collector's cutcherry which the Reserve and Special Force are guarding. The town was quiet enough, but no business was being done. Mr. Gill, the Bank Manager, tells me that his daffadar states that the organizers of this rebellion are disbanded sepoys of the 2/73rd regiment who were at one time under him. A terrible rumour came in that Mr. Austin and two other Europeans tried to join us in a car at Tirurangadi were killed and the car thrown into the river. There appears

to be no foundation whatever for this rumour, but to-day a reliable report comes in to the effect that Inspector Reedman of the Malappuram Special Force who had been ill at the time the force started tried to join us on a motor bicycle with his orderly in the sidecar. They were killed two miles out of Tirurangadi on the Malappuram side and the bodies were identified by the brother-in-law of the dead constable. It was probably Reedman's body seen by the railway constable mentioned in my previous report in the river at Kadalundi as it was said to be fair and tattooed on the forearms. This would apply to Mr. Reedman whom I knew well in Vellore. Yesterday afternoon a youth wearing Gandhi cap and clothes named Gopala Menon brought in a letter from Kesava Menon, the local Chairman of the Home Rule Congress Party. I interviewed him and told him he could not expect any co-operation from us now, that the military authorities were in charge owing to the state of revolution arising out of the preaching of mischievous doctrines. He told me that his party preached only non-violence and that there would have been no violence had not the military first bombarded places. This is no doubt the lying justification that will be advanced by the Home Rule Party. The youth also told me that, if troops were entirely removed, they could produce anyone who was wanted.

Mr. Eaton's (the planter) chokra came in and reported that three days ago he and his master arrived at Pullangode bungalow at 12-30 noon and immediately a large force of Mapillas came for them. They ran into the jungle and the chokra climbed a tree. The barking of his master's dog told the Mapillas in which direction to pursue. He afterwards heard three shots and thought the Mapillas had shot his master who however was carrying a revolver. He hid that night in a box in the deserted cooly lines and made his way to the tappal cooly's hut next morning. There he was told that his master had been killed, but no one appears to have seen his body. On the face of this story it is just possible that a panic in the neighbourhood led to the cooly lines being deserted and the chokra also running away and his story may be only rumour. To-night we have received telegrams to the effect that the Dorsets have got to within 8 miles of Tirur. The parties working from Calicut are about the same distance this side. A junction is expected to-morrow. The H.M.S. *Comus* is expected to arrive at 11–30 a.m. to-morrow.

25th.—A strong party went out this morning to relieve Malappuram. The road had been previously repaired for 14 miles. They may have difficulties in the remainder of the distance whether they go direct or via Manjeri. The stories of late indicate that the Mapillas in the neighbourhood of Parappanangadi are badly off for food and are looting all Indian houses with the object of getting food. The Hindus are no better off than the Mapillas in this respect. The H.M.S. *Comus* arrived at 1 p.m. and immediately helioed to enquire if women and children were safe. The District Magistrate and Lieutenant Stuart went on board and returned in the afternoon. It seems absolutely essential that a conference should be arranged between Military units, Naval Commander and Civil authorities as to the plan of campaign to be adopted to restore order throughout the district, which will be a complicated matter. The Officer Commanding troops went out with the majority of his force to relieve Malappuram. Mr. Moody returned in the evening on motor cycle and reported they had got 25 miles but were returning to Pukkottur for the night. They probably have the worst of their journey into Malappuram. All the transport of the force at Malappuram sent out on 19th was captured by the rebels and rolled into the river. A motor returned at night and reported that one of the lorries with the relieving force broke down and they needed rations. Further news was brought in by a Eurasian writer under Mr. Campbell that Mr. Eaton's head had been placed at the place where three roads cross near Pullangode. The two privates of the Leinsters and Police who were captured at Tirur were brought in unharmed by the working train. They tell us that the Police had assiduously spread the report that five hundred British soldiers were coming to attack Tirur and that from the morning of 24th outside Mapillas had cleared out of Tirur. I had observed many Mapillas streaming over the tops of the hills in the direction of Malappuram to-day at 12 noon and 2–30 p.m. The earlier lot were travelling south-west and the afternoon crowd which was much the larger were going north. They were probably flying from the Malappuram relief force.

26th.—Telegrams are being received enquiring what measures are to be taken and who has to be arrested. Such questions are impossible to answer without a conference. We can give names of persons whose arrest was necessary before the rebellion started, but now there are thousands more to be dealt with who were concerned in the rebellion. These will have to be searched for. Mr. Tippetts got in here this morning having made his way by night to Quilandi from his estate at Tamarasseri. Mr. Harley with his family was brought in yesterday. Went to Collector's office and saw Mr. Hitchcock and his men.

27th.—Yesterday afternoon about 4 p.m. H.M.S. *Comus* landed a party of fifty marines with Lewis guns and rifles. The party marched through the Mapilla quarters with a flag leading. Amu Sahib led the party. This had been considered advisable as certain Mapillas had been trying to re-establish the confidence of their co-religionists by spreading rumours that the *Comus* was only a sugar ship and her presence was a hoax to intimidate Mapillas. Other stories admitted she had some guns on board but no men to work them. Mr. Tippetts, the planter from Tamarasseri, came in this morning. He had walked all night disguised as an Indian with bare feet. In this way he got to Quilandy and came on by train. Mr. Norman (planter) from the same neighbourhood with his two assistants came in by car. A telegram in the afternoon reported that Mr. Brown (planter, Nilambur side) with his assistant and a Police Sub-Inspector had reached Ooty. They had been followed to within two miles of the Nilgiris district frontier. A motor transport driver who went out Pukkottur side came in last night and reported he had heard firing and Mapillas were scattering in all directions through the jungle. This was probably Captain McEnroy's column in action. No news has been received from this column up to date (10 a.m., 27th) since they started two days ago. Colonel Humphreys came in having had to walk only about 3 miles. Mr. Evans, I.C.S., accompanied the Colonel.

28th.—A conference was held at the Collector's office at which Colonel Humphreys, Captain Cochran of the *Comus* and Messrs. Evans, Thomas, Hitchcock and myself were present. Colonel Humphreys arranged a plan of operations to begin by converging on Tirurangadi to effect the arrests of persons wanted there. Still no news from the force that went out with Captain McEnroy. At 7 p.m. this force returned. They found the road two miles past Kondotti strongly obstructed by felled trees and bivouacked at Kondotti on night of Thursday 25th. On Friday 26th they advanced and were fiercely attacked while removing obstructions. The attack was a truly Mapilla fanatical attack. The attackers were armed with rifles obtained from Tirur (probably) and looting other small police stations, also with war knives and spears. The fight lasted over five hours. The Mapillas lost about three hundred including all the local leaders. The Leinsters lost two killed, one of whom was cut down by a wounded Mapilla with a war knife. Nine wounded Leinsters (all gun-shot wounds) were brought in. One officer wounded (Lieutenant Macgonigal) had his left leg broken by stepping in front of a Lewis gun in action while keeping off Mapillas in hand-to-hand combat. Mr. Lancaster was killed by a bullet from a sniper passing through his chest above the heart. All the soldiers describe him as 'a stout lad'. It appears he left his men after they had done some very good shooting in the rear of the column which was attacked from all sides and went up in front to make an effort to remove a sniper. He was an unrestrainable fighter and caused anxiety on more than one occasion in getting too far forward at Tirurangadi where he got hit across the face by a rebel's stick and clubbed on the shoulder. The action has had a good effect. While the troops came through Calicut bazaar, Mapillas threw cigarettes into the cars. When the troops passed through the battle area, Mapillas appeared for a moment and made salaams before hurriedly retreating. They were employed burying their dead. Their fanaticism had temporarily evaporated. Our dead were buried at Malappuram.

29th August.—I hear that a large number of Mapillas has left Calicut fearing that H.M.S. *Comus* was going to shell the Mapilla quarters. There is still very much to be done. Some four hundred true fanatics are in Tirurangadi determined to die fighting. These will be dealt with to-morrow and then operations may be possible in Eastern Ernad.

LXXX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. 100, dated the 31st August 1921.

Situation quiet. No news from Tirurangadi.

LXXXI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S-250/153/G., dated the 31st August 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras press. Operations Tirurangadi carried out yesterday according to plan; no opposition. Calicut and railway quiet. Gudalur quiet. Small parties Mapillas returning to homes in Malabar. Naval support no longer required on West Coast H.M.S. *Comus* leaving. Troops called out over Madras mill strike returned barracks 09·00.

LXXXII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. 102, dated the 1st September 1921.

Situation quiet. No news from Tirurangadi.

LXXXIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 106, dated Tirurangadi, the 1st September 1921.

Rebels in Tirurangadi opened fire at 09/45 yesterday. They then rushed out and attacked troops. Our casualties one killed, four wounded. Rebels twenty-four killed, thirty-eight captured, including Ali Mussaliar, also seven rifles and swords. Send Hitchcock to Tirur by mail with copy of regulations.

LXXXIV

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 191, dated the 1st September 1921.

16-00 hours. Reported to-day Khan Bahadur Chekkutti, retired Police Inspector, and a Mapilla head constable murdered near Manjeri and their heads exposed on spears and carried through bazaar. Eaton's head also exposed similar fashion. Komu Menon, Melmuri amsam, wealthy land-owner, forcibly converted with whole family. Wholesale conversions reported from Melattur and round Karuvarakundu. Not heard from other places but certain that conversion or death is being freely offered Hindus. Report from Pandikkad Sub-Inspector of Police, which follows by post, fair indication state Ernad and Walluvanad. May I issue communiqués daily showing progress of columns and giving brief details battles subject to approval Military Commander. Calicut quiet. District Gazette issued to-day with ordinance and regulations issued by Military Commander. Will send copies to-morrow.

LXXXV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 109, dated Tirur Camp, the 1st September 1921.

Continuation my M. C. 106 forty-two prisoners including Ali Mussaliar arrived Tirur. Our total casualties—killed three, wounded five, of Dorset regiment. Hope's Column gone to Malappuram.

LXXXVI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/160/G., dated the 1st September 1921.

For Madras Press. As sequel to operations Tirurangadi yesterday, party of rebels who had harboured in mosque emerged and attacked troops and were either killed or captured. Our casualties one killed, four wounded, presumably 2nd Dorsets. Ali Mussaliar, an important rebel, captured.

LXXXVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/161/G., dated the 1st September 1921.

As a sequel of the operations at Tirurangadi on 31st August, a party of the rebels who had taken up a position in the mosque came out and attacked the troops. They were all either killed or taken. Our casualties were one killed and four

wounded, presumably belonging to the 2nd Dorsets. Ali Mussaliar, an important rebel, was captured. The whole column is now concentrating on Malappuram, preparatory to further operations. Through traffic on the railway is being gradually resumed. The forces at Malappuram will be based on Feroke. The situation at Madras is unchanged. The General Officer Commanding returned to Wellington from Calicut to-day.

LXXXVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M. C. 110, dated Tirur Camp, the 2nd September 1921.

Situation quiet. Nothing further report.

LXXXIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 120, dated the 2nd September 1921.

Situation quiet. Column under Colonel Herbert left Malappuram for Manjeri morning 2nd. Ten days supplies now at Malappuram. Two hundred rebels arrested from Tirur, Tanur, Tanalur.

XC

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/166/G., dated the 2nd September 1921.

Situation 18-00. Nothing to report.

XCI

From E. F. Thomas, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate, Malabar, dated Calicut, the 2nd September 1921.

In continuation of my telegraphic daily report of September 1st, I have the honour to submit copy of report received from the Sub-Inspector of Police, Pandikkad station.

Enclosure

From M.R.Ry. K. Karunakaran Nayar, Sub-Inspector of Pandikkad station, to the Superintendent of Police, South Malabar (through the Circle Inspector of Police, Walluvanad), dated the 31st August 1921.

I beg to report the following facts regarding the Pandikkad rebellion on 21st August 1921. Early this morning a rumour spread in the locality that the Mambram mosque was demolished by the military and in the fight between the Mapillas and the military several officers were killed including the District Magistrate, District Superintendent of Police, Deputy Superintendent of Police Amu Sahib. Sets of Mapillas were found talking in whispers at shops in the Pandikkad bazaar. At 1 p.m. on 21st August 1921 I received urgent orders from the Circle Inspector, Manjeri, to send there all arms and ammunition in charge of a head constable and nine men. Sub-Inspectors of Melattur and Karuvarakundu were then present with me in the station. Sub-Inspector, Karuvarakundu, left the place at once. The arms were then sent in charge of head constable No. 391 and seven constables who were then available and the arms were concealed in a cart for secrecy. About two furlongs away from the station they were attacked by a gang of Mapillas, numbering about fifty, and led by (1) Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, (2) his brother Moideen Haji, (3) Payyanadan Moyan, waylaid the Police escort, overpowered them and carried away the arms and ammunition. The constables were badly beaten and one of them, Police constable No. 346, Krishna Kurup, received cuts on his back and arms. The rebels then opened fire and the policemen had to run away. Head constable No. 391 reported the fact at the Police station and shortly afterwards the rebels numbering about a hundred rushed into the Police station firing guns on their way. The constables, head constables and myself had to give way and hide ourselves in the house of Pandikkad Adhigari. The rebels then looted the Police station and lines and destroyed all records. In the meantime the Mapillas in Pandikkad bazaar also joined them and commenced wholesale looting chanting 'Dhigbeer' (തിക്ബീർ) on their way. They then proceeded to Valluvangad and demolished the bridge. Police constable 280 Moideen was despatched to inform the authorities at Malappuram

and Manjeri. By the time the whole place was up in arms. Mapillas from East Pandikkad and Manazhi led by (1) Onampurath Mamu Kurikkal Haji, (2) his brother Koyassan Kurikkal, (3) Pattanan Moideenkutti, (4) his sons Kunhayamu, (5) Marakkar and (6) Moidu, (7) Ossan Mammad, (8) Chingara Koyakutti, (9) Palathil Mootha, (10) Pandikkad Attakoya Thangal, (11) Ayyarali Pokker and (12) Pandikkad Cheria Mussaliar, numbering in all about 500, began looting Hindu houses. My house was the first and samans to the value of about Rs. 1,000 were taken away. Valluvangad Mapillas also began to do the same and Karakkamanna illom and the neighbouring houses were looted. The same thing also took place in Chembrasseri where the Mapillas were headed by Kunhikoya Thangal of Chembrasseri. Before evening all the amsams in the station limits became a prey to the ferocious looters and Hindus alone were the victims. At about 8 o'clock about 3,000 Mapillas assembled in the Pandikkad mosque, where a meeting was convened with the result that the adhikari of Pandikkad, who had stood firm till then, joined the rebels as also Police constables 611, 505, 564 and 1163 (all Muhammadans of Ernad). Police constable 830 Kalandan of Chowghat stood firm and his present whereabouts are not known. The adhikari of Pandikkad (Moosa Haji) turned us out of his house at midnight and we took shelter in a Cheruma hut, about two furlongs off. Next morning, hearing that we were being searched for, we left the hut and stealthily ran away and took shelter in Valarad jungle. At midnight of the 22nd Pattanam Kunhamad Haji came and told me that our movements had been traced and the rebels were coming up. We left the place and stayed in the house of Pandikkad Narayanan Nambiassan of Valarad till the midnight of the 23rd instant. He was threatened by his Mapilla watchmen and one of them, Veerankutti Kurikkal, threatened to cut Nambiassan's throat if he persisted in harbouring us there. We had therefore to leave the place and, marching at night and hiding in jungles during daytime and swimming across rivers, reached this this noon. We were delayed on the way and suffered immensely as the Mapillas of Ernad and Walluvanad were up in arms against the Government and the Hindus. The three constables now with me are Police constable 346 Krishna Kurup, Police constable 1075 Krishna Kurup and Police constable 209 Kanaru Amabalavasi. To avoid observation Head constable 391 and Police constable 388 have left me and have taken another route. Their arrival here is awaited. Our uniforms and all other belongings have fallen into the hands of the rebels and we are stranded here penniless.

Besides looting Hindu houses several temples have been either plundered or burnt. Forcible conversion is also being carried on.

Solicit orders as to where I am to join for duty. At present I am with the Walluvanad Inspector at Shoranur engaged in assisting him in handling the present situation under orders of the Assistant Superintendent of Police on special duty and Officer Commanding.

XCII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 128, dated the 3rd September 1921.

Situation quiet, nothing to report.

XCIII

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 207, dated the 3rd September 1921.

Report September 2nd is nil.

XCIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 139, dated the 3rd September 1921.

Situation. Colonel Humphreys, Messrs. Evans and Hitchcock and convoy, three buses, three motor lorries with supplies, police and escort proceeded Malappuram 15-00 hours to-day. All quiet.

XCV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/172/G., dated the 3rd September 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. No news yet from columns working north from Malappuram. Troops visited Tanalur 31st, some arrests made. Casualties engagements Tirurangadi now reported as one killed, six wounded, two since died, all 2nd Dorsets. Passenger traffic resumed on railway. No disturbances reported in the Wynad. Madras reported quieter.

XCVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 146, dated the 4th September 1921.

Situation quiet. Telegraph line from Tirur to Malappuram under repair.

XCVII

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 239, dated the 4th September 1921.

Nothing to report.

XCVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 149, dated the 4th September 1921.

Column 64th Pioneers left by boat from Tirur for Ponnani at 8 hours to-day.

XCIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/176/G, dated the 4th September 1921.

Situation 18-00 hours. Party of 64th Pioneers left Tirur for Ponnani by boat 8 hours September 4th. No report yet from Manjeri Columu. Probably delayed by damaged roads.

C

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 154, dated the 4th September 1921.

Situation quiet. Column from Malappuram under Colonel Herbert reached Pandikkad via Manjeri, no opposition. Mapillas in small parties with no inclination to fight.

CI

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 249, dated the 5th September 1921.

The family of the Tirumalpad of Nilambur, which was in danger for some days, travelled unmolested by boat to Calicut, arrived this morning. Generally reported that armed Mapilla not to be seen since troops advanced. Beyond this nothing to report.

Public Prosecutor strongly advises including charge under 121, Indian Penal Code, against prisoners from Tirurangadi mosque. Please sanction under section 196, Criminal Procedure Code.

CII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S./250/181/G, dated the 5th September 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. Two movable columns operating from Malappuram. One column reached Pandikkad 8 miles east of Manjeri via Manjeri yesterday. Met Mapillas in small parties with no inclination to fight. Other column operating in Ernad taluk. Headquarters and supply rail head established Tirur as Feroke-Malappuram road badly damaged. Company 64th Pioneers sent Ponnani by water make necessary arrests. About 200 arrests made in villages near Tirur. Calicut normal. Civilians returning to bungalows from West Hill Keep. Nilgiri-Wynad quiet. Mysore Government taking steps control ebb and flow Mapillas on their borders. No further developments in Madras.

CIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 163, dated the 5th September 1921.

Situation quiet. No news from Colonel Herbert's Column. Hearing rebels assembling at Pukkottur small force sent there 4th and arrested six. Detachment Pioneers arrived Ponnani 15-00 hours 4th.

CIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 165, dated the 6th September 1921.

Situation quiet.

CV

From T. Austin, Esq., I.C.S., Subdivisional Magistrate, Malappuram, to the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 253, dated the 2nd September 1921.

I have the honour to submit a narrative of events in Malappuram and in my division, so far as I have received information, since 19th August.

2. Mr. Lancaster, Assistant Superintendent of Police, left Malappuram at midnight, 19th-20th August, for Tirurangadi. Sergeant Mole was left behind with 20 Special Force constables, the older and sickly men: the majority of these 20 were Mapillas. Early on the 20th morning Mr. Reedman, Special Force Inspector, returned with his orderly: he had been taken ill on the way and sent back by the Assistant Superintendent of Police. I saw Mr. Reedman about 10 a.m.: he was very keen on returning to his men, but I refused to let him go alone. About 1 p.m. Mr. Duncan with Mr. Dundas and 30 Leinsters arrived in three motor buses and the Collector's Ford car and settled down in the barracks.

3. A wire was received from the Officer Commanding, Leinsters, despatched from Parappanangadi at 11-30 a.m.: in accordance with this Mr. Duncan sent off to Tirurangadi ferry the Ford car and two buses at 2 p.m. and the other bus at 2-30 p.m. As there was no reason to believe the road to be unsafe I permitted Mr. Reedman to go in the car and his orderly went in one of the buses. I myself was engaged in trying a case which I finished about 4-30 p.m.

4. In the evening news came through from Tirur that Tanur Post Office had been looted and that mobs were tearing up the railway lines and advancing on Tirur. It was also reported that the driver of one of the buses and Special Force Inspector's orderly had been murdered at Vengara. I at once went over to the barracks and suggested to Mr. Duncan that he should bring his men over to the Special Force guard room: Mr. Duncan had a look at the guard room, decided that it was the best position to hold and had all his men, kit, etc., brought over there by 11 p.m. Four women and eight children, the wives and children of the Special Force Inspector and Sergeants, were placed in two rooms above the guard room. The two Leinster officers and myself put our bedding into an upstairs verandah of the guard room: the Taluk Board office has been used in the day time as a mess.

5. The Circle Inspector, Manjeri, wired that he was expecting an attack on the treasury and also sent in a message by a motor bus: Mr. Duncan and I were both of opinion that it was impossible to spare any men: Mr. Duncan would not divide his small force and the 20 Special Force constables would have been of no use by themselves. I therefore kept the bus and sent a message to the Circle Inspector that we could not help him and that he must hold on. By midnight all telegraph wires from Malappuram were cut except that to Angadipuram. About 10 p.m. the driver and three others who were in the bus that left at 2-30 for Tirurangadi returned: the bus had been waylaid and they had narrowly escaped with their lives. I sent two men to the south with a telegram to Government containing all the information I had received up to date. The telegram was despatched from Shoranur next morning.

6. On Sunday 21st Mr. Duncan placed the guard room in a better state of defence. A car came in from Manjeri with a report from the Circle Inspector that the night had passed quietly there. The car tried to return but was unable to do so owing to a broken bridge at mile 4. We requisitioned the car and also the Perintalmanna-Tirur bus. Later in the morning the postmaster reported that the wire to

Angadipuram was cut. Reports also came in that bridges were down on the Vengara and Angadipuram roads. I sent a message to the Collector by a local Mapilla; he returned couple of days later and said he had been unable to get through. We heard that people were collecting in Malappuram to attack us, the shops in Upper Malappuram were closed, and the Adhigari, Special Force line coffee shop-keeper, contractor and other local Mapillas, whom we saw in the morning, disappeared and went into hiding. Mr. Dundas and I took a few soldiers into the upper bazaar: after we threatened to break open a shop, we were given some rice.

7. During Sunday night there was a lot of looting in the neighbourhood: we got an alarm and stood to at 2 a.m. but saw nothing. On Monday morning I took statements from several people whose houses had been looted: and others deposited jewels and valuables in the Special Force armoury. News was brought by a Manjeri constable that the Police had concealed their arms and run away, and that the mob was looting the treasury. There were persistent rumours all day that we were going to be attacked: in the evening the mobs melted away on hearing that troops were coming from Calicut. In Upper Malappuram itself the telegraph wires were cut and a big tree felled across the road near the Post office.

8. Early on Tuesday morning on hearing news of looting Mr. Dundas and I went out with some men. We saw none of the looters, but the local people at once cleared the road of the fallen tree and permitted the broken wires to be repaired. In the afternoon I arrested two Mapillas who had been passing and repassing the guard room: they were obviously spies. It has since been ascertained that they were concerned in looting Paloli house. About 4 p.m. in two buses and my car we made a demonstration in Kottapadi down the hill and also collected some food in Upper Malappuram where most of the shops were open.

9. On Tuesday night there was some firing in the bazaar by some Pukkottur people who came in and took away Kunhi Thangal fearing his arrest. On Wednesday a Mapilla was arrested in the lines with some 1,835 coins probably stolen from Manjeri treasury and with a knife stolen from the Pukkottur Palace.

In the afternoon the two buses and car again went down to Kottapadi and brought back some rice. No lootings were reported either on Tuesday or Wednesday night. On Thursday we again collected some food from Kottapadi. We got our first communication from the outside world at noon on Thursday in a letter from Mr. Armitage at Pattambi asking for information as to our situation.

10. During Thursday night we heard continuous tom-toming from the direction of Pukkottur. From 9 a.m. on Friday morning we heard firing and we were glad enough to see Captain McEnroy and his column enter Malappuram at 5 p.m. Mr. Lancaster was brought in badly wounded and died at 11–30 in the night. He and the two Leinsters killed were buried next afternoon in the English cemetery.

On Saturday morning, on information given by Ismail, Karnavan of Malappuram Jaram, we collected over 30 bags of rice from a godown in Kodur. In the afternoon a couple of lorries went to mile 28 on the Calicut road: we marched so far as mile 27 but saw no collections of people: a lorry abandoned by Captain McEnroy was burning.

11. I heard from Mr. Armitage on Saturday that he was camping with Colonel Radcliffe at Panga that night and on Sunday morning the Dorsets, two guns and a troop of the Queen's Bays came in, in two columns via Kootilangadi and Nooradi bridges. Captain McEnroy returned to Calicut on Sunday afternoon with his column and all the motor transport. On Monday the 29th, the Dorsets moved out against Tirurangadi and returned here on Wednesday the 31st. On Tuesday 30th I sent 20 Special Force constables to help guard Mankada Palace. There has been a platoon of the Dorsets in the Special Force guard room since Captain McEnroy left.

12. Since the Pukkottur affair Malappuram itself has been quiet. The Adhigari and others have come out of hiding and the troops have had no lack of fresh meat: there has been shortage of flour and little fresh vegetables but otherwise supplies have been alright. Two proclamations signed by the officer commanding and myself were issued on Sunday 28th, one ordering all arms and weapons other than those used for domestic purposes to be deposited: this has been obeyed generally

round here and the Circle Inspector who came in from Manjeri on the 28th brought in some arms from there. The other proclamation called on Ali Mussaliar to surrender. It was as you are aware not obeyed.

13. As regards events outside Malappuram my information has been indefinite. All Police stations east of Kondotti and north of the Thutha river, as well as other public buildings have been destroyed. I shall give separately the particulars I am certain about. There has been wholesale looting of Hindu houses and extortion of food and money and there have been many forcible conversions to Muhammadanism. The most glaring case of the last was in Melmuri only two miles from Malappuram where the tenants of Mr. Koman Menon gave him and his whole family the choice between death and conversion. As regards murders I am afraid there is no doubt that Mr. Eaton has been killed and on Tuesday V. K. Kunhamad Haji's band murdered Khan Bahadur Chekutti and head constable 921 Aydross of Mudicode outpost. Khan Sahib Chek, Adhigari of Pandalur, and Circle Inspector Narayana Menon had a very narrow escape. There is no doubt too, I fear, that Special Force Inspector Mr. Reedman and his orderly were murdered with the bus drivers on the Vengara road.

14. We are trying to restore normal conditions in Malappuram. The Post office, Sub-Registrar's office and the Salt Inspector's office re-opened on Monday the 29th and the Census office resumed work the next day. The Sub-Registrar has been doing a little work but the Post office and Salt office have nothing much to do. Mails were despatched to Tirur on Thursday morning the 1st, but the Postmaster says he cannot get runners to continue the service. No mails have been received here since the 20th : the six bags sent from here on the 21st morning were burnt by Mapillas between Kottakkal and Tirur.

15. A column moved out this morning, the 2nd, in the direction of Manjeri : it is hoped it will succeed in wiping out the bands operating in the east of Ernad taluk.

The local officers and myself are helping the troops so far as we can. When things have quietened down I hope to bring to your notice the names of all those who deserve some recognition.

CVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 166, dated the 6th September 1921.

Returned Tirur 10–00 hours to-day. Herbert's Column due return Malappuram to-day. No opposition but reports that one gang may fight after ten days of Muharram. Hope's Column reached Perintalmanna yesterday without incident. No further news from Ponnani. Telegraph communication with Malappuram expected through to-night. Police rifles from Wandur recovered.

CVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 172, dated the 6th September 1921.

Situation quiet. Telegraph line through to Malappuram.

CVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/188/G., dated the 6th September 1921.

Situation 18–00 hours and for Madras Press. One column Dorsets due return Malappuram from Pandikkad to-day. Had no opposition but reports organized gang Mapillas in being which may fight later. Second column reached Perintalmanna 5th instant without incident. Police rifles from Wandur recovered. Small force proceeded Pukkottur 4th and arrested six rebels. Detachment 64th Pioneers reached Ponnani 15-00 on 4th since when no report received. Wynad quiet. Mapillas Nilambur area leaving villages for jungle and telegraph communication with Malappuram expected through to-night. Calicut quiet and local auxiliary force demobilized on 4th. Affected area in Madras picketed by troops.

CIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 174, dated the 7th September 1921.

Situation quiet. Colonel Herbert's Column arrived Malappuram 14-00 hours 6th. Radcliffe, Elliott and one platoon went out in motors to bridge Pandikkad road. Two iron girders partially in river. No opposition. Bands reported moved east.

CX

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 272, dated the 7th September 1921.

Nothing to report from Calicut.

CXI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/192/G., dated the 7th September 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. No developments to report in Malabar or elsewhere.

CXII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 182, dated the 7th September 1921.

Situation quiet. Visited Ponnani to-day. Arrests proceeding quietly should be completed in two days. Manjeri Column confirms report of one band rebels in neighbourhood of Pandikkad.

CXIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 186, dated the 8th September 1921.

Situation quiet.

CXIV

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 281, dated the 8th September 1921.

8th September 16-00 hours. Report nil.

CXV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 194, dated the 8th September 1921.

Situation quiet.

CXVI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/197/G., dated the 8th September 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. Nothing fresh to report regarding columns clearing country in Malabar. Arrests proceeding quietly at Ponnani should be completed to-morrow. Wynad quiet.

CXVII

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 9th September 1921.

Nothing to report.

CXVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/201/G., dated the 9th September 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. Since 2nd instant columns operating from Malappuram have visited following places—Manjeri, Pandikkad, Wandur, Mambad, Edavanna, Perintalmanna, Mannarakkad, Melattur. No opposition met with, but two gangs rebels reported still out—both in Ernad. Pukkottur re-visited on 4th by column in buses, some arrests made. Troops also visited house of prominent Hindu near Melmuri who with all his household had been forcibly converted to Muslim faith. Mankada also visited. Search of Ponnani by troops now completed, over 100 arrests made. Military supply situation now satisfactory. Squadron Bays have been sent back to Bangalore. Situation in Malabar improving steadily.

CXIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 206, dated the 9th September 1921.

Situation. Troops have left Malappuram to occupy Wandur and another party to hunt rebels reported near Pandikkad. Karuvarakundu believed under Moideen Haji. Walluvanad Column returns Malappuram to-morrow leaving two platoons Perintalmanna. Sixteen police rifles recovered and about seventy arrests made. No opposition. Telegraph line through to Manjeri. Working on line to Perintalmanna.

CXX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 208, dated the 10th September 1921.

Situation. Abdulla Kutti Haji and Kunta (?) Hamed Haji captured by police. Kunhamad Haji reported at Nilambur going to Gudalur.

CXXI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 212, dated the 10th September 1921.

Situation quiet. Hope's Column arrived Malappuram 12-00 hours to-day. Pioneers returned from Ponnani where 200 odd arrests were made. Wallajabads left to clear up area between Tirur and Kottakkal.

CXXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/210/G., dated the 10th September 1921.

Situation 18-00 hours and for Madras Press. Nothing particular to report as regards situation in Malabar. Amongst other arrests the two leading rebels Abdulla Kutti Haji and Kunta Hamed Haji captured by police.

CXXIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 214, dated the 11th September 1921.

Situation quiet. Nothing to report.

CXXIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 218, dated the 11th September 1921.

Situation quiet. Nothing to report.

CXXV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/212/G., dated the 11th September 1921.

Situation 18-00 hours and for Madras Press. Operations in Malabar progressing favourably. Two hundred arrests were made by column which visited Ponnani.

CXXVI

From the Officer Commanding, No. M.C. 221, dated the 12th September 1921.

Situation. Wallajabads searching Govindayirani and Kaippakancheri. Have made some arrests. One thousand Mapillas reported between Mannarghat and Palghat making for the latter to release Elaya Nair. Patrol train of Pioneers sent to prevent them crossing line.

CXXVII

From the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 330, dated the 12th September 1921.

Body one thousand Mapillas reported yesterday arrived Mannarghat from Alannallur moving Palghat. To-day learnt they burnt Sub-Registrar's records Mannarghat; moved towards Angadipuram; detachment Pioneers sent protect Palghat returned Tirur. Palghat quiet. All forest buildings, Nilambur, burnt. Joint Magistrate, Malappuram, reports scarcity. Wandur expects starvation. Looted parts robbery crops prevalent.

CXXVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 229, dated the 12th September 1921.

Patrol train with Pioneers returned 13-00 hours. Kunhamed Haji and 500 men reported Nilambur 10th. Sixteen prisoners one wounded sent in by Wallajabads.

CXXIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/215/G., dated the 12th September 1921.

Situation 18-00 hours for Madras Press. Operations in Malabar progressing favourably. 83rd Wallajabad Light Infantry searching Ayirani and Kaippakancheri and have made some arrests. Band of 1,000 Mapillas reported between Mannarghat and Palghat.

CXXX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 241, dated the 13th September 1921.

Two companies advancing on Melattur where Chembrasseri Tangal is reported with 800 men. Nothing further to report.

CXXXI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/227/G., dated the 13th September 1921.

Situation 11-00 hours to-day. Officer Commanding, Malabar, reports increased Mapilla activity on 12th. Five rebel bands in existence, approximate total 3,000, distributed as follows : Nilambur, Mannarghat, Melattur and two vicinity Manjeri. Our dispositions 12th—Headquarters Malabar, Supply, Rail-head, Tirur. Two platoons 64th Pioneers, Tirur, and two platoons Olavakkot.

One platoon 83rd Infantry making arrests in the vicinity of Tirur.

Second Dorsets, less three companies, Malappuram. One company, Wandur. One company and one platoon Pandikkad. One platoon Manjeri. Company less two platoons, Perintalmanna.

Section Royal Field Artillery, Manjeri.

Platoon, Sappers and Miners, Pandikkad. Platoon Sappers and Miners, Wandur.

One company and one platoon, Leinsters, Calicut.

Company Suffolks left Wellington, 11 hours to-day for Tirur, in response to request for reinforcements. Have instructed Officer Commanding, Malabar, not to use Suffolks unless really necessary, and return company here as soon as situation permits. He has also 83rd Wallajabad Light Infantry at Cannanore to draw upon, and if more troops required I will reinforce 64th Pioneers from Bangalore.

Eight hours to-day. Two companies Dorsets moving Melattur to deal with rebel band 800 strong.

Governor of Madras held conference at Tirur 11th at which administration of Martial Law was thoroughly discussed. General Officer Commanding visited Malappuram 11th–12th. Chief military difficulty is that of following rebel movements and intentions, and transmission of information. A good system of signal communication is now established.

CXXXII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 244, dated the 13th September 1921.

Situation. Two companies should have reached Melattur yesterday where Chembrasseri Tangal was reported. No news from these companies as all runners failed to get through to them. All quiet reported from Wandur, Pandikkad, Manjeri and Perintalmanna.

CXXXIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/231/G., dated the 13th September 1921.

Situation 18–00 for Madras Press. Mapillas showing increased activity since 12th. Rebel bands reported Nilambur, Melattur, Mannarghat and two near Manjeri. Situation is being dealt with but no collision so far reported. Detachment troops quartered temporarily Olavakkot.

CXXXIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 249, dated the 14th September 1921.

Two columns converging on Melattur effected junction 12–30 hours 12th and returned Pandikkad yesterday. Rebels ambush fired on, result not known. One column left Pandikkad 17–00 hours yesterday hoping to surprise Chembrasseri Tangal to-day. Platoon left at Pandikkad reports rebels active there after column left. Rebels at Karuvarakundu and Kalikavu fired on column passing through village. Twenty-five arrests made by Wallajabads near Vaikattur.

CXXXV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/237/G, dated the 14th September 1921.

Situation 10–00. Company Suffolks arrived Tirur. 20–30 hours 13th. [Company Bedford Regiment due Bezwada 09-00 hours to-day.] Commanding Malabar reports 2 columns converging on Melattur effected junction 12-30 hours 12th and returned Pandikkad yesterday. Rebel ambush fired on, result not known. Column left Pandikkad 17-00 hours yesterday hoping surprise Chembrasseri Tangal to-day. Platoon left at Pandikkad reports rebels active there after column left. Rebels at Karuvarakundu and Kalikavu fired on column passing through villages. Twenty-five arrests made by 83rd Infantry near Vaikkatur. Police Sub-Inspector and two constables who left Devala on patrol on 10th reported killed at Ettakara. Special party police leave Ootacamund for Pandalur to-day. [No developments Madras but situation does not permit reduction of troops now there.]

CXXXVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 254, dated the 14th September 1921.

Situation. Nothing further to report.

CXXXVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/247/G, dated the 14th September 1921.

For Madras Press. Two columns converging on Melattur effected junction 12–30 hours 12th and returned Pandikkad yesterday. Rebel ambush fired on, result not known. Column left Pandikkad 17–00 hours yesterday hoping surprise Chembrasseri Tangal to-day. Troops left at Pandikkad report rebels active there after column left. Rebels at Karuvarakundu and Kalikavu fired on column passing through villages. Twenty-five arrests made by 83rd Infantry near Vaikattur. Police Sub-Inspector and two constables who left Devala on patrol on 10th reported murdered at Ettakara. Rebels reported collecting in valley five miles south-west Pandalur. Steps being taken to deal with this. Smoke seen at Nilambur on 12th and all Government buildings there reported burnt by rebels and bridge between Mambad and Nilambur destroyed. Rebel bands are being pursued.

CXXXVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/246/G., dated the 14th September 1921.

Situation 20–00 hours. Nothing further to report regarding Malabar. Detachment at Gudalur moves westwards to-morrow seven miles to Nadghani to support special police and planters as rebels reported collecting in valley five miles south-west Pandalur. [Company Bedfords arrived Bezwada 10–00 hours and report all quiet there.]

CXXXIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 257, dated the 15th September 1921.

Situation. Wallajabads report having caught several badly wounded rebels near Kattupparutti.

CXL

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 259, dated the 15th September 1921.

Bangalore Column reports one column fired at two miles from Tuvur, returned fire, owing to dense jungle only found bloodstains and 16 rounds ammunition.

CXLI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 262, dated the 15th September 1921.

Situation. No further news.

CXLII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/251/G., dated the 15th September 1921.

Situation 18–00. No developments to report in Malabar or Wynad. Some leading rebels arrested by 83rd Infantry near Kattupparutti. One column fired at from dense jungle near Tirur and fire returned. [Bezwada reports quiet.] Nothing for Madras Press.

CXLIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 266, dated the 16th September 1921.

Situation. Bangalore Column reports Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji around Kalikavu. The 83rd made 29 arrests around Valiyakunnu and Irimbiliyam. One Company 83rd arrived yesterday from Cannanore. They, less two platoons, and 64th proceed to Malappuram to-day. Suffolks brought in nine prisoners from Parappanangadi.

CXLIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/256/G., dated the 16th September 1921.

Situation 18–00. About forty rebels arrested yesterday around Irimbiliyam, Valiyakannu and Parappanangadi. Columns getting into position for next move. Telegraphic communication re-established with Ponnani. Motor patrol from Cannanore visited Irritti on Cannanore-Mercara road yesterday. Party Leinsters arrived Nadghani from Gudalur report all quiet. [Bezwada quiet. Strong guards Madrauxy posted on Gōdāvari and Kistna bridges owing persistent rumours of intended attempt to damage.]

CXLV

From the General Officer Commanding, dated the 16th September 1921.

For Madras Press. Twenty-nine rebels arrested by 83rd Infantry around Valiyakannu and Irimbiliyam and nine by Suffolks at Parappanangadi. Motor patrol from Cannanore visited Irritti yesterday. Troops in Malabar have been reinforced. A force of British Infantry has arrived at Bezwada.

CXLVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 271, dated the 16th September 1921.

Situation. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji says he is going to attack us at Karuvarakundu and Manjeri this afternoon after prayers. We have made other arrangements to attack him. Telegraphic communication re-established with Ponnani.

CXLVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 276, dated the 17th September 1921.

Situation. A reconnaissance from column to Manjeri yesterday by Leinsters stated road passable for motors. A detachment of 83rd from Kuttipuram returned Cannanore.

CXLVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/262/G., dated the 17th September 1921.

Situation 19–00 hours Malabar. One hundred and one prisoners brought in from Kattuparutti by 83rd Infantry. No further reports from columns and nothing else to report.

CXLIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 279, dated the 18th September 1921.

Situation. Concentration and reliefs carried out yesterday evening according to plan.

CL

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 281, dated the 18th September 1921.

Column of three platoons moved in buses at 07–00 to-day via Mongam to Manjeri. Was attacked by seventy Mapillas four miles from Manjeri. Mapillas had about ten rifles also swords. Our column got out of buses and returned fire. One Mapilla got close up and wounded one man with a sword. Rebels were dispersed after half hour fighting. Our casualties one jamadar 83rd and one private Dorsets both wounded. Names follow. Rebel casualties ten killed. All quiet other places. Advance begins to-morrow.

CLI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. 250/264/G., dated the 18th September 1921.

Situation 19–00. Concentration and reliefs for next move in Malabar completed yesterday. Column of three platoons in buses attacked by seventy Mapillas four miles from Manjeri. Rebels had ten rifles also swords. Troops de-bussed, returned fire and dispersed rebels after half hour fighting. Our casualties one jamadar, 83rd Infantry, and one private Dorsets wounded. Rebels ten killed. Nothing further to report.

CLII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 285, dated the 19th September 1921.

Situation. Nothing to report.

CLIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. H-3, dated the 19th September 1921.

Weldon's Column engaged rebels yesterday at Sulliodmallal two miles west Karuvarakundu inflicting heavy defeat but casualties unknown. Ours believed nil. Rebels dispersed north-east and south-east. Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji reported with former. Reports also go to show that no one of importance at Nilambur. On this information Herbert's Column has been diverted to Kalikavu and orders issued to round up rebels in area Karuvarakundu, Tuvur, Kalikavu. Party from Malappuram went this afternoon to scene of yesterday's fight near Manjeri but not yet returned.

CLIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. 250/273/G., dated the 19th September 1921.

Situation Malabar 18-00. No developments to report. Roads south of Nilambur reported heavily obstacled.

CLV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 289, dated the 20th September 1921.

Column from Malappuram saw 100 Mapillas north and south by Calicut road unable to get near. No further news of Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji. Weldon was last night at Karuvarakundu.

CLVI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/276/G., dated the 20th September 1921.

Officer Commanding, Malabar, reports small column Dorsets under Major Weldon engaged by rebels two miles west of Karuvarakundu on 18th inflicting heavy defeat. Rebel casualties unknown. Ours believed nil. Rebels dispersed north-east and south-east. Kunhamed Haji reported with former. Reports indicate no one of importance at Nilambur. Our Nilambur Column ordered proceed Kalikavu and columns instructed round up rebels in area Karuvarakundu, Tuvur, Kalikavu.

CLVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 296, dated the 20th September 1921.

Weldon reports been attacked both on 18th and 19th west of Karuvarakundu and killed 14 rebels. No news Herbert's Column yet. Firing in direction of Kalikavu heard. Suffolks left for Ottapalam at 12–30.

CLVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/279/G, dated the 20th September 1921.

Situation Malabar 18-00 hours. Small column from Malappuram reports 100 rebels seen north and south of Manjeri-Calicut road near Manjeri but no collision occurred. Otherwise nothing to add to my S. 250/276/G of this morning.

CLIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/280/G, dated the 20th September 1921.

Situation Malabar 18-00 hours for Madras Press. Small column from Malappuram reports 100 rebels seen north and south of Manjeri-Calicut road near Manjeri but no collision occurred. Otherwise nothing to report.

CLX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 299, dated the 21st September 1921.

Herbert's Column returned Wandur having not met rebels. Weldon resting Tuvur. About 200 rebels round Manjeri objective believed rice and loot. Manjeri reinforced. Bridge south of Mambad repaired. Bridge one mile south of Melattur requires six hours' repair by skilled labour. Parties of rebels in vicinity engaged. Guard left on bridge. Repeated Distrate Calicut. Latter requested to take action as regards skilled labour for Melattur bridge.

CLXI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 302, dated the 21st September 1921.

About 100 rebels in scattered bands in area Malappuram, Manjeri, Mongam. Both columns refitting. Insufficient definite information on which to act at present.

CLXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/283/G, dated the 21st September 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Column Suffolks proceeded Ottapalam yesterday to clear area north of that place. Column Dorsets under Col. Herbert has returned Wandur from east not having met rebels. Column under Major Weldon resting Tuvur. About 200 rebels round Manjeri objective believed rice and loot. Manjeri post reinforced. Bridge south of Mambad repaired. Bridge one mile south of Melattur badly damaged. Parties of rebels in vicinity of latter engaged and guard left in bridge. [Detachment Bedfords return Bolarum from Bezwada to-day having visited Ellore and Guntur where passage of troops attracted large crowds.]

CLXIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 304, dated the 22nd September 1921.

Information received that Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji and Chembrasseri Tangal addressed meeting at Vellinazhi three miles east of Cherpulasseri saying military not to be attacked, Mapillas to defend amsams, Hindu houses to be looted. Mambad reports bridge two miles south Nilambur visited. Mapilla outposts fled, two prisoners taken. All reported quiet.

CLXIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 308, dated the 22nd September 1921.

Situation normal.

CLXV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/287-G, dated the 22nd September 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Officer Commanding, Malabar, reports Kunhamed Haji addressed meeting Vellinazhi ten miles north of Ottapalam. Bridge two miles south of Nilambur visited; rebel outposts fled. Our troops took two prisoners.

A small column visited Manjeri on 19th, was fired on at long range, but sustained no casualties. Wynad reported quiet. Nadghani detachment reconnoitred road four miles towards Nilambur finding two bridges damaged.

CLXVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 311, dated the 23rd September 1921.

Suffolks reached Cherpulasseri yesterday and are moving towards Karimpuzha. Party of 100 rebels reported yesterday at Nemini four miles south-west Pandikkad. Anybody wanting to enter Nilambur has to pay five rupees for a pass signed by Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji. Both places are being dealt with early. Rebels still reported near Manjeri probably hoping for some of rice which has been sent by Calicut Relief Committee. Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji reported at Karuvarakundu.

CLXVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No.M.C. 317, dated the 23rd September 1921.

Suffolks report no opposition and arrests of 44 Mapillas; two platoons moving towards Mannarghat. Area round Manjeri visited to-day and small bands seen on distant hills. Weldon reported to have met opposition at Nemini. Details follow as soon as known.

CLXVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. 250/293-G., dated the 23rd September 1921.

Situation Malabar 18–00 and for Madras Press. Column Suffolks reached Cherpulasseri nine miles north of Ottapalam on 22nd and were to move east to-day. One hundred rebels reported yesterday at Nemini four miles south-west of Pandikkad. Rebels still reported vicinity Manjeri probably on look out for rice sent by Calicut Relief Committee. It is reported persons proceeding to Nilambur are required to pay Rs. 5 for a pass signed by Kunhamed Haji; the latter now reported at Karuvarakundu. Nothing to report from other parts. Health of troops continues good.

CLXIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 322, dated the 23rd September 1921.

Following from Weldon timed 19–00. Marched from Pandikkad at 04–30 ran into ambush one mile from there sustaining casualties; two other ranks killed, one wounded, Dorsets, one local constable wounded. Names follow. House at Nemini surrounded, enemy casualties one killed, fifteen captured, also some guns and swords. Ambush believed laid by guides who now under arrest. Dorset killed brought into Malappuram, wounded evacuated Podanur.

CLXX

Letter—from the General Officer Commanding, to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona, No. S. 250/274-G., dated the 20th September 1921.

(Disturbances in Malabar.)

I forward herewith the report of Captain P. McEnroy, D.S.O., M.C., Commanding the detachment of the 1st Battalion Leinster Regiment at Calicut, together with a covering memorandum by Colonel E. T. Humphreys, C.M.G., D.S.O., Commanding 1st Battalion Leinster Regiment, and at present Officer Commanding Troops, Malabar.

The report covers the period August 19th to September 4th, during which Calicut was isolated.

I have nothing to add to the report, which amplifies my report Nos. S. 250/72-G., dated 23rd August 1921, S. 250/208-G., dated 10th September 1921 and S. 250/209-G., dated 10th September 1921, covering the same period.

2. The conduct and enterprise of the troops, both Regular and Auxiliary Force, were admirable throughout, and I gladly endorse the list of individual names put forward by Captain McEnroy for mention in consideration of conspicuously good service.

3. I desire particularly to bring to the notice of the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief the name of Captain McEnroy himself. This officer acted throughout a trying period with judgment, coolness and courage; when the sole responsibility for the safety of Calicut was handed over to him by the Chief Magistrate, he continued to employ the greater part of his small force in active operations under circumstances in which a less courageous and enterprising officer might well have confined himself to passive defence; and not only was his action well directed and fully justified by events, but he also distinguished himself by his leadership and personal bravery in the affair at Pukkottur. He was admirably supported by Lieutenant Howes and all ranks of the detachment of the 1st Battalion Leinster Regiment on whom the chief burden of the operations fell.

I recommend Captain McEnroy for promotion to Brevet-Major.

4. Captain B. Pennefather Evans, M.C., Station Staff Officer, Madras, and Lieut. A. R. Stewart, 2/61st Pioneers, mentioned in the report, were students at the British Army School of Education, Wellington, and were despatched by me on special duty to Calicut a few days before the outbreak took place.

5. I wish particularly to draw attention to that part of the report dealing with the ineffectiveness of the 3″ Stokes Mortar ammunition. Some three weeks previously I had inspected this ammunition at Calicut, and noticed that most of it was dated 1917. I therefore ordered Captain McEnroy to fire off a number of selected rounds to test it. This order however came to the ears of the Ordnance Officer, Madras, who invited my attention to Director-General, Ordnance in India's No. 8311/3/05, dated 12th May 1920; and had to be cancelled. I then invited the Ordnance Officer, Madras, to turn over the ammunition, but this also was apparently against the rules. The result of this policy became apparent at the Pukkottur engagement. I propose in due course to submit a separate report on the subject of modern armament and equipment for troops allotted to Internal Security duties.

6. The local Internal Security and Railway Security schemes worked smoothly and effectively.

7. The prompt arrival of H.M.S. *Comus* (Captain Cochran) was most valuable in relieving the situation at Calicut, and in freeing Captain McEnroy's small force for operations further afield.

8. Copies of this report have been sent to the Government of Madras, and in accordance with a demi-official request, direct to the Chief of the General Staff at Army Headquarters.

Enclosures

(1)

Letter—from Col. E. T. Humphreys, Officer Commanding, Malabar, to Headquarters, Madras District, dated Tirur, the 18th September 1921.

The report of the Officer Commanding, Calicut, is forwarded.

Captain McEnroy had a very difficult task in that:

(*a*) The garrison of Malappuram was beleaguered. It had only three days' rations, apart from what might or might not be obtained from Malappuram.

(*b*) The Ernad and Walluvanad were in open rebellion.

(*c*) The Mapillas in Calicut were very restless, and likely to break out should any untoward event happen.

(*d*) The number of regular troops at his disposal was 140.

2. I consider the decision that he came to was the correct one. By the operation starting on the 25th he met and beat a large force of rebels, relieved Malappuram and, by the combination of these two, prevented any rising of the Calicut Mapillas, and restored confidence among the loyal inhabitants of Calicut.

3. Throughout, Captain McEnroy has shown initiative, force of character, and power of organization, and I request that his name be brought to the notice of the General Officer Commanding.

(2)

Report of the Officer Commanding, Calicut.

(*From* 19*th August* 1921 *to* 4*th September* 1921.)

On the night of the 19th/20th August 1921, at the request of the District Magistrate, Malabar (Annexure A), a detachment left West Hill at 01-00 hour. (Operation Order No. 1) with a view to assisting, if necessary, the Civil Police in their task of arresting various Mapilla leaders and searching their houses in Tirurangadi.

2. The party arrived at Tirurangadi at 04-30 hours and proceeded to the Sub-Magistrate's Court (Cutcherry) where headquarters was established during the search by the Civil Police (a guard of 1 N.C.O. and 10 men had been left at Parappanangadi railway station, on the rations and ammunition with orders to accompany supplies to Tirurangadi as soon as the civil authorities could supply local transport). It was not necessary to employ the troops to assist the Civil Police in carrying out their search and arrests, which was completed by 09-00 hours without any opposition.

3. At 12-00 hours Captain Pennefather Evans who was returning to Wellington by mail train from Parappanangadi returned to headquarters and reported that en route to the station he met a mob armed with cudgels, knives, etc., coming in the direction of Tirurangadi. The District Superintendent of Police with his police moved out to stop the mob from entering Tirurangadi and requested me to follow him which I did, leaving Lieutenant Johnstone and one platoon to guard the Sub-Magistrate's Court in my absence. The Police moved rapidly and had opened fire before we reached them. On arrival at the scene of the meeting between the Police and rioters, I found that the mob were still defiant but not advancing. It was not necessary to employ the troops in their dispersal which was done by the Police who drove them back towards Parappanangadi. I requested Captain Sullivan, R.A.M.C., to attend to the wounded rioters, which he did.

4. On returning to the Sub-Magistrate's Court at 14-30 hours I was met by Captain Sullivan, R.A.M.C., who reported to me that the Court had been attacked by an armed mob of about 2,000 Mapillas and that at 14-25 hours as Lieutenant Johnstone was missing, and he was the only officer present, he ordered fire to be opened which caused the attacking mob to disperse. Lieutenant Johnstone and Assistant Superintendent of Police Rowley were still missing. A search was made and their bodies found in a horribly mutilated condition on the road about 250 yards east of the Sub-Magistrate's Court. The mob had by this time dispersed and the search party brought the bodies back together with that of a Head Constable which had been similarly mutilated. News having been received that Parappanangadi station had been looted, and set on fire, and the line destroyed in several places, it was decided to bivouac at Tirurangadi for the night; at 19-05 hours the District Magistrate, Mr. E. F. Thomas, I.C.S., decided that he was unable to deal with the situation and handed over complete control of the situation to me (Annexure B).

5. The night passed quietly and the bodies of Lieutenant Johnstone and Rowley were buried. The body of the Head Constable was entrusted to some friendly Mapillas for burial in the mosque. As a number of prisoners had been taken, and the railway and telegraphic communication was destroyed, it was decided to move to Parappanangadi with a view to re-establishing communication with Calicut (Operation Order No. 3).

6. The column left Tirurangadi at 08-30 hours 21st August 1921 and on arrival at Parappanangadi found that matters were much more serious than had been anticipated. The station was completely destroyed and the rails torn up in several

places. As a result of news that the railway had been still further damaged towards Calicut and Tirur, I decided to move my column back to Calicut by the railway track (Operation Order No. 4). As soon as the column formed up news was received that armed mobs were approaching from all sides. The column had just started when it was immediately attacked, presumably, with the intention of rescuing the prisoners. The Police who were leading had to open fire to disperse the attackers.

The country bordering on the railway line at this place is enclosed for a few miles, and lends itself to easy approach for a surprise attack. The pace of the column was very slow owing to all baggage, ammunition, etc., having to be carried by hand.

As the column moved on, the rear was heavily attacked and fire again had to be opened to disperse the attackers. These attacks were delivered almost continuously for the next two hours. There were several shots fired by the attackers but no casualties were inflicted on the column which reached Kadalundi Station at 16-30 hours. I sent a message to Lieutenant Howes at West Hill to mobilize the A.F.I. and for a special train to meet us at Feroke. On receiving a report that the bridge across the Chaliyar River was being destroyed, a platoon under Lieutenant McGonigal was sent forward to reconnoitre and if necessary disperse any hostile bands encountered. One such band was found damaging the railway line by this platoon and dispersed by fire.

7. The column reached Feroke at 20-00 hours where the line had again been torn up and a breakdown gang under Mr. Macilwaine, the District Traffic Superintendent, was repairing it covered by a party of Police under Mr. Tottenham. A special train was awaiting at Feroke Bridge and the column entrained leaving the Police under Mr. Tottenham to guard the bridge; the prisoners and Police detrained at Calicut and the column reached West Hill at 22-30 hours. At 10-00 hours on the 22nd August 1921 a special train with guard and breakdown gang was sent out Feroke to push forward and repair the line. The prisoners were sent to Cannanore under guard. At 14-00 hours the District Magistrate handed over control of Calicut to me (Annexure "C") and at 16-00 hours I brought the Internal Security Scheme into force. All Europeans were brought into the Defensive Post, supplies, motor cars and lorries commandeered.

8. On the morning of the 20th August 1921, a detachment of two officers and 34 other ranks had been sent by motor transport to Malappuram with a view to operating from that place should the raid on Tirurangadi have proved successful (Operation Order No. 2). As the intention of the civil authorities was to continue to search at Pukkottur, the detachment at Malappuram was ordered to send the motor transport to the ferry east of Tirurangadi. Two buses, one Ford lorry and one Ford car were despatched but were captured and destroyed by the rebels. Sub-Inspector Reedman of the Special Force accompanied this column and was murdered as were some of the drivers.

9. The detachment at Malappuram were now cut off from all communication and it was decided to make every effort to relieve them as soon as possible. Meantime the work on the Defensive Post, repairs of roads and railways was pushed on with all speed. In this connexion I had to request that a party of two British officers and 50 other ranks of the 83rd Wallajabad Light Infantry be sent from Cannanore to act as a covering party to railway repair parties. This work was carried out very efficiently under the direction of Mr. Macilwaine, the District Traffic Superintendent of the South Indian Railway.

10. Having received information that the Bangalore Movable Column was expecting to reach Kuttipuram on the 24th and that the road was clear as far as the ninth milestone on the Calicut-Kondotti road, it was determined to use the Movable Column which was now available to co-operate with the Officer Commanding, Malabar Column, in his intention to relieve Malappuram garrison. Accordingly at 06-10 hours on the 25th the Movable Column started by motor transport from West Hill taking with them repair material for bridging, etc. (Operation Order No. 5.) The column reached Kondotti at 09-00 hours where all was found quiet and the Mapillas under control of the Tangal with whom I had a satisfactory interview. From this

place onwards the road was badly blocked by fallen trees and the bridge at the twenty-second mile was destroyed. By the time this was repaired and the road cleared it was then considered too late to reach Malappuram that night, as information had been received that several other blocks by fallen trees and destroyed bridges would be encountered. The column therefore halted for the night at Kondotti Police Station.

11. The column resumed its March at 06-00 hours on the 26th (leaving a guard of 50 S.F. Police to guard any supplies sent up from Calicut) and reached the bridge at the twenty-fifth mile by 07-30 hours. This bridge was temporarily repaired and the column resumed its march at 09-00 hours. At the twenty-sixth mile several blocks by fallen trees were again met which were cleared and the column proceeded at 10-00 hours. At 10-15 hours, the rebels opened fire on the column from front, flanks and rear, and this was followed by a general assault on the rear of the column which was as yet in enclosed country (See Diagram 'D'). This assault was beaten off and the column closed up. The column was now on the road with open paddy fields on either flank for a distance of 300 yards on the left, and 100 yards on the right with wooded country in front and rear and bordering the right flank.

After the column closed up another determined assault was made on the head of the column; this was also beaten off. At 11-15 hours, after a lull in the fighting, a party was sent forward to ascertain if the rebels were still in occupation of the houses; this party was immediately assaulted by the rebels and was forced to fall back to allow the attack to be stopped by fire. It was decided to try to clear the houses by using Stokes Mortar Guns. Owing to inaccurate shooting and defective ammunition, it was only partially successful. Another party was again sent forward to try and clear these houses, but again had to withdraw before the fierce assault of hundreds of rebels. Lieut. McGonigal and several others were wounded (Annexure 'E'). The Stokes Mortar was moved up closer and again fired, this time with more satisfactory results, but still a considerable number of defective rounds. As Lieut. McGonigal was now wounded, the only other regular officers accompanying the column were Captain Pennefather Evans and myself. I had fortunately mobilized some gentlemen who were ex-officers belonging to Local Officers Auxiliary Corps, and brought them with the column in case of necessity. (Annexure 'F'.) One of these Mr. U. de B. Daly was now sent forward with a platoon to clear these houses which was done in a very gallant manner by this gentleman. The houses were cleared and blocks removed from the road and the whole column pushed on to Malappuram which was reached without further hindrance at 17-00 hours. One lorry had to be abandoned as the engine had been damaged and this was burned by the rebels. I estimated the enemy's casualties at 400 killed.

12. Malappuram was orderly and the Officer in command of the detachment there, Lieut. Duncan, informed me that it had been so since the beginning of the outbreak. The garrison had not been molested and from local reports it appears that the rebels had decided to surround it and cause it to surrender by starvation. The effect of the small garrison appears to have kept Malappuram quiet. I sent for the Tangal, but found he had been carried away by the Pukkottur rebels on the previous day. Several of the leading Mapillas of Malappuram were interviewed and instructed to assist the advance of the Bangalore Column by clearing the road of fallen trees and by repairing bridges, etc. These instructions were partially carried out by them.

13. On the 27th a report was received that Mapillas were congregating in the vicinity of Pukkottur and a detachment under Lieut. Duncan was sent to the scene of the battle (Operation Order No. 6) and on return reported the area was clear of all dead bodies, but that several bicycles and the abandoned lorry had been destroyed by fire. A message from the Bangalore Column was received in the evening from Pattambi informing me that the first part of the column would be at Malappuram at 10-00 hours the following morning.

14. At 08-30 hours on the 28th Colonel Radcliffe and a troop of the Queens Bays arrived and at 09-30 hours part of the Movable Column under Major Weldon arrived. After discussing the situation I received orders from Colonel Radcliffe directing me

to occupy certain positions in the converging attack on Tirurangadi on the morning of the 30th and to evacuate all wounded to Calicut.

15. The Calicut Movable Column and the Leinster garrison of Malappuram left Malappuram at 14–30 hours to return by motor transport to Calicut. The bridge at the 25th mile was found to have been again destroyed by the rebels. It was repaired and the column reached Kondotti where I had left a detachment of the Special Force police under Sergeant Franks to guard the police station and supplies that had been ordered from Calicut, particularly petrol. It was found that Sergeant Franks had retired to Calicut without orders but had left the petrol hidden away. This was found.

The column was now divided into fast and slow moving transport; the wounded being despatched with all haste to West Hill, which they reached by 19–00 hours. The remainder of the column reached West Hill by 20–30 hours.

16. On the 29th at 08–10 hours Captain Pennefather Evans and myself visited the Officer Commanding Malabar Column at Tirur and there received fresh instructions regarding Tirurangadi, which modified the instructions already received from Colonel Radcliffe. These were complied with and a party under Lieut. Duncan was despatched according to plan (Operation Order No. 7). This party returned on the night of the 30th; two sections under Lieut. Howes being retained under orders from Officer Commanding Malabar. These returned to West Hill at 20–00 hours on the 1st September having been employed to escort prisoners taken at Tirurangadi on the 1st September.

17. Orders were received on the 1st September to send two platoons to Tirur where they would receive instructions on arrival. These instructions were carried out and the party returned to West Hill at 17–00 hours on the 2nd September; motor buses and lorries were despatched to Tirur on the morning of the 3rd September in accordance with instructions received from Officer Commanding Malabar, all other transport was returned on the morning of the 3rd September with the A.F.I. demobilised on the 4th September. Petrol and other supplies requisitioned and not required were returned.

18. In conclusion I wish to bring to your notice a list of names (appended) deserving of special mention during these operations.

While all ranks have shown such consistent gallantry and devotion to duty, the task of choosing outstanding cases is extremely difficult.

LIST OF NAMES DESERVING SPECIAL MENTION.

Captain B Pennefather Evans, M.C., R.F.A.	Throughout the operations acted as Staff Officer of the Column, and rendered invaluable assistance.
Lieut. H. A. K. McGonigal, M.C., 1st Leinster Regiment.	At Kadalundi on the 20th August, this officer, although very tired, voluntarily undertook a rapid march to disperse a mob who were wrecking the railway bridge over the Chaliyar river. It was due to this officer's speedy effort that the column was able to cross by this bridge. At Pukkottur on the 26th August he set an example of gallantry installing off fanatical assaults. He remained fighting when others had fallen back, and having been surrounded by rebels was severely wounded by the fire of our own Lewis Guns in their endeavours to assist him.
Lieut. H. A. Howes, M.M., 1st Leinster Regiment.	During the early stages of the disturbances this officer showed initiative, and by his undisturbed demeanour did much to counteract the anxiety caused by alarming rumours. His work throughout was of a very high standard.
No. 7177145, Private Ryan, G., 1st Leinster Regiment.	At Pukkottur on the 26th August this man gallantly remained fighting when surrounded by rebels and saved the life of Captain McEnroy by bayoneting a rebel in the act of cutting down that officer. He was badly wounded as a result of his gallant action.

No. 7178031, Private Cahill, J., M.M., 1st Leinster Regiment.

At Pukkottur on the 26th August this man volunteered (after three unsuccessful attempts had been made) to assist in clearing a house from which the rebels were sniping and saved the life of Mr. Daly by killing a sniper who was in the act of shooting at him.

U. deB. Daly, Esq., Officers Auxiliary Corps (ex Major, Royal Dublin Fusiliers).

At Pukkottur on the 26th August this gentleman volunteered to clear houses from which the rebels were sniping (after three unsuccessful attempts had been made to dislodge them). It was due to his gallant leading that the houses were cleared.

This gentleman had voluntarily offered to accompany the column and throughout the operations 25th to 28th August set an example worthy of the best traditions of the service.

Mr. Tottenham, District Superintendent of Police, Cannanore.

This Police officer rendered invaluable service to the column by his initiative in seizing Feroke Bridge, and thus preventing rebel bands from entering Calicut in the absence of the Movable Column. The cheerful manner in which he carried out his duties set an example worthy of emulation.

P. McEnroy, Captain,
Commanding, Calicut.

ANNEXURE A.

From E. F. Thomas, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate, Malabar, to the Officer Commanding Malabar, dated the 18th August 1921.

I have decided with the approval of Government to use the armed Police for a search for arms (war-knives prohibited in Malabar) and to make arrests under the Mapilla Outrages Act (XX of 1859) in Tirurangadi and other places in Ernad and Ponnani taluks. In my opinion it will not be possible to effect my purpose without the assistance of a strong Military force, for there are strong indications that a considerable number of the Mapillas of the parts affected are now strongly imbued with the fanatical spirit and prepared to commit outrages. The number of men who may under certain conditions offer armed opposition is expected to be greater than the Police of the district can handle. I therefore request you to assist me with a detachment of about 100 men which may, if necessary, be increased. Arrangements are in progress for transporting troops and Police to the area affected.

ANNEXURE B.

From E. F. Thomas, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate, Malabar, to the Officer Commanding Malabar, Tirurangadi, dated the 20th August 1921 (7 p.m.).

As the situation has now become beyond the control of the civil authorities, I request you to take over from me and deal with the situation as a military one.

ANNEXURE C.

Proceedings of the District Magistrate of Malabar, dated Calicut, the 22nd August 1921.

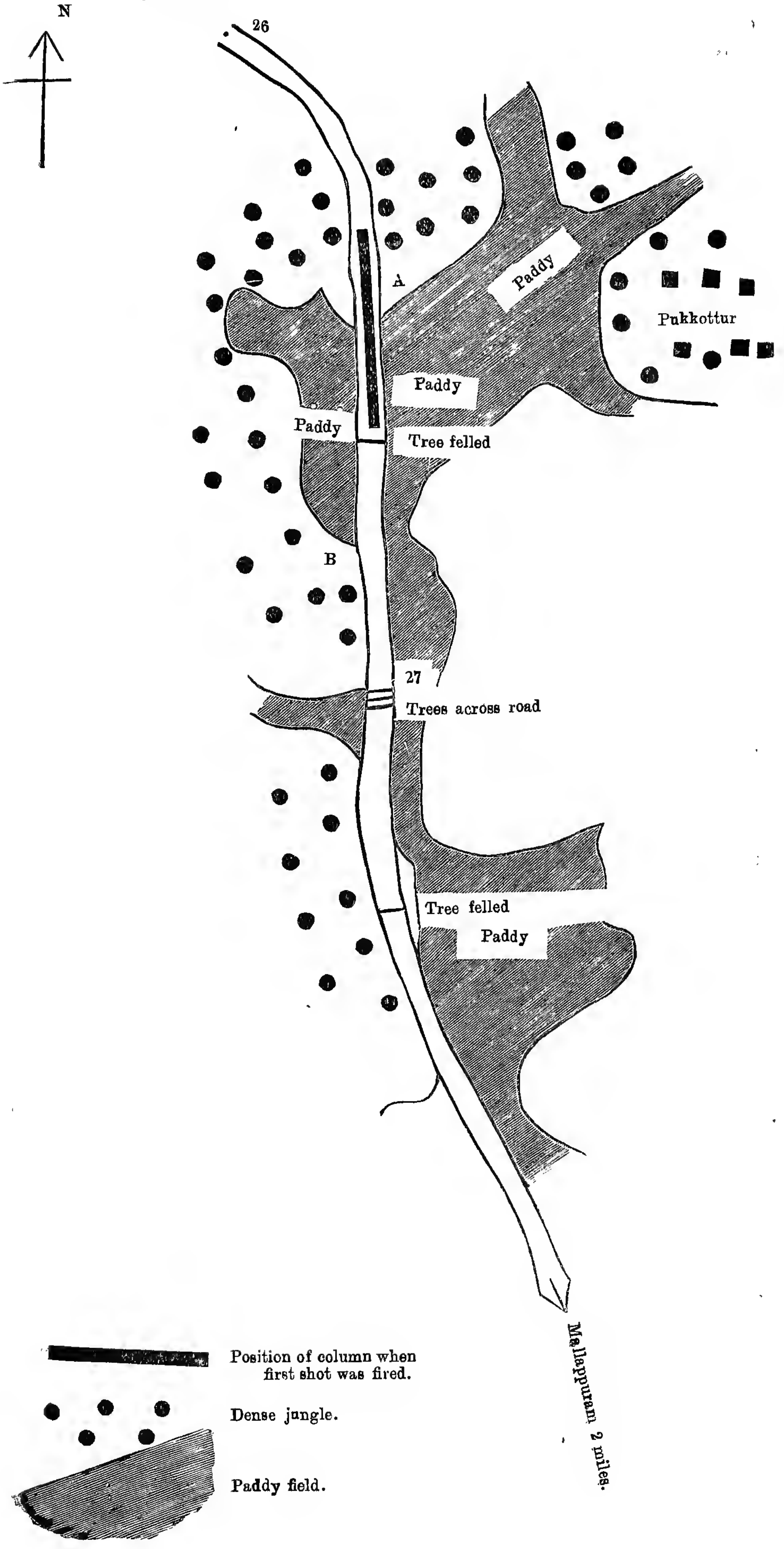
E. F. Thomas, Esq., I.C.S.,

District Magistrate, Malabar.

On the 20th August at 7 p.m. being then at Tirurangadi with a movable column of Troops and Police I asked the Officer Commanding Troops to take over the situation which was then extremely critical for the column. During the return of the movable column I found that the whole country side was in a state of open rebellion and the line had been cut in many places, the last being in Calicut taluk within 6 miles of Calicut itself. It was reported that a mob was gathering to loot Kallai station within the town and at 12 midnight a number of groups of Mapillas were seen loitering about. I have received information that wholesale looting was expected and that probably it was the return of the troops which forestalled it. In view of the proximity of Calicut to the country now in open rebellion and of the consideration that Mapillas in and near Calicut may join in it, and considering also that Calicut cannot practically be administered by the civil authorities in isolation from the area in rebellion, being as it is cut off from direct communication with Madras on the south, I consider it necessary to ask the Officer Commanding Troops to deal with the situation as a military one, as I do not think that I can protect Calicut with the available Police.

ANNEXURE D.

SKETCH MAP (not to scale).
of
PUKKOTTUR.



ANNEXURE E.

List of Casualties.

At Tirurangadi, 20th August 1921.

Killed—Lieut. W. R. M. Johnstone, I. A., attached to 1st Leinster Regiment.
,, Assistant Superintendent of Police, W. Rowley, Indian Police.
Wounded—7177624 L/Corporal Mahoney, 1st Leinster Regiment (C. Company).

At Pukkottur, 26th August 1921.

Killed—7178331 Private Tormay, 1st Leinster Regiment (C. Company).
„ 7178002 Private Kennedy „
Died of wounds—Assistant Superintendent of Police, Lancaster, Indian Police.
Wounded—Lieut. K. A. K. McGonigal, M.C., 1st Leinster Regiment (C. Company).

7177168 Sergeant Montague	do.
7177710 L./Corporal Kelly	do.
7177905 Private Byrne	do.
7178031 „ Ryan	do.
7177946 ,, Ward	do.
7178426 ,, McDonnell	do.
7177472 „ Collen	do.
Mr. Violett, Auxiliary Officers Corps.	
Mr. Woosnam do.	
Mr. Howison do.	

ANNEXURE F.

List of Gentlemen of the Officers Auxiliary Corps who accompanied the Calicut Movable Column during the period 25th–28th August 1921.

Mr. Daly	Officers Auxiliary Force.
Mr. Woosnam	Do.
Mr. Violett	Do.
Mr. Howison	Do.
Mr. Meadows	Do.
Private Vernayde	A.F.I.

Operation Order No. 1—*Secret*

by

Captain P. McEnroy, D.S.O., M.C., Commanding Calicut.

[*Reference*—Maps 1 special and Madras sheet 49 M/16.]

i. It is intended to assist the civil authorities to arrest certain Mapilla leaders and to search for arms. Troops will not be employed to arrest or search for arms unless organized resistance to the civil authorities is encountered.

The search will commence at 05–30 hours on the 20th instant.

ii. Troops as in the margin will move by special train to Parappanangadi leaving West Hill at 01-00 hours on the 20th instant. On arrival at Parappanangadi station troops will detrain and move off to positions as follows:—

C.O.	1
S.O.	1
O.R's.	4
M.O.	1
2 Officers	2
4 Platoons, 1st Leinster Regiment	87
1 M.G. Section	6
1 Stokes Mortar Detachment	3

(A) Lieut. H. A. K. McGonigal, M.C., and twenty other ranks will proceed to A8a55, and will be in position there by 5-30 hours. They will prevent any inhabitants entering or leaving Tirurangadi by the Tirur road.

(B) The remainder of the column will move to the Magistrate's Court at A2d0-5, and there await further orders.

iii. *Supplies.*—Three days' rations will accompany the column to Parappanangadi station.

iv. *Ammunition.*—Following will be carried:—

1. *Men.* { On the man 100 rounds. / In reserve 100 rounds.
2. *Vickers guns.* { 1,000 rounds per gun in belts. / 1,500 rounds per gun in reserve.
3. *Lewis guns.* { 8 Magazines per gun. / 1,000 rounds per gun in reserve.
4. *Stokes Mortar.*—50 rounds.

5. *Medical.*—Captain W. Sullivan, M.C., R.A.M.C., will accompany the column and make all the necessary medical arrangements.

6. *Reports.*—To Column Headquarters at Magistrate's Court, Tirurangadi, A2dO.S.

7. *Distribution.*—

Copy No. (1) File.
Do. (2) District Magistrate.
Do. (3) District Superintendent of Police.
Do. (4) Medical Officer.
Do. (5) Spare.

B. PENNEFATHER EVANS, Capt.,
Staff Officer to O.C. Troops, Calicut.

Operation Order No. 2
to
Lieut. Duncan.

1. A column as under—
O.C. Lieut. Duncan.

One officer and fifty other ranks will proceed to Malappuram by motor bus on the 20th August 1921, leaving West Hill at 08–00 hours.

On arrival at Malappuram they will be quartered in the barracks. Further instructions will be issued as situation demands.

2. *Armament and ammunition*—
100 rounds per man.
500 rounds in boxes.
One machine gun.
One Stokes Mortar and 25 rounds ammunition will be carried.

3. *Rations*—
Three days' rations will be carried on motor buses.
Instructions regarding further rations will be issued as situation develops.

4. *Reports*—
To Officer Commanding, West Hill.

5. *Medical*—
Assistant Surgeon Michael will accompany the column.

6. *Distribution*—
Copy (1) Lieut. Duncan.
Do. (2) File.

P. McENROY, Capt.,
Officer Commanding, Calicut.

Operation Order No. 3
by
Capt. P. McENROY, D.S.O., M.C., Officer Commanding Calicut Column.

The civil authorities having decided in writing that the present situation is beyond their power to deal with command of the whole operations of the Calicut Column, troops and police devolves on Captain P. McEnroy, D.S.O., M.C., 1st Leinster Regiment (R.C.).

2. It is intended to march to Parappanangadi to re-establish rail and telegraph communication with Calicut and Podanur.

3. *Starting point.*—Will be the District Magistrate's Court, Tirurangadi.

4. Head of column will pass S.P. at 08–30 hours.

5. *Order of march*—
(1) Special police—Advance Guard.
(2) Reserve police.
(3) Baggage and prisoners.
(4) "C" Company (less 1 Pln.), 1st Leinster Regiment.
(5) No. 9 Pln. 1st Leinster Regiment rear guard.

6. Any organised opposition will be immediately attacked and dispersed by fire.

7. The reserve police will detail the guard for the prisoners who will carry baggage, etc.

8. Further orders will be issued on arrival at Parappanangadi.
Copy No. (1) File.
Do. (2) District Superintendent of Police.
Do. (3) Spare.

TIRURANGADI, 06-30 hours.

B. PENNEFATHER EVANS, Capt.,
Staff Officer to Officer Commanding, Calicut Column.

Operation Order No. 4

by

Capt. P. McEnroy, D.S.O., M.C., Commanding Movable Column.

Place—Parappanangadi.
Date—21st August 1921.

1. Column will move to Kadalundi station.
2. Order of march as before.
3. Arrangements to carry all equipment must be made.

B. Pennefather Evans, Capt.,
Staff Officer to Officer Commanding, Calicut Column.

Issued 13-00 hours.

[*Reference*—Maps Madras sheet 49 M/16 and 58 A/4.]

Operation Order No. 5

by

Capt. P. McEnroy, D.S.O., M.C., Commanding Calicut.

West Hill having been placed in a state of security, a movable column is now available for offensive action in co-operation with Officer Commanding Malabar, Podanur.

Rebels are reported to be in strength at Kondotti.

2. It is intended to relieve the detachment at Malappuram, and with this object in view the movable column, strength as under, will march via Kondotti and attack rebels where found.

3. *Order of march*—

Cyclists Special Police Force	20
'C' Company (less one platoon), 1st Leinster Regiment	75
Lorries with supplies and ammunition.	
One platoon 'C' Company 1st Leinsters	25
Remainder of Special Police Force	50

4. *Ammunition*—
   One hundred and fifty rounds on the man.
   Twenty thousand S.A.A. in reserve.

5. *Stokes Mortar.*—One Stokes Mortar and 50 rounds will accompany the column.

6. *Supplies.*—Three days' rations will be carried.

7. *Medical.*—Captain Sullivan, M.C., will accompany the column and will make all necessary arrangements for medical supplies.

8. *Communication.*—Heliograph and flag communication will be maintained with West Hill as far as possible.

9. *Bridging.*—Bridging material for repairs will be carried on lorries.

10. *Column will move* off at 06-00 hours 25th.

11. *Starting point* will be West Hill Guard room.

12. *Head of column* will pass starting point at above hour.

13. *Distribution*—
   Copy No. (1) File.
   Do. (2) Spare.
   Do. (3) District Superintendent of Police.
   Do. (4) Medical Officer.

B. Pennefather Evans, Capt.,
for *Officer Commanding, Calicut Column.*

Operatian Order No. 6

by

Capt. P. McEnroy, D.S.O., M.C., Commanding Movable Column.

11-00 hours—27th August 1921.

1. Lieut. Duncan and 30 O.R's. will move to 27th mile stone on Malappuram-Kondotti road.

At 15-00 hours to ascertain—
   (*a*) If enemy have removed their dead.
   (*b*) If there are any obstructions on the road, and if so where.
   (*c*) Any other available information as to enemy's movements and intentions.

2. Column will return to Malappuram before 19-00 hours.

3. Column will move by motor transport to 28th milestone, where they will halt and transport will be turned. A small party will be left to guard transport.

B. Pennefather Evans, Capt.,
for *Officer Commanding, Calicut Column.*

Malappuram.

Operation Order No. 7

by

Capt. P. McEnroy, D.S.O., M.C., Commanding Calicut.

1. Officer Commanding, Malabar, intends to assault Tirurangadi at 10–00 hours on Tuesday 30th August.

2. In accordance with instructions Lieut. Duncan, one Officer and 50 O.R's. will move to Parappanangadi station and be in position 3,000 west of 15th milestone on the Parappanangadi–Tirurangadi road by 09–30 hours. He will prevent any of the Tirurangadi rebels attempting to escape by this road. Arrangements for the special train to leave West Hill at 07–00 hours have been made.

3. Four Lewis guns will be taken.

4. *Ammunition*—
   One hundred and fifty rounds per man on person.
   One hundred rounds in reserve.
   For Lewis guns 5,000 rounds.

5. *Transport*.—Four mules will accompany the party.

6. *Rations* for three days will be carried.

7. *Medical*.—The Medical Officer will detail an Assistant Surgeon to accompany the party and make all necessary medical arrangements.

8. *Communication* will be maintained by signal with the patrol train under command of Lieut. A. R. Stuart, which will be patrolling line from Kadalundi to Pariyapuram. Messages for Officer Commanding, Calicut, will be sent on by patrol train.

9. *Distribution*—
   Copy No. (1) Lieut. Duncan.
   Do. (2) Medical Officer.
   Do. (3) File.

B. Pennyfather Evans,
Staff Officer to Officer Commanding, Calicut Column.

West Hill,
16–00 *hours* 29*th August* 1921.

Operation Order No. 8.

By order of Capt. P. McEnroy, D.S.O., M.C., Commanding, Calicut, dated 29th August 1921.

1. In accordance with instructions from Officer Commanding, Malabar, Lieut. Stuart with 25 O.R's. and 1 Lewis gun will patrol the line by train between Kadalundi station and Pariyapuram station commencing at 09–30 hours 30th August 1921.

2. *Communication*—will be maintained by flag signal as far as possible with the party under command of Lieut. Duncan and by telegraph with Officer Commanding, West Hill.

3. *Ammunition*—
   One hundred and fifty rounds on the man and 2,000 rounds in reserve.
   For Lewis gun.—Four magazines and 1,000 rounds in the reserve.

4. *Rations*.— Three days' rations will be taken.

B. Pennyfather Evans, Capt.,
for *Officer Commanding, Patrol Train.*

29*th Aguust* 1921

CLXXI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 324, dated the 24th September 1921.

A party of 83rd are proceeding by train to Edakkulum at 07–30 hours with police to make arrests of looters who attacked a Brahman house near Anantavur amsam wounding two local guards. Herbert's Column proceeding to Nilambur.

CLXXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/298/G., dated the 24th September 1921.

Situation 09–00. Company Suffolks operating from Ottapalam report no opposition and arrest of 44 rebels. Two platoons Suffolks now moving on Mannarghat. Manjeri visited yesterday and small bands seen on distant hills. Major Weldon's Column Dorsets marched from Pandikkad 04–30 yesterday deal with rebels at Nemini and was attacked soon after leaving camp. Casualties—other ranks Dorsets killed two, wounded one, and one local constable wounded. Names

reported separately. Houses at Nemini surrounded. Enemy casualties—one killed, fifteen captured, also number firearms and swords. Ambush believe planned by guides who now under arrest. Killed brought Malappuram, wounded evacuated Podanur. Detachment 83rd Infantry proceeded by train this morning Edakkulam with Police arrest looters who attacked Brahman house near Anantavur, wounding two local guards. Colonel Herbert's Column now proceeding Nilambur.

CLXXIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 327, dated the 24th September 1921.

Herbert's Column advanced on Nilambur 07–00 hours arrived 44th milestone; ambushed, one killed, seven wounded; about 21 Mapillas killed. Rebels reported still in force round Manjeri estimated 300. Pandikkad reports gang of 300 from south and east looting Tuvur this morning. Suffolks arrived at Kumaramputhur having met with no opposition.

CLXXIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/301/G., dated the 24th September 1921.

Situation 18–00. Nothing to add to my S. 250/298/G. of this morning.

CLXXV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/302/G., dated the 24th September 1921.

Commanding Malabar reports Colonel Herbert's Column advanced on Nilambur 07–00 and was attacked one mile south-west of Nilambur. Our casualties—killed one, wounded seven, about twenty rebels killed. Rebels reported still in force round Manjeri estimated 300. Pandikkad post reports 300 rebels looting Tuvur from south and east this morning. Suffolks Movable Column reached Kumarâmputhur west of Mannarghat without opposition.

CLXXVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 330, dated the 24th September 1921.

Nilambur occupied at 14–30 without further opposition. Reported 200 rebels were there this morning, of whom 50 supposed to have crossed river north and remainder south. Killapetta Rayan among killed.

CLXXVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 331, dated the 25th September 1921.

One section 83rd which went Adavanad failed to find gang of looters but effected three arrests. Looting party apparently came from Kaipakancheri. Efforts will be made to arrest them in ordinary way. Stronger measures will probably be necessary as local police of that amsam are no longer there.

CLXXVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 334, dated the 25th September 1921.

Two platoons Suffolks visited Mannarghat 24th found gang had left. All Hindu shops looted. They returned to main body during the day which is at Karimpuzha. Around Cherpulacheri the Mapillas are surrendering and bringing in guns and knives. Total prisoners to date 233. Mambad reports 23 arrests and certain number of rifles and swords taken.

CLXXIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/306/G., dated the 25th September 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. In Malabar Colonel Herbert's Column occupied Nilambur 14–30 yesterday without further fighting. Of 200 rebels in vicinity fifty believed moved north across Chaliyar Puzha river and remainder moved

south. Killapetta Rayan among killed. Two platoons Leinsters from Calicut left Feroke yesterday proceeding up Chaliyar river due Mambad to-morrow morning. Two platoons Suffolks visited Mannarghat 24th but rebels had left after looting all Hindu shops. This detachment rejoined rest of column at Karimpuzha five miles south-west Mannarghat. Rebels round Cherpulacheri surrendering and handing in weapons. 253 prisoners taken. Mambad post made 23 arrests and captured some weapons. Detachment 83rd Wallajabad Light Infantry made three arrests north of Edakkulam.

CLXXX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 335, dated the 26th September 1921.

Telegraph communication reported to Mambad. Nothing further to report.

CLXXXI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 339, dated the 26th September 1921.

Suffolks reached Karimpuzha, hope to reach Mannarghat to-morrow. Two platoons Leinsters reached Mambad by river from Feroke at 13–00 hours and left for Nilambur at 15–00 hours.

CLXXXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/309/G., dated the 26th September 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. No developments to report in Malabar. Nadghani detachment commenced repair of Gudalur-Nilambur road. Pandalur quiet.

CLXXXIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. 250/310/G., dated the 27th September 1921.

My No. * S. 250/B.-1/G. of 26th. In part two gangs number ten thousand. * See B (i) No. LXXVII.

CLXXXIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 343, dated the 27th September 1921.

No news up to 19–00 hours.

CLXXXV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 344, dated the 27th September 1921.

Rebels engaged off and on all morning between triangle Malappuram-Manjeri-Valluvambram. Fair number killed. Operations fairly successful. Herbert's Column at Edavanna. Weldon to-night at Manjeri. No report from Suffolks.

CLXXXVI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S-250/317/G., dated the 27th September 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. No developments to report in Malabar. Nadghani detachment reconnoitered Gudalur-Nilambur road as far as mile 61½ and report road fit for motor traffic to that point at which it is blocked with trees.

CLXXXVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 345, dated the 28th September 1921.

Perintalmanna reports Kunhidan Haji's house at Parambur looted yesterday. Mob led by Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji 100 strong still in Parambur. Chembrasseri Tangal was to have joined Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji to attack Perintalmanna yesterday.

CLXXXVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 348, dated the 28th September 1921.

Telegraph communication re-established with Nilambur 15–00 to-day. All rebels cleared out of quadrilateral. Strong rumour amongst Mapillas that 200 were killed yesterday. All quiet at Perintalmanna. No news from Suffolks.

CLXXXIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/322/G., dated the 28th September 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. In Malabar operations were conducted against rebels bands yesterday in the triangle Malappuram-Manjeri-Valluvambram and casualties inflicted on rebels. Herbert's Column halted for night 27/28th Edavanna and Weldon's at Manjeri. Kunhamed Haji with rebel band 100 strong looted Kunhidan Haji's house at miles of Perintalmanna yesterday and was reported still there last night. Nothing to report from other parts of the district.

CXC

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 357, dated the 29th September 1921.

Suffolks arrived Mannarghat 27th. They report Sithi Koya Thangal with 500 at Alanallur. Chembrasseri Tangal was due to arrive there yesterday from vicinity Melattur. These two gangs trying to enlist recruits from Mannarghat area but with little success. Many trees felled across road four miles West Mannarghat and ambush prepared but unoccupied.

CXCI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/326/G., dated the 29th September 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. In Malabar telegraph now through to Nilambur. Rebel bands reported cleared from area Malappuram-Manjeri-Mangam. Perintalmanna reported quiet. Movable Column Suffolks reached Mannarghat 27th finding ambush prepared and road blocked with trees four miles west of that place but no opposition met with. Sithi Koya Tangal reported at Alanallur with 500 rebels and Chembrasseri Tangal was to join him 28th from vicinity Melattur. Rebels attempted enlist recruits vicinity Mannarghat reported, meeting with little success.

CXCII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 362, dated the 30th September 1921.

Looting of Hindu houses still continues. Nothing further to report.

CXCIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/330/G., dated the 30th September 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Nothing to report.

CXCIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 369, dated the 1st October 1921.

Section 83rd with police assistance brought in 92 prisoners evening 30th from Kottakal. Suffolks report approximately 400 rebels in Kumaramputhur, also approximately 100 one mile north of Mannarghat.

CXCV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/330/G., dated the 1st October 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. In Malabar rebels attacked convoy returning from Nilambur to Malappuram wounding two British officers and two British other ranks. Reinforcements have been sent to Edavanna from Manjeri. Rebel band under Kunhamed Haji seen near Mambad 30th September. Strength 250 with 50 firearms. Small detachment 83rd Infantry assisted by police brought 92 prisoners to Tirur from Kottakal. Suffolk Column Mannarghat report 100 rebels one mile north of that place and 400 at Kumaramputhur two miles to west.

CXCVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 383, dated the 2nd October 1921.

Detachment Suffolks report gang 500 Mapillas engaged 30th near Kumaramputhur. Their casualties estimated 40 or 50 killed. Nothing further to report.

CXCVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/345/G., dated the 2nd October 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Movable Column Suffolks engaged rebels band 500 strong near Kumaramputhur two miles west of Mannarghat killing 40 to 50. Nothing further to report.

CXCVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 390, dated the 3rd October 1921.

All quiet. Nothing to report.

CXCIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/349/G., dated the 3rd October 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Nothing to report.

CC

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 397, dated the 4th October 1921.

Enemy reported clear of Vadapuram. Small parties in jungle east of Wandur road intention of attacking police.

CCI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 398, dated the 4th October 1921.

Two hundred rebels attacked police station at Valancheri 3 miles north-east Kuttipuram at 05–00 this morning wounding one constable and three others.

CCII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/358/G., dated the 4th October 1921.

Situation 18–00. Small parties of rebels reported in jungle near Wandur. Nothing else to report from Malabar.

CCIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/385/G., dated the 5th October 1921.

Situation 18–00 in Malabar. Two hundred rebels attacked police station at Valancheri five miles north-east Kuttipuram on 4th wounding some police. Detachments 83rd Infantry with Lewis guns proceeded Kuttipuram and Edakkulam to-day. Malabar situation report not yet received.

CCIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 413, dated the 6th October 1921.

Mannarghat report large gang Tiruvazhamkunnu on October 3rd proceeding Melattur. Two rebel gangs each 100 strong at Nemini tried to cross river at Anakayam but stopped by troops from Manjeri and Perintalmanna. Local rebels round Kottakkal committing petty thefts.

CCV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 230/375/G., dated the 6th October 1921.

Situation 18–00 in Malabar. Suffolk Column Mannarghat report large rebel band Tiruvazhamkunnu eight miles north-west that place proceeding Melattur. Two rebel bands each 100 strong from Nemini tried cross river at Anakayam, four miles north-east Malappuram, but stopped by troops from Manjeri and Perintalmanna. Local rebels round Kottakkal committing petty thefts.

CCVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 420, dated the 7th October 1921.

One hundred and fifty Mapillas crossed last night from near Kottakkal west to Valliyora. Dorsets moving from Mambad met opposition on way back from Vadapuram. Two rebels killed, one Dorset wounded. Telegraph line beyond Mambad damaged. Rebels from amsam east of Tanur raided weavers' houses $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Tanur station killing seven, wounding four.

CCVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/376/G., dated the 7th October 1921.

Situation 18-00. Malabar force reports 150 rebels from near Kottakkal crossed river Karimpuzha last night and moved towards Valliyora. Dorset Column operating from Mambad met opposition on way back from Vadapuram losing one man wounded, two rebels killed. Telegraph damaged north-east of Mambad. Rebels from amsam east of Tanur raided houses $1\frac{7}{8}$ miles south of that place killing seven and wounding four inhabitants.

CCVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 435, dated the 8th October 1921.

Yesterday rebels observed crossed Manjeri-Pandikkad road to north and collecting near Elankur. Last night 20-00 hours platoon send to Tanur owing to report of Mapilla bands' threatened activity. To-day band of Mapillas observed near Tanur and bands north of Edakkulam reported out for looting. Am bringing one company from Cannanore to deal with situation round Edakkulam.

CCIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. 250/383/G., dated the 8th October 1921.

Situation 18-00 Malabar and for Madras Press. Beyond a slight recrudescence of rebel activity in the area south-west from Malappuram to the railway there is nothing to report.

CCX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 20, dated the 9th October 1921.

Pukkottur gang reported held meeting yesterday and decided join Nilambur gang. All quiet throughout area.

CCXI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/389/G., dated the 9th October 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. In Malabar on 7th rebels observed crossing Manjeri-Pandikkad road to north and collecting near Elankur. One platoon sent in evening to Tanur deal with threatening rebel activity that neighbourhood. On 8th rebel band observed near Tanur and bands north of Edakkulam reported out for looting. One Company 83rd Infantry left Cannanore for Edakkulam yesterday. Section 8th Armoured Car Company arrived Tirur 7th.

CCXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/393/G., dated the 10th October 1921.

Situation 18-00. Nothing to report.

CCXIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/397/G., dated the 11th October 1921.

Situation in Malabar. Repairs and strengthening of bridges is in progress between Tirur and Malappuram, otherwise nothing to report.

CCXIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 29, dated the 11th October 1921.

Five hundred rebels reported round Chelur five miles north of Edakkulam. Pukkottur gang same as usual. Gang trying to cross ford near Pandikkad engaged by patrol. Gang approaching Perintalmanna also engaged. Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji reported Kakkottur three miles south-east of Nilambur.

CCXV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/401/G., dated the 12th October 1921.

Situation Malabar 09–00. Five hundred rebels reported Chelur five miles north of Edakkulam. Rebels still in vicinity Pukkottur. Band trying cross ford near Pandikkad engaged by patrol and band approaching Perintalmanna also engaged. Kunhamed Haji reported Kakkottur four miles east of Nilambur.

CCXVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 32, dated the 12th October 1921.

Platoons 83rd endeavoured surround rebel gang usually in Kaipakancheri but only saw very few small parties who bolted at once. Nothing further to report.

CCXVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/403/G., dated the 12th October 1921.

Situation 18–00. In Malabar detachments 83rd Infantry endeavoured surround rebel gang reported Kaipakancheri five miles east of Tirur, but only saw small parties of rebels who fled at once. Nothing further to report.

CCXVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M./34, dated the 13th October 1921.

Nothing to report.

CCXIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/406/G., dated the 13th October 1921.

Situation 19–00. In Malabar following arrived: Section armoured cars. Wireless sets. Composite Burma battalion. Half draught Mule Corps. 9th F. Company, 2nd Sappers and Miners less one platoon. Section C.C.S. Section Ford Van Company was due 17–00 to-day. Otherwise nothing to report.

CCXX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 43, dated the 14th October 1921.

Headquarters less administrative staff now at Malappuram.

CCXXI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 40, dated the 14th October 1921.

Situation report. Dorsets at Perintalmanna engaged rebels on Melattur road killing twelve bodies counted, probably more casualties inflicted. Dorsets two other ranks wounded. Dorsets in Mambad surprised rebels laying ambush inflicting casualties, numbers unknown. Rebels round Mannarghat surrendered forty swords from Tenkara amsam. Manjeri raided by small party last night. Few casualties among Hindus and one shot fired at post. Pukkottur gang operating towards Feroke and Vengara near Tirurangadi. Two latter situations would not have arisen if sanction had been given for rifles to be issued to police force.

CCXXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No S. 250/414/G., dated the 14th October 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. In Malabar detachment Dorsets from Perintalmanna engaged rebels on Melattur road killing 12. Our casualties 2 other ranks wounded. Dorsets from Mambad surprised rebels laying ambush inflicting casualties. Rebels of Tenkara amsam two miles north-east of Mannarghat have surrendered 40 swords. Small party rebels raided Manjeri last night inflicting some casualties among Hindus. One shot fired at our post. Rebel bands from Pukkottur operating towards Feroke and Vengara two miles north-east of Tirurangadi. Headquarters Malabar force less D.A.Q.M.G. moved to Malappuram to-day. (Administration wires and letters should still be addressed Tirur.)

CCXXIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 44, dated the 15th October 1921.

At Nilambur scattered gangs mostly north of river. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji with 200 at Villikattur north-west of Pandikkad fired on convoy yesterday and fire returned by picquet. Three other parties seen and fired at by same picquet. Rebels more active north of Perintalmanna and engaged by patrol who killed two. In previous fight near Perintalmanna fourteen rebels were killed outright instead of twelve and three guns captured.

CCXXIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/417/G., dated the 15th October 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. In Malabar scattered rebel bands reported vicinity Nilambur. Kunhamad Haji with 200 rebels at Villikattur three miles north-west Pandikkad fired on convoy yesterday. Fire returned by picquet. Three other bands seen this vicinity fired on by same picquet. Rebels more active north of Perintalmanna and engaged by patrol killing two. Fourteen rebels killed in engagement near Perintalmanna reported in yesterday's situation were instead of twelve and three fire arms captured. Chin Kachin Battalion reached Malappuram to-day.

CCXXV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 49, dated the 16th October 1921.

Nilambur reports increased numbers Mapilla bands including one band at Karimpantodi consisting of Mapillas from outside Nilambur area. Nellikkuth bridge between Manjeri and Pandikkad reported destroyed last night and rebels still on road. Manjeri Column went out to deal with them. Kachins at Manjeri to-day.

CCXXVI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/421/G., dated the 16th October 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. In Malabar increased numbers rebel bands reported vicinity Nilambur including one band from outside that area. Nellikkuth bridge between Manjeri and Pandikkad reported destroyed last night and rebels still on road and movable column has left Manjeri to deal with them. Chin Kachin Battalion reached Manjeri and 2nd/8th Gurkhas detrained Tirur.

CCXXVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 61, dated the 17th October 1921.

Nilambur reports few Mapillas entered village and fired shots 16–00 yesterday. Sithi Koya active near Mannarghat and destroyed bridge 3 miles west of Mannarghat. Kunhamad Haji apparently round Pandikkad. Nellikuth bridge destroyed and reconnaissance party from Manjeri fired on near bridge. Fire returned and two rebels killed. Kottakkal gang believed crossed Karimpuzha and now reported near Uragamelmuri. Kachins continued march to Edavanna and Wandur. Reference your S. 250/423/G. of date, Karimpantodi about mile and half east of Nilambur.

CCXXVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/426/G., dated the 17th October 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. In Malabar some rebels entered Nilambur and fired shots at 16·00 yesterday. Sithi Koya Tangal active near Mannarghat has destroyed bridge three miles west of that place. Kunhamed Haji reported still in vicinity Pandikkad as Nellikkuth bridge destroyed. Reconnoitering party from Manjeri fired on by rebels fire returned and two rebels killed. Rebel band from Kottakkal now reported near Uragamelmuri 5 miles north-west of Malappuram. Chin Kachin Battalion continued march to Edavanna and Wandur to-day.

CCXXIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 78, dated the 18th October 1921.

Four hundred rebels reported in neighbourhood of Kanniparamba. Situation being dealt with. Elsewhere nothing to report.

CCXXX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/430/G., dated the 18th October 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Nothing to report in Malabar.

CCXXXI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 108, dated the 19th October 1921.

Reports from Perintalmanna point to enemy bands moving east to join Chembrasseri Tangal. Everywhere quiet.

CCXXXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/437/G., dated the 19th October 1921.

The situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. In Malabar rebel band estimated at 400 reported vicinity Kanniparamba. Situation being dealt with.

CCXXXIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 115, dated the 20th October 1921.

The Gurkhas marched from Kondotti to-day to drive Mapillas reported at Morayur towards Manjeri, where Dorsets, Leinsters and armoured cars provided. About 100 rebels attacked Gurkhas near Morayur. Gurkhas retaliated with kukris killing 45 bodies counted and probably more. Gurkhas' casualties, three other ranks. Some guns and swords captured. Full reports not yet received.

CCXXXIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/439/G., dated the 20th October 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Nothing to report.

CCXXXV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. 250/440/G., dated the 21st October 1921.

Detachment Gurkhas left Kondotti yesterday drive rebel band reported at Morayur towards Manjeri, where Dorsets, Leinsters and armoured cars provided. About 100 rebels attacked Gurkhas near Morayur. Gurkhas retaliated with kukris. Forty-five rebel bodies counted. Gurkhas casualties, three other ranks. Some firearms and swords captured.

CCXXXVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 131, dated the 21st October 1921.

Auxiliary police returned Calicut having seen no rebel bands as latter already dispersed. Further to yesterday's report of drive Dorsets inflicted 30 casualties and armoured cars one casualty on rebels. Elsewhere quiet.

CCXXXVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/441-G, dated the 22nd October 1921.

Situation 09-00 and for Madras Press. In action referred to in my S. 250/440/G of October 21st Dorsets inflicted 30 and armoured cars one casualty on rebels. Elsewhere quiet in Malabar.

CCXXXVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 142, dated the 22nd October 1921.

Chembrasseri Tangal reported north of Mannarghat. Kachins carried out local reconnaissances. Everywhere quiet.

CCXXXIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 169, dated the 23rd October 1921.

Thirteen firearms, 9 swords and 300 rounds ·303 ammunition captured on 20th. Gang reported active round Kottakkal last night. Kachins carried out operation near Wandur. Five rebel casualties. Large gang reported near Arikkod.

CCXL

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/442-G., dated the 23rd October 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Chin Kachin Battalion carried out local reconnaissances yesterday followed by an operation near Wandur to-day in which rebels suffered 5 casualties. Chembrasseri Tangal last reported vicinity Melattur now located north of Mannarghat. Rebels active vicinity Kottakkal last night and large band reported near Arikkod. Thirteen firearms, 9 swords and 300 rounds ·303 ammunition captured in engagement on 20th. Section 67th Battery, R.F.A., and one platoon 12 F Company, S. and M., left Tirur for Bangalore 17–00 to-day.

CCXLI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 176, dated the 24th October 1921.

No change in situation. Picquet near Kottakkal attacked last night by about 100 rebels who were repulsed.

CCXLII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/448/G., dated the 24th October 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. No change in situation in Malabar. Picquet near Kottakkal attacked last night by about 100 rebels who were repulsed.

CCXLIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 197, dated the 25th October 1921.

Band of fifty Mapillas with four leaders reported at Tirurangadi last night. Police reached there 06–00, meeting opposition and inflicting three casualties. Leaders bolted. Kachins at Nilambur surrounded house on Kalikavu road this morning inflicting casualties and destroying rice which could not be removed. Large gang reported last night four miles north-west Malappuram. Operations undertaken against them by Dorsets, Artillery and armoured cars. Enemy met in jungle west of Melmuri opposing our troops there and in the houses, refusing to come out when ordered to surrender and offering continued opposition resulting in 246 rebel casualties.

CCXLIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/453/G., dated the 25th October 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. In Malabar band of 50 Mapillas with 4 leaders reported at Tirurangadi last night. Police reached there 06–00 meeting opposition and inflicting 3 casualties; leaders bolted. Chin Kachin Battalion from Nilambur surrounded house on Kalikavu road this morning inflicting casualties and destroying rice which could not be removed. Large gang reported last night 4 miles north-west Malappuram. Operations undertaken against them by Dorsets, Artillery and armoured cars. Enemy met in jungle west of Melmuri opposing our troops there and in the houses, refusing to come out when ordered to surrender and offering continued and determined opposition resulting in 246 rebel casualties.

CCXLV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 218, dated the 26th October 1921.

Kachins near Wandur in ambush inflicted six casualties. At Kalikavu resistance met with and nine casualties inflicted on enemy. Rebel concentration near Velliancheri reported from Perintalmanna and Pandikkad.

CCXLVI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/462-G., dated the 26th October 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. In Malabar in encounter near Wandur and Kalikavu Chin Kachin Battalion inflicted six and nine casualties respectively on rebels. Perintalmanna and Pandikkad garrisons both report rebel concentration near Velliancheri. Rebels reported looting villages on Calicut to Vayitri road near Puthuppadi. Distrate Nilgiris reports rebel bands at Mundiri and Ettakkarai now number only about 20 each.

CCXLVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 249, dated the 27th October 1921.

Kachin platoon at Edavanna sent party across river met rebels near Urangattiri. Killed 26, captured 4 guns and 15 swords. Our casualties one Indian officer killed, two Indian other ranks wounded. Perintalmanna reports gang about 100 near Valambur destroyed bridges at Pallikkuth. Dorsets went out but could not locate gang. One company police from Calicut gone to Kunnamangalam, two companies going to work up left bank of Beypore from Feroke.

CCXLVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S/250/465/G-3, dated the 27th October 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. In Malabar platoon Chin Kachins from Edavanna crossed Chaliyar meeting rebels near Urangattiri, killed 26 and captured 4 firearms and 15 swords. Our casualties one Indian officer killed, two Indian other ranks wounded. Garrison Perintalmanna reports rebels 100 strong near Valambur have destroyed bridges at Pallikkuth. Dorsets went out but failed locate rebels. One companies special police from Calicut gone to Kunnamangalam. Two other companies going to work up left bank Beypore river from Feroke. Light Motor Patrol Auxiliary Horse reports Vayitri-Calicut road clear as far as Tamarasseri and is reconnoitring further. Movable column Suffolks have been active against rebel bands in vicinity Mannarghat.

CCXLIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 255, dated the 28th October 1921.

Suffolks from Mannarghat visited Alanallur and Velliancheri, but saw only few small parties enemy, returned night to-day. Reference action by Edavanna Kachin platoon, rebels casualties were 36, not as previously reported 26.

CCL

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/466/G-3, dated the 28th October 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. In Malabar latest reports placed Chembrasseri Tangal with 3,000 rebels vicinity Alanallur and Tiruvazhamkunnu. Movable column Suffolks visited Alanallur and Velliancheri and returned Mannarghat to-day having seen only few small parties of rebels. In fight at Urangattiri north-west of Edavanna Chin Kachins inflicted 36 casualties, not 26 as previously reported. Kunhamed Haji still reported west of Wandur to Pandikkad road and is being dealt with.

CCLI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 265, dated the 29th October 1921.

Dorsets Perintalmanna carried out operations and inflicted 46 casualties on rebels near Mankada. Company Dorsets from Manjeri surrounded small party rebels inflicting six casualties. Rebels managed to carry away several other killed or wounded. Leinsters near Kottakkal engaged small band rebels inflicting four casualties.

CCLII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/468/G-3, dated the 29th October 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. Dorsets from Perintalmanna inflicted 46 casualties on rebels near Mankada. Company Dorsets from Manjeri surrounded small rebel band inflicting six casualties; several other casualties carried away by rebels. Leinsters engaged small band near Kottakkal inflicting four casualties.

CCLIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 275, dated the 30th October 1921.

Auxiliary police ambushed October 30th near Cheruvayur, lost one Indian other rank killed, one British officer and six Indian other ranks wounded. Twenty-six rebels killed and two guns captured. Auxiliary police visited Tamarasseri and Cherukulattur October 30th.

CCLIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/469/G-3, dated the 30th October 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Detachment special police attacked by rebels to-day near Cheruvayur. Twenty-six rebels killed and two firearms captured. Police casualties—one Indian other rank killed, one British officer and six Indian other ranks wounded. Detachments special police visited Tamarasseri and Cherukulattur.

CCLV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 292, dated the 31st October 1921.

Kachins operating on both banks Chaliyar river from Edavanna reached Arikkod on 29th. Continued resistance met on south bank in thick jungle; casualties one Indian other rank killed and seven wounded. Eleven counted casualties inflicted on enemy, uncounted casualties heavy. Rest-house and Police station burnt. 83rd from Tirur killed six rebels and captured twenty-one near Athavanad north of Kuttipuram on 30th. Gurkhas from Pandikkad and Melattur carried out reconnaissance north-east of Melattur with no result. Police near Cheruvayur continue to meet with resistance.

CCLVI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/479/G-3, dated the 31st October 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Chin Kachins operating on both flanks river Chaliyar from Edavanna reached Arikkod 29th October. Continued resistance met on south bank in thick jungle. Our casualties one Indian other rank killed, seven Indian other ranks wounded. Heavy casualties inflicted on rebels. Rest-house and Police station Arikkod found burnt. 83rd Wallajahbad Light Infantry operating from Tirur killed six and captured twenty-one near Athavanad on 30th October. Gurkhas operating from Pandikkad and Melattur carried out reconnaissance north-east of latter place without meeting rebels. Special police near Cheruvayur still encountering resistance.

CCLVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 314, dated the 1st November 1921.

Two platoons from Wandur had engagement with rebels near Chembrasseri inflicting 8 counted casualties and other probable casualties. Rebel concentration reported near Chembrasseri. Our casualties at Arikkod only 5, not 7 wounded as previously reported.

CCLVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/483/G-3, dated the 1st November 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Nothing to report.

CCLIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 331, dated the 2nd November 1921.

Kachins from Arikkod carried out reconnaissance south and south-west. Concentration reported near Chembrasseri. Auxiliary police carried out reconnaissance in Kunnamangalam area. Quiet.

CCLX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/492-G-3, dated the 2nd November 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. On 1st November 1921, Chin Kachins operating from Wandur had engagement with rebels near Chembrasseri inflicting 8 known and other probable casualties. Same regiments carried out reconnaissance south and south-west from Arikkod to-day. Rebel concentration still reported near Chembrasseri. Auxiliary police carried out reconnaissance Kunnamangalam area. Our casualties at Arikkod 5 wounded, not 7 as previously reported.

CCLXI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 345, dated the 3rd November 1921.

83rd near Kaipakancheri killed four rebels in reconnaissance. 2/8th Gurkhas carried out reconnaissance east of Pandikkad inflicting two casualties on enemy and capturing three. Auxiliary police from Kunnamangalam visited Manasseri. All quiet. Country west of Wynad road is quiet. Motor patrol working from Calicut.

CCLXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/496/G-3, dated the 3rd November 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Detachment 83rd Wallajahbad Light Infantry reconnoitering near Kaipakancheri killed four rebels. 2/8th Gurkhas reconnoitered east of Pandikkad and inflicted 33 casualties on rebels and captured three. Auxiliary police operating from Kunnamangalam visited Manasseri found all quiet. Country west of Calicut to Wynad road reported quiet. Motor patrol operating from Calicut.

CCLXIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 355, dated the 4th November 1921.

Leinsters from Kottakkal sent to patrol Kottakkal-Tirur road inflicted one casualty. Also carried out reconnaissance few miles east inflicting one casualty. Dorsets carried out operation against Papinapara gang 2 miles west Manjeri, result not yet in. Police established post at Manasseri. Kachins at Arikkod sniped ineffectively last night, no large bands seen, local reconnaissances carried out.

CCLXIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S 250/499/G-3, dated the 4th November 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Detachment Leinsters while patrolling Kottakkal-Tirur road inflicted two casualties on rebels. Dorsets carried out operations against rebel band at Papinapara, result not yet received. Special police established post at Manasseri. Chin Kachins Arikkod sniped at last night without loss. Vicinity reconnoitered but no large bands seen.

CCLXV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 362, dated the 5th November 1921.

64th Pioneers inflicted six killed while employed on Manjeri-Arikkod road clearing operation. Dorsets, armoured cars and Pack Artillery in yesterday's operations inflicted 33 killed near Papinapara. Most of gang escaped before cordon was drawn, as enemy's suspicions raised by movement Gurkhas the day before. Four guns and fifteen swords captured. Mannarghat carried out reconnaissance three miles north Mannarghat saw one band rebels.

CCLXVI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/500/G-3, dated the 5th November 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Detachment 64th Pioneers while engaged on clearing Manjeri-Arikkod road inflicted six casualties on rebels. In yesterday's operation against rebels at Papinapara, south-west of Manjeri, Dorsets, armoured cars and Pack Artillery killed 33. Four fire arms and 15 swords captured. Mannarghat column reconnoitered three miles to north seeing one band.

CCLXVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 374, dated the 6th November 1921.

64th Pioneers platoon cleared Manjeri-Arikkod road yesterday and reached Arikkod which has nothing fresh to report. Dorsets from Malappuram reconnoitered Vellur. Police from Kunnamangalam visited Chattamangalam and Tamarasseri and found all quiet.

CCLXVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/503/G-3, dated the 6th November 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Platoon 64th Pioneers cleared Manjeri-Arikkod road yesterday and reached Arikkod which has nothing fresh to report. Dorsets from Malappuram reconnoitered Vellur. Police from Kunnamangalam visited Chattamangalam and Tamarasseri and found all quiet.

CCLXIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 396, dated the 7th November 1921.

Following numbers have signified their submission. Three hundred from Anakkayam, four hundred Kuttilangadi, two hundred Melmuri. Overtures also being received from Chappanangadi, Chengattur, Panga, Pandalur. Everywhere quiet.

CCLXX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/508/G-3, dated the 7th November 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Following numbers of rebels have signified their submission. Three hundred from Anakkayam, four hundred Kuttilangadi, two hundred Melmuri. Overtures also being received from Chappanangadi, Chengattur, Panga, Pandalur. No rebel activity reported in remainder of district.

CCLXXI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 419, dated the 8th November 1921.

Two companies Auxiliary police crossed ferry two miles south-east of Tamarasseri at 09–00 hours to-day moving southwards. Crossing opposed by rebels of whom three killed; our casualties nil. Three rebels killed as result of small operation carried out by Dorsets in direction of Vellur on 6th. Signal communication established to-day from forest rest-house Nilambur to Nadghani. Reports tend show considerable numbers rebels collected in Chembrasseri.

CCLXXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/512/G-3, dated the 8th November 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Two companies special police crossed ferry two miles south-east of Tamarasseri at 09–00 hours to-day moving southwards. Crossing opposed by rebels of whom three killed; our casualties nil. Three rebels killed as result of small operation carried out by Dorsets in direction of Vellur on 6th. Signal communication established to-day from forest rest-house Nilambur to Nadghani. Reports tend show considerable numbers rebels collected in Chembrasseri.

CCLXXIII

From the General Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 436, dated the 9th November 1921.

Local reconnaissances carried out near Arikkod by Kachins who visited Pannikod. Nilambur raided Mapilla paddy stores at Kottarakkat and brought in 20,000 lb paddy. Hundred adult Mapillas have returned to reside in Nilambur. Reconnaissance of Beypore river carried out yesterday by boat. Three rebels killed and sixteen brought in suspected of rationing rebels. Company 83rd returned Tirur after three days' reconnaissance in neighbourhood Kulattur. Five rebels killed and 22 captured.

CCLXXIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/516/G-3, dated the 9th November 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Chin Kachins operating from Arikkod visited Pannikkod. Detachment same unit raided rebel paddy store at Kottarakkat and brought in 20,000 lb. paddy to Nilambur. One hundred Mapillas have returned to Nilambur. Beypore river reconnoitered yesterday by boat three rebels killed and 16 prisoners taken. Company 83rd Infantry returned Tirur after three days' reconnaissance vicinity Kulattur during which 5 rebels killed and 21 captured. 1/39th Garhwalis detrained Calicut yesterday.

CCLXXV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/519/G-3, dated the 10th November 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Nothing to report.

CCLXXVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 455, dated the 10th November 1921.

Rebels attempted to road Mapilla refugees at Nilambur. Attackers driven off losing six killed. One refugee killed. Another attack expected. Auxiliary police advance from Tamarasseri via Kudattayi, which commenced 8th, continued that day Tamarasseri meeting some opposition dense jungle and on 9th reached road near Chattamangalam. Eleven rebels killed during these operations; police casualties, one man killed, one officer, three men, wounded; all slight. 2/8th Gurkhas moving eastwards on their road killed seven rebels and captured six firearms without casualties. Two Mapillas known present with gang who murdered Hindu at Kottakkal were found looting house; one killed, other captured.

CCLXXVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/520/G-3, dated the 11th November 1921.

Situation 09–00 and for Madras Press. Rebels attempted raid Mapilla refugees Nilambur, but were driven off losing six killed. One refugee killed. Another attack expected. Special police advancing from Tamarasseri via Kudattayi reached Omasseri, met opposition in dense jungle and reached road near Chattamangalam. Eleven rebels killed, police lost one man killed, one officer and three men slightly wounded. 2/8th Gurkhas moving east from Kunnamangalam via Chattamangalam killed eight rebels including murderers of Hindu at Pulakkod. One captured. Gurkhas no casualties.

CCLXXVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B. M. 486, dated the 11th November 1921.

Auxiliary Police operated in area Malayamma—Muttayatt—Tazhikod engaged rebels, killed six and wounded others who escaped. Our casualties one Indian officer and two Indian other ranks slightly wounded. Police from Feroke chased rebels from Vengara and Tirurangadi who had been carrying out raid against Tennupalam. Police killed eight rebels. Dorsets and Leinsters carried out operations against Chelur and Mattathur and Uragamelmuri. Result not yet known. Pandikkad and Wandur co-operated against Chembrasseri with four rebels killed as result and enemy dispersed towards Nilambur. Drive began to-day. Rebels seen crossing from north to south bank Beypore river night 10th/11th near Kizhuparamba.

CCLXXIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/521/G-3, dated the 11th November 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Special Police operating vicinity Malayamma killed six rebels and wounded others who escaped. Police casualties one Indian officer and two Indian other ranks slightly wounded. Police operating from Feroke chased rebels from Vengara and Tirurangadi who had been raiding Tennupalam. 8 rebels killed. Dorsets and Leinsters operated against rebel bands near Chelur, Uragamelmuri and Mattathur; result not yet known. Troops from Pandikkad and Wandur co-operated against Chembrasseri, killing 4 rebels. Rebels dispersed towards Nilambur. 1/39th Garhwalis and 2/8th Gurkhas commenced drive to-day from line Kunnamangalam-Manasseri towards Beypore river. Rebels seen crossing from north bank Beypore river to south night 10th/11th near Kizhuparamba. 2/9th Gurkhas and section 10th Pack Batty R. G. A. detrained 9/11.

CCLXXX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/525/3-G., dated the 12th November 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Light Motor Patrol Auxiliary Horse operating from Puthupadi commenced patrolling Calicut-Vayittiri road. Road reported open and traffic resumed both ways. Operations which began yesterday

continued towards Beypore river according to plan. Results not yet known. Dorsets killed 39 rebels in yesterday's fighting in Mattathur area. Petitions received from 16 more amsams round Malappuram expressing desire submit.

CCLXXXI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 500, dated the 12th November 1921.

Reports receive show advance on Beypore river proceeding according to plan. Results not yet known. Dorsets report thirty-nine Mapillas killed as result of yesterday's action in Mattathur area. In addition to four amsams already submitted, petitions have now been received from sixteen more round Malappuram expressing desire to submit.

CCLXXXII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 518, dated the 13th November 1921.

Special police operated area Vennakod-Malayamma, saw several gangs on hills, but out of range, killed one. 83rd Wallajahbad Light Infantry from Mannarghat raided Mapilla feast seven miles east Mannarghat, captured six prisoners. Reported that rebels concentrating near Pandalur to prevent Pandalur from surrendering. No news yet of result operations on Beypore river but troops have apparently reached river.

CCLXXXIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/527/G-3, dated the 13th November 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. Special Police operating vicinity Malayamma saw several rebel bands on hills, but out of range, one rebel killed. 83rd Infantry operating from Mannarghat raided rebel feast seven miles east of the place capturing six prisoners. Rebels reported concentrating near Pandalur to prevent submission inhabitants. Reports of operations north of Beypore river not yet received but troops believed reached river.

CCLXXXIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 534, dated the 14th November 1921.

14th. Approximate results of first phase operations as follows. Total enemy killed 104, captured 7. Guns captured 25, of which one Martini Henry rifle and one 12 bore gun. Principal event was destruction of enemy gang of 56 who operated against 2/8th from a mosque near Cheruvadi. All were accounted for after severe fighting. Our casualties this action one Gurkha officer killed, one British officer and 13 other ranks wounded. Of remaining units only casualty was one man 2/8th slightly wounded. At 05-30 hours this morning Pandikkad post held by one company 2/8th Gurkhas was heavily attacked by Mapillas estimated at about 2,000. Fifty-six rebels succeeded in penetrating post all of whom were accounted for. Total number of enemy killed 230. One prisoner captured. Our casualties one British officer severely wounded since died—Captain Averell, 2/8th—three other ranks killed and thirty-four wounded, mostly slightly. Civil postmaster of Pandikkad was murdered. Ten guns and 139 knives captured. Small party armed Mapillas seen at junction Tirur-Kottakkal-Tirurangadi roads of which one killed. Kuruva amsam has now definitely surrendered. Inthyannur and Ponmala amsams—both near Kottakkal—have sent in petitions to submit.

CCLXXXV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S/250/531/G-3, dated the 14th November 1921.

Situation 20-00 hours and for Madras Press. Approximate results of first phase of operations in Malabar as follows. Total rebel casualties 104, captured 7. Guns captured 25, of which one Martini Henry rifle and one 12 bore gun. Principal event was destruction of enemy gang of 56 who operated against 2/8th Gurkhas from building near Cheruvadi. All were accounted for after severe fighting. Our casualties this action one Gurkha officer killed, one British officer and 13 other ranks wounded. Of remaining units only casualty was one man 2/8th Gurkhas slightly wounded. At 05-30 hours this morning Pandikkad post held by one company 2/8th Gurkhas was heavily attacked by Mapillas estimated at

about 2,000. Fifty-six rebels succeeded in penetrating post all of whom were killed. Total number of enemy killed 230, one prisoner captured. Our casualties one British officer severely wounded since died—Captain Averell, 2/8th Gurkhas—three other ranks killed and thirty-four wounded, mostly slightly. Civil postmaster of Pandikkad was murdered. Ten guns and 139 knives captured. Small party armed Mapillas seen at junction Tirur-Kottakkal-Tirurangadi roads of which one killed. Kuruva amsam has now definitely surrendered. Inthyannur and Ponmala amsams—both near Kottakkal—have sent in petition to submit.

CCLXXXVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M.H.V.Z. (?), dated the 15th November 1921.

Units reached line in advance and report nothing of importance. Several more amsams round Malappuram surrendered. Elsewhere quiet.

CCLXXXVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/534/G-3, dated the 15th November 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. Auxhorse patrol reports traffic resuming on Calicut-Vayittiri road, but vicinity Tamarasseri still liable to visits from looters who are being dealt with. Troops engaged in drive have reached line assigned for to-day and report no event of importance. Several more amsams vicinity Malappuram have expressed desire to submit. Elsewhere situation quiet.

CCLXXXVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 556, dated the 16th November 1921.

Results second phase not yet known as reports incomplete. Apparently little real opposition met. Vengara gang has been active about Nannambra and murdered several Hindus. Dorsets attempting to deal with them. Rebels from north are creating trouble about Anamangad where bridge at 33rd milestone destroyed. Steps being taken to deal with this immediately. Kottakkal and Murkkanad of Kottakkal have sent petitions of submission.

CCLXXXIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S/250/541/G-3, dated the 16th November 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. Reports not yet received regarding operations in progress south of Beypore river, but indications little serious resistance. Rebels from Vengara murdered Hindus about Nannambra. Band from north active near Anamangad bridge at 33rd milestone destroyed. Both bands being dealt with. Kottakkal and Murkkanad 3 miles to south submit.

CCXC

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 576, dated the 17th November 1921.

Approximate results second phase—rebels killed about 100, several guns captured, total not yet known. Only incident attack on party 1/39th Garhwalis by some 12 men all of whom killed after hand to hand fighting in thick jungle. Our casualties this action two other ranks killed, three wounded. No other casualties elsewhere. Company Auxiliary Police following regulars traversed practically whole area F. 4 on 15th and 16th. Report met no opposition whatever. Reports received indicate Sithi Koya having joined Chembrasseri Tangal and Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji about Chembrasseri; confirmation awaited. Kumaramputhur near Mannarghat surrendered yesterday.

CCXCI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. 250/542/G-3, dated the 17th November 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. One hundred rebels killed in second phase of operations in Malabar. Several firearms also captured, total not yet known. Only incident attack on party 1/39th Garhwalis by some 12 rebels all of whom were killed after hand to hand fighting in thick jungle. Our casualties two other ranks killed and three wounded, all 1/39th Garhwalis. No other casualties elsewhere.

Company Auxiliary Police following troops traversed practically whole area 49 M/S E F-4 on 15th and 16th. No opposition whatever met with. Reports indicate Sithi Koya Tangal has joined Chembrasseri Tangal and Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji at Chembrasseri ; confirmation awaited. Kumaramputhur surrendered yesterday.

CCXCII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 588, dated the 18th November 1921.

During third phase 29 rebels killed. Of these 20 were killed by 1/39 Garhwalis in houses where they refused to surrender. Total result of operations 11th to 18th rebels killed 233, prisoners 54, guns 31. Concentration reported in yesterday's situation report is confirmed. Rebels from west Manjeri-Malappuram road joining this concentration which now appears to consist of rebels of all known leaders.

CCXCIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S/250/544/G-3, dated the 18th November 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. During third phase of operations which started 11th rebel casualties were 29 killed. Of these 20 were inflicted by 1/39th Garhwalis. Total result of operations 11th to 18th rebel known casualties—killed 233, prisoners 54, firearms captured 31. Concentration reported in yesterday's situation report is confirmed. Rebels from west of Manjeri-Malappuram road joining this concentration which now appears to consist of bands of all known leaders.

CCXCIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 611, dated the 19th November 1921.

Troops from Perintalmanna raided Kakkuth near Perintalmanna where rebels reported to return at night, killed 4 and captured 50 some of whom are known criminals and mostly rebels. Kachins from Wandur ambushed party of rebels, killed 10, captured 6 guns and 4 swords on Wandur-Kalikavu road which is reported blocked by felled trees and broken culverts between 10th and 12th milestones.

CCXCV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/546/G-3, dated the 19th November 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. Troops from Perintalmanna raided Kakkuth near Perintalmanna where rebels were reported to return at night. 4 rebels were killed and 50 captured several of whom are known criminals. Burma Battalion operating from Wandur attacked party of rebels on Wandur-Kalikavu road killing 10 and capturing 6 firearms and 4 swords. This road is blocked by felled trees between 10th and 12th milestones.

CCXCVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 700 (?), dated the 20th November 1921.

Auxiliary Police carried out punitive operations between 15th and 18th in Manasseri area. 4 rebels killed, one gun captured. Kachins from Nilambur raided rebel paddy store at square D-3 central and brought in 35,000 lb. paddy and 20 head of cattle. Small party rebels reported to have broken back near Trikanlagod north of Manjeri. Remainder still east of road.

CCXCVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/547/G-3, dated the 20th November 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. Auxiliary Police carried out punitive operations between 15th and 18th in Manasseri area. 4 rebels killed and one firearm captured. Kachin Battalion from Nilambur raided rebel paddy store at point 58-A/S.W. D3 5·5 five miles east of Nilambur and brought in 35,000 lb. paddy and 20 head of cattle. Small band rebels reported to have broken back westwards near Trikanlagod north of Manjeri. Remainder still east of Nilambur-Edavanna-Manjeri road.

CCXCVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 634, dated the 21st November 1921.

Leinsters from Kottakkal engaged small party rebels at Cherusola and killed seven. Troops took up positions for further operations yesterday and movement commenced to-day. No results yet received.

CCXCIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. 2712/21/A-3, dated the 18th November 1921.

In continuation of my letter No. 2712/13/A-3, dated 11th October 1921, the undermentioned casualties of British officers have occurred:—

Captain J. F. Averill, 8th Gurkhas, died of wounds, 14th November 1921.

Captain L. F. Mercer, 6th, attached 8th Gurkhas, wounded, 12th November 1921.

CCC

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/550/G.-3, dated the 21st November 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. Detachment Leinsters from Kottakkal engaged small rebel band at Cherusola killing seven. Troops occupied positions yesterday preparatory to operations which commenced to-day. Reports not yet received. Forty refugees reached Nadghani post from Ettakkara on 16th; they state no rebels at Ettakkara but band was expected on 20th. Officer Commanding Wynad reports numerous rebels surrendering at Kunnamangalam. Some tea shops have opened on Calicut-Vayittiri road and some women folk have returned.

CCCI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 642, dated the 22nd November 1921.

Troops moving eastwards from Manjeri-Edavanna road to Pandikkad-Wandur road met with no opposition yesterday. Few rebels seen. 83rd Infantry made reconnaissance eastward from Mannarghat and were fired on during return journey. Eight rebels killed, one gun, three swords captured.

CCCII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/553/G-3, dated the 22nd November 1921.

Situation 17-00 and for Madras Press. Troops moving eastwards from Manjeri-Edavanna road towards Pandikkad-Wandur road met with no opposition yesterday and saw few rebels. 83rd Infantry reconnoitred eastward from Mannarghat and were fired on during return journey. Eight rebels were killed, one gun and three swords captured. Auxiliary Horse patrol, Tamarasseri, arrested sixteen rebels near where Hindus had been found murdered one mile south of that place.

CCCIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 647, dated the 23rd November 1921.

Fifty rebels crossed Edavanna-Manjeri road night 21st and 22nd from Elankur towards Urangattiri. No reports yet received regarding to-day's operations.

CCCIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/554/G-3, dated the 23rd November 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. 150 rebels crossed Edavanna-Manjeri road night 21st/22nd from Elankur towards Urangattiri. No reports received regarding to-day's operations.

CCCV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 663, dated the 24th November 1921.

24th. Troops reached line Pandikkad-Karuvarakundu and Pandikkad-Perintalmanna yesterday according to plan. Practically no rebels seen. About 200 are reported as having gone north of Kalikavu. Majority appear to have moved southwards but confirmation lacking. Operations continue south-east direction.

CCCVI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/556/G-3, dated the 24th November 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. In Malabar troops reached line Perintalmanna-Pandikkad-Karuvarakundu yesterday according to plan. Practically no rebels seen. About 200 rebels reported gone north of Kalikavu. Majority appear to have moved south but confirmation lacking. Operations continue south-eastwards. O.C. Wynad reports 3,000 Mapillas registered at Kunnamangalam where bazar has re-opened and traffic on Calicut-Vayittri road is normal. Auxhorse Light Motor Patrol which has been patrolling road being demobilized to-morrow. At request local civil authority detachment Sirauxy posted as guard at Olavakkot to-day.

CCCVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 674, dated the 25th November 1921.

Numerous small gangs of rebels reported as having moved into hills east of Velliyancheri. Kachins when advancing to Periamodu killed 17 attempting escape that direction. Rebel gang estimated 60 strong raided outskirts Wandur village, burnt 48 houses, killed one Mapilla and one Hindu and wounded one Mapilla and one Hindu woman at 01–00 hours.

CCCVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/564/G-3, dated the 25th November 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Numerous small rebel bands reported moved into hills east of Velliyancheri. Chin Kachins when advancing to Periamodu on 23rd November 1921, killed 17 rebels. Rebel band, estimated 60 strong, raided outskirts to Wandur 01–00 to-day, burning 47 houses and inflicting four casualties on inhabitants.

CCCIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 678, dated the 26th November 1921.

26th. Drive complete to-day but total results not known. Large numbers of rebels have escaped by hearing or evaded pursuit by moving into mountains. Appears that intention of rebels is to avoid action whenever possible with troops.

CCCX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/567/G-3, dated the 26th November 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Drive which commenced 21st November 1921 completed to-day. Precise results not yet known. Rebels have avoided action and scattered into hills.

CCCXI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 694, dated the 27th November 1921.

27th. Garrison of Perintalmanna provided by 2/9th Gurkhas carried out operations against Pulamanthol, killing 10 and capturing 10 rebels yesterday. Reports show that many rebels escaping from drive have collected in Nilambur area. Other bands making their way back to Arikkod and other places whence they came to join concentration. Further surrenders occurring about Kottakkal where weekly shandy is commencing.

CCCXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/569/G–3, dated the 27th November 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Detachment 2/9th Gurkhas from Perintalmanna operated against Pulamanthol killing 10 and capturing 10 rebels yesterday. Reports show that many rebels escaping from drive have collected in Nilambur area. Other bands making their way back to Arikkod and other places whence they come to join concentration. Further surrenders occurring about Kottakkal where weekly market is commencing.

CCCXIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M./701, dated the 28th November 1921.

Troops moving into own areas according to orders. Detachment 2/9th Gurkhas at Perintalmanna raided Ponniyakurissi, killed five rebels. Rebels said to number about 500 reported to have collected about Arikkod.

CCCXIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/571/G.-3, dated the 28th November 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. Troops moving to the areas allotted to them after conclusion of drive. Detachment 2/9th Gurkhas operating from Perintalmanna raided Ponniyakurissi killing five rebels. 500 rebels reported to have collected about Arikkod.

CCCXV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M./714, dated the 29th November 1921.

Four rebels were killed and three wounded by a small detachment 2/8th Gurkhas. Two were captured by signal station Ottapara. D. Company, Auxiliary Police captured 13 prisoners members of Kaipakancheri gang near Tanalur on 27th.

CCCXVI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/575/G-3, dated the 29th November 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. Four rebels were killed and three wounded by a small detachment 2/8th Gurkhas. Two were captured by signal station at Ottapara. Company Special Police captured 13 rebels members of Kaipakancheri gang near Tanalur.

CCCXVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 721, dated 30th November 1921.

D. Company, Auxiliary Police, operating round Nannambra killed 8 rebels Tirurangadi gang and killed one more at Palathingal. One rebel killed, two captured by police from Nilambur yesterday. A. Company, Auxiliary Police, also killed six near Chelembra. Signal station has been established on Urakuth Mala by Suffolks. Much movement small gangs reported east to west. Reported that object is saying of prayers at Mambram shrine prior to making final stand. Confirmation awaited.

CCCXVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/578-G 3, dated the 30th November 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. Company Special Police operating in vicinity Nannambra inflicted nine casualties on Tirurangadi band. Two rebels killed and one captured by police operating from Nilambur yesterday. Six casualties also inflicted by Special Police operating near Chelembra. Suffolks have established signal station on Urakuth Mala. Much movement small bands rebels from east to west. Reported their object to say prayers at Mambram prior to making final stand. Confirmation awaited.

CCCXIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 731, dated the 1st December 1921.

Suffolks and Company 83rd Wallajahbad Light Infantry carried out operations yesterday against Vengara and Cherur area with success. Thirty-six rebels were killed and 6 captured. 83rd now at Tirurangadi. A. Company Auxiliary Police killed 3 rebels near fifth milestone Tirurangadi-Feroke road. Special Police from Nilambur under Sub-Inspector Appu Nayar surprised 8 rebels in house near Parakottuvayal, killed 6, captured 2, also 4 guns and 6 swords. 2/8th Gurkhas from Melattur surprised Mapilla sentry group killing 5, wounding one.

CCCXX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/580/G-3, dated the 1st December 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Suffolks and Company 83rd Wallajahbad Light Infantry carried out successful operations yesterday against Vengara and Cherur area. Thirty-eight rebels were killed and 6 captured. Company 83rd now at Tirurangadi. A. Company Auxiliary Police killed 3 rebels near fifth milestone Tirurangadi-Feroke road. Special Police from Nilambur under Sub-Inspector Appu Nayar surprised 8 rebels in house near Parakottuvayal, killed 6, captured 2, also 4 firearms and 6 swords. 2/8th Gurkhas from Melattur surprised Mapilla sentry group killing 5 wounding 1.

CCCXXI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 746, dated the 2nd December 1921.

Auxiliary Police searched country between Tirur and Tanur east of railway, all quiet. Mapillas surrendering in large numbers neighbourhood of Melattur and Vettattur and Karkidamkunnu amsams.

CCCXXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/583/G-3, dated the 2nd December 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Auxiliary Police searched country between Tirur and Tanur east of railway, all quiet. Mapillas surrendering in large numbers neighbourhood of Melattur and Vettattur and Karkidamkunnu amsams.

CCCXXIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 758, dated the 3rd December 1921.

D. Company Auxiliary Police operating about Kaipakancheri killed 4 rebels and captured 9. A. Company killed 7 near Chelembra. 2/8th killed 6, captured 1 gun, 4 knives near Tuvvur. Mapillas from eight amsams, having Melattur as centre and Vettattur most southerly point, are surrendering in large numbers. Total yesterday and to-day is 1,804 men with 1 gun, 764 knives. 310 surrenders also round Perintalmanna.

CCCXXIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/584/G-3, dated the 3rd December 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. D. Company Special Police operating about Kaipakancheri killed 4 and captured 9 rebels. A. Company killed 7 near Chelembra. 2/8th Gurkhas killed 8, captured 1 firearm and 4 swords near Tuvvur. Mapillas from eight amsams, with Melattur as centre and Vettattur as most southerly point, surrendering in large numbers. Total yesterday and to-day 1,804 men with 1 firearm, 764 knives. 310 surrendered round Perintalmanna.

CCCXXV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 767, dated the 4th December 1921.

Kachins sent out reconnaissances from Nilambur and Kalikavu towards Kakottur; one party this morning to Wandur via Amarambalam. Four rebels killed, 3 swords captured and 80,000 lb. paddy brought in. Surrendered Mapillas at Arikkod now number 1,500, 3 swords given up. Southern bank Beypore river between Arikkod and Edavanna reported thickly occupied by Mapillas desiring surrender. 525 men with 9 swords surrendered yesterday at Mannarghat.

CCCXXVI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/585/G3, dated the 4th December 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Chin Kachins reconnoitred from Nilambur and Kalikavu towards each other and sent a detachment to Wandur via Amarambalam resulting in 4 rebels killed, 3 swords captured and 80,000 lb. paddy brought in. 1,500 rebels have surrendered at Arikkod handing in 3 swords. Numerous rebels desirous of submitting reported along southern bank Beypore river between Arikkod and Edavanna. 525 with 9 swords submitted at Mannarghat yesterday.

CCCXXVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 771, dated the 5th December 1921.

39th Garhwalis near hill 372 killed one rebel, captured two guns and two prisoners. Total rebels who have surrendered in Mannarghat are 2,400. Five-hundred rebels with 206 swords surrendered near Melattur. Total in this area now 2,300 and 850 swords.

CCCXXVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/593/G-3, dated the 5th December 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. 1/39th Garhwalis killed one, captured two rebels and two firearms near hill 372. Total rebels surrendered in Mannarghat area now 2,400. Five-hundred with 206 swords surrendered near Melattur. Total this area now 2,300 and 850 swords.

CCCXXIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 782, dated the 6th December 1921.

Auxiliary Police killed 4 rebels near Vennakkod. Two killed by 2/8th Gurkhas near Chembrasseri. Total surrenders to 2/8th at Melattur to-date are 2,756 men, 4 guns, 1,122 swords. Thirty-nine men with 6 swords surrendered at Vellayur.

CCCXXX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/595/G-3, dated the 6th December 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Special Police killed 4 rebels near Vennakkod. 2/8th Gurkhas killed two rebels near Chembrasseri. Total surrenders to 2/8th Gurkhas at Melattur to-date 2,756 men, 4 firearms, 1,122 swords. Thirty-nine men with 6 swords surrendered at Vellayur.

CCCXXXI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 790, dated the 7th December 1921.

Further surrenders to 2/8th in Melattur number 271 men, 1 gun, 138 swords. Four hundred and fifty men with 46 swords from Pandikkad, Vettikkattiri and Chembrasseri surrendered Pandikkad 6th. Two hundred and twenty-eight surrendered to Mannarghat and 742 to Perintalmanna. Active rebel bands reported north-east of Nilambur and north and south-east of Kalikavu.

CCCXXXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/596/G-3, dated the 7th December 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Further surrenders to 2/8th Gurkhas at Melattur number 271 men, 1 firearm, 138 swords. Four hundred and fifty men with 46 swords from Pandikkad, Vettikkattiri and Chembrasseri surrendered at Pandikkad on 6th instant. Two hundred and twenty-eight surrendered to Mannarghat and 742 to Perintalmanna. Active rebel bands reported north-east of Nilambur and north and south-east of Kalikavu.

CCCXXXIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 802, dated the 8th December 1921.

Surrenders to 2/8th, Melattur, 7th were 720 men, 254 swords. Others surrendering Pandikkad. 1/39th report white flags shown along river from Arikkod to Cheruvadi inclusive. All houses in Chikkod also showing white flags. Rebels lately at Pannikkod have moved northwards of whom one killed. 2/9th captured 13 rebels at Nilambur and killed one north of Potasseri. 3/70th surprised rebel sentry group, killed one, captured two swords.

CCCXXXIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S/250/597/G3, dated the 8th December 1921.

Situation 18–00 and for Madras Press. Nothing to report.

CCCXXXV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/600/G-3, dated the 9th December 1921.

Situation 10-00 hours and for Madras Press. Seven hundred and twenty rebels with 254 swords surrendered to 2/8th Gurkhas at Melattur on 7th instant. Further surrender reported from Pandikkad. 1/39th Garhwalis report white flags shown along Chaliyar river from Arikkod to Cheruvadi inclusive. All houses in Chikkod also showing white flags. One member of Panikkod gang killed. Gang now moved northwards. 2/9th Gurkhas captured 13 rebels at Nilambur and killed one north of Pottasseri. 3/70th Kachins surprised rebel sentry group killing one and capturing two swords.

CCCXXXVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 807, dated the 9th December 1921.

3/70th Kachins killed 35 rebels, captured 20 guns, 15 swords at Kalamula; our casualties 3 slightly wounded. Detachment 2/9th Gurkhas at Mankada killed 14 rebels near that place. Surrenders continue about Melattur and Mannarghat.

CCCXXXVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/601/G-3, dated the 9th December 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. 3/70th Kachins killed 35 rebels, captured 20 firearms, 15 swords at Kalamula. Our casualties three slightly wounded. Detachment 2/9th Gurkhas at Mankada killed 14 rebels near that place. Surrenders continue about Melattur and Mannarghat.

CCCXXXVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 818, dated the 10th December 1921.

10th. Suffolk area carried out operations yesterday against Vengara gang. One platoon Suffolks, one platoon 83rd, found rebels in house near Cherur; killed 81, captured 15 with one ·303 rifle, one revolver, 8 guns and 40 swords; our casualties one man 83rd wounded. 3/70th killed 7 rebels near 50th milestone Nadghani road; captured one gun on 8th and killed 4 on Nilambur-Kalikavu road yesterday. 2/9th killed 3, captured 10 at Pranakod Hill. Over 300 surrendered 2/8th with 3 guns, 125 swords.

CCCXXXIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/604/G-3, dated the 10thDecember 1921.

Situation 18-00 and for Madras Press. Operations carried out yesterday in Suffolk area against Vengara gang. One platoon Suffolks and one platoon 83rd Infantry found rebels in house near Cherur; killed 81, captured 15, with one ·303 rifle, one revolver, 8 firearms, 40 swords. One Indian other rank 83rd wounded. 3/70 Kachins killed 7 rebels near 50th milestone on Nilambur-Nadghani road and captured one prisoner on 8/12. Same unit killed 4 on Nilambur-Kalikavu road on 9/12. 2/9 Gurkhas killed 3, captured 10 at Pranakod hill. Over 300 more surrenders to 2/8th Gurkhas with 3 firearms, 125 swords.

CCCXL

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 839, dated the 11th December 1921.

D. Company Police from Tirur surprised rebel gang at Puttur mosque Perumanna at daybreak to-day. 48 rebels killed, 11 captured with two ·303 rifles, 6 police rifles and 3 guns. Our casualties one Indian officer killed, one man wounded. Rebels mostly from Tirurangadi.

CCCXLI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/609/G-3, dated the 11th December 1921.

Situation 18-00. D. Company Special Police operating from Tirur surprised rebel band in building at Perumanna at daybreak to-day. 48 rebels killed and 11 captured with two ·303 rifles, 6 police rifles and three other firearms. Our casualties one Indian officer killed, one man wounded. Rebels mostly from Tirurangadi.

CCCXLII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 838, dated the 12th December 1921.

Surrenders yesterday include 334 men, 2 guns, 160 swords to 2/8th. Two hundred and twenty-six to 2/9th. Two hundred and fifty-six with 4 guns to 3/70th. In addition to those rebel casualties reported for Suffolk area operation of 9th Auxiliary Police killed 20 in Velimukku amsam. Large surrenders Suffolk area expected.

CCCXLIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/614/G-3, dated the 12th December 1921.

Situation 18-00 hours. Surrenders yesterday include 334 rebels, 2 firearms and 160 swords to 2/8th Gurkhas. Two hundred and twenty-six rebels to 2/9th Gurkhas. Two hundred and fifty-six with 4 firearms to 3/70th Kachins. In addition to those rebel casualties reported for Suffolk area operations of 9th instant in my S/250/604/G-3, dated 10th instant Special Police killed 20 rebels in Velimukku amsam. Large surrenders Suffolk area expected.

CCCXLIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 849, dated the 13th December 1921.

Nine amsams round Tirurangadi totalling 2,400 men have sent in petitions of surrender; more are following. Amsams round Melattur gave up 6 guns and 157 swords yesterday.

CCCXLV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/615/G-3, dated the 13th December 1921.

Situation 18-00 hours. Nine amsams round Tirurangadi totalling 2,400 men have sent in petitions to surrender; more are following. Amsams round Melattur handed in six firearms and 157 swords yesterday.

CCCXLVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M. 862, dated the 14th December 1921.

2/9th Gurkhas carried out operation against Sithi Koya's gang in hills east of Mannarghat yesterday. Twenty-one rebels killed in valley, but remainder escaped. Detachment 2/9th Perintalamanna killed seven at Amminikkad. Total surrenders to 3/70th Wandur to date number 1,237. Two hundred and ninety-seven men with five guns surrendered at Arikkod.

CCCXLVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/618/G-3, dated the 14th December 1921.

Situation 18-00 hours. 2/9th Gurkhas carried out operations against Sithi Koya Tangal's band in hills east of Mannarghat yesterday, 21 rebels killed in valley but remainder escaped. Detachment 2/9th Gurkhas operating from Perintalamanna killed seven rebels at Amminikkad. Total surrenders to 3/70th Kachins at Wandur to date number 1,237. Two hundred and ninety-seven rebels with five firearms have surrendered at Arikkod.

CCCXLVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 881, dated the 15th December 1921.

Yesterday's operations north of Tirurangadi by Suffolks, Police, 39th Garhwalis and 83rd Wallajah Light Infantry resulted three rebels killed and ninety-one captured. Auxiliary Police killed one rebel near Omasseri. Operations being carried out by Kachins from Ettakkara.

CCCXLIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/626/G-3, dated the 15th December 1921.

Situation 18-00. Rebel band estimated at 600 raided and burnt Pandalur, Nilgiris, 01-00 to-day, killed three and wounded five police; looted food supply and withdrew to Nirpuzha Moka. Detachment Suffolks despatched Gudalur 13-00 to-day as support to police at request Distrate, Nilgiris. In Malabar operations carried out

on 14/12 north of Tirurangadi by detachment Suffolks, 39th Garhwalis, 83rd Infantry and Special Police resulted in three rebels killed and 91 prisoners. Operations being carried out by Kachins from Ettakkara.

NOTE.—A stream called Nirpuzha rises near Pandalur and flows approximately south-west to join the Challiyapara river at Nirpuzha Moka. This place is about 8 miles from Pandalur as the crow flies.

CCCL

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 896, dated the 16th December 1921.

Surrenders to 2/8th—157 men, 2 guns, 78 swords. One thousand and fifty-two men from Tirurangadi and 700 from Trikkolam surrendered to Deputy Collector yesterday.

CCCLI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/628/G-3, dated the 16th December 1921.

Situation 18-00 hours. In Malabar 157 men with two firearms and 78 swords surrendered to 2/8th Gurkhas. One-thousand and fifty-two men from Tirurangadi and 700 from Trikkolam surrendered to Deputy Collector 15/12. Chin Kachins reconnoitering north and north-east from Ettakkara with view deal with rebels who raided Pandalur 15/12.

CCCLII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 905, dated the 17th December 1921.

39th Garhwalis killed four, captured three rebels near Omanur. Three thousand four hundred rebels with 24 firearms surrendered in Arikkod area.

CCCLIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/635/G-3, dated the 17th December 1921.

Situation 18-00. 1/39th Garhwalis killed four, captured three rebels near Omanur. Three thousand four hundred rebels with 24 firearms surrendered in Arikkod area. Forest fires reported between Nadghani-Nilambur road and Yellamalai tea estate. Troops at disposal Officer Commanding, Wynad, being reinforced to prevent tendency of rebels spread into Nilgiri-Wynad.

CCCLIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 915, dated the 18th December 1921.

Auxiliary Police from Tirurangadi killed eight rebels on 16th west of the Tirurangadi-Feroke road. Surrenders to 2/8th number 101 men, 2 guns, 105 swords and to 1/39th 420 men, 5 guns. To Edavanna 748 men.

CCCLV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/638/G-3, dated the 18th December 1921.

Situation 18-00. Special Police from Tirurangadi killed eight rebels west of Tirurangadi-Feroke road on 16th. Surrenders to 2/8th Gurkhas number 101 men, 2 firearms, 105 swords, to 1/39th Garhwalis 420 men, 5 guns. To Edavanna post 748 men.

CCCLVI

From the Special Civil Officer, Malappuram, dated the 19th December 1921.

Chembrasseri Tangal has surrendered alone.

CCCLVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 918, dated 19th December 1921.

Auxiliary Police killed 3 rebels near Kudattayi. Surrenders as follows : at Kondotti : 1,900 men, 3 guns; at Nilambur: 93 men, 5 guns, 15 swords. 2/8th : 256 men, 5 guns, 166 swords.

CCCLVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/645/G-3, dated the 19th December 1921.

Situation 18-00. Special Police killed 3 rebels near Kudattayi. One thousand nine hundred rebels with three firearms have surrendered at Kondotti. Ninety-three rebels with 5 firearms and 15 swords at Nilambur. Two hundred andfifty-six rebels with 5 firearms and 166 swords to 2/8th Gurkhas.

CCCLIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 923, dated the 20th December 1921.

Chembrasseri Tangal and Yoyersseri, his chief lieutenant, surrendered to 2/8th at Melattur yesterday evening. Vengara and Valyora surrendered yesterday, over 1,500 being present. Rebel gang, strength about 200, reported moved westward from Arikkod yesterday, but report not yet confirmed.

CCCLX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 925, dated the 20th December 1921.

Continuation my B.M. 923 Sithi Koya with remnants gang, seven guns, five swords, captured by 2/9th Gurkhas Mannarghat to-day.

CCCLXI

From the Special Civil Officer, dated the 20th December 1921.

Sithi Koya captured with remnants gang, seven guns and five swords.

CCCLXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/646/G-3, dated the 20th December 1921.

Situation 18-00. Chembrasseri Tangal, one of the two principal rebel leaders, and Yoyersseri, his chief lieutenant, surrendered to 2/8th Gurkhas at Melattur yesterday. Vengara and Valyora surrendered yesterday, over 1,500 being present. Rebel band estimated 200 reported moved west from Arikkod yesterday but confirmation lacking. Tenth pack battery R.G.A. entrained at Tirur for Jutogh December 19th.

CCCLXIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 933, dated the 21st December 1921.

Number rebels actually surrendered with Sithi Koya twelve. Remainder coming in separately as gang scattered. Sixteen additional to above and known rebels surrendered Mannarghat yesterday. Signal communication by day established between Nilambur and Nadghani from 22nd, this will be open day and night. Road is also open for Ford vans.

CCCLXIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/648/G-3, dated the 21st December 1921.

Situation 18-00. Sithi Koya Tangal, an important rebel leader, with remnant of his band with seven firearms and five swords captured by 2/9th Gurkhas near Mannarghat yesterday. Detachments 3/70th Kachins operating from Pandalur reconnoitered paths leading towards Munderi for four miles without opposition.

CCCLXV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 935, dated the 22nd December 1921.

Detachment 3/70th Kachins reconnoitering from Mukkuttu met rebel gang and killed 9, capturing 2 guns, 7 swords. Fifteen rebels attacked 2 sepoys of B. Company. Auxiliary Police, near Tiruvambadi, but attack beaten off with one rebel killed, several wounded. One sepoy wounded.

CCCLXVI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/650/G-3, dated the 22nd December 1921.

Situation 18-00. Detachment 3/70th Kachins reconnoitering from Mukkuttu met rebel band, killed 9, captured 2 firearms, 7 swords. Two sepoys Special Police attacked by 15 rebels near Tiruvambadi, beat off rebels, killing one, wounding others. One sepoy wounded. Only 12 rebels taken with Sithi Koya Tangal on 20th. Sixteen rebels surrendered at Mannarghat yesterday. Signal communication Nilambur-Nadghani reopened; road also open for Ford vans.

CCCLXVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B. M. 950, dated the 23rd December 1921.

2/9th Gurkhas engaged tough gang rebels approximately 150 strong stated under leadership Mukri Ahmad. Killed 22. Captured broken theodolite, other survey instruments and maps, which indicates this gang raided Pandalur. 1/39th

captured whole gang of 20 rebels with one gun and 17 swords near mosque. 'C' Company, Auxiliary Police, have killed 11 and captured 5 rebels in jungles east of Omasseri. Surrenders continue. Total number of arms captured and surrendered from 15th to 23rd inclusive are guns 80, swords 586.

CCCLXVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/653/G-3, dated the 23rd December 1921.

Situation 18-00. 2/9th Gurkhas engaged rebel band approximately 150 strong, reported led by Mukri Ahmad; killed 22 and captured broken theodolite, other survey instruments and maps, which indicate them to be band which raided Pandalur, Nilgiris, 15/12. 1/39th Garhwalis captured complete band of 20 with one firearm and 17 swords near mosque, 49 M/S.C. D-5 5·3. 'C' Company, Special Police killed 11 and captured 5 rebels in jungle east of Omasseri. Surrenders continue. Total arms captured and surrendered 15th to 23rd inclusive: Firearms 80, swords 586. Situation Nilgiri Wynad quiet.

CCCLXIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 959, dated the 24th December 1921.

Operations carried out by Kachins from Ettakkara and Mukkuttu resulted in 5 rebels killed, 3 captured, 2 guns captured. Auxiliary Police from Tirurangadi surrounded gang of 7 rebels at Valiyora who refused to surrender and were all killed; 2 guns and 4 swords captured. Surrenders at Wandur 737, swords 79, guns 3.

CCCLXX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/654/G-3, dated the 24th December 1921.

Situation 18-00 hours. 3/70th Kachins operating from Ettakkara and Mukkuttu killed 5 rebels, captured 3 with 2 firearms. Special Police from Tirurangadi surrounded band rebels at Valiyora who refused surrender and were killed; 2 firearms, 4 swords taken. Seven hundred thirty-seven rebels have surrendered at Wandur.

CCCLXXI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 964, dated the 25th December 1921.

Nothing to report.

CCCLXXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/655/G-3, dated the 25th December 1921.

Situation 18-00 hours. Nothing to report.

CCCLXXIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M. 966, dated the 26th December 1921.

Moidu Haji with 8 men, 4 guns and 6 swords surrendered to Melattur to-day. Khan Bahadur Amu effected following captures at Mannarghat 25th: rebels 63, swords 94, guns 18 with some powder and ammunition. This disposes of remnants of Sithi Koya's gang. Surrenders in 2/8th Gurkha area: 133 men, 47 swords, 11 guns. Kachin area: 1,587 men, 10 guns. Nilambur-Ettakkara-Amarambalam area—471 men, 109 swords and 6 guns.

CCCLXXIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/656/G-3, dated the 26th December 1921.

Situation 18-00 hours. Moidu Haji with 8 men, 4 firearms and 6 swords, surrendered at Melattur to-day. Sixty-three rebels with 94 swords, 18 firearms and ammunition surrendered to Special Police at Mannarghat 25/12. This disposes of remainder Sithi Koya Tangal's band. One hundred and thirty-three men with 47 swords and 11 firearms have surrendered in 2/8th Gurkha area, 1,587 men with 10 firearms have surrendered in Chin Kachin area, 471 with 109 swords and 6 firearms have surrendered in Ettakkara-Amarambalam area.

CCCLXXV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. B.M. 977, dated the 27th December 1921.

Surrenders continue with large numbers of guns and swords.

CCCLXXVI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 260/657/G-3, dated the 27th December 1921.

Situation 18–00 hours. Surrenders continue with large numbers of firearms and swords.

CCCLXXVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 983, dated the 28th December 1921.

Forty rebels of Mukri Ahmad's gang surrendered with 28 swords at Perintalmanna yesterday. Surrenders round Olavattur on 26th number 1,487 men with 12 guns.

CCCLXXVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/660/G-3, dated the 28th December 1921.

Situation 18–00. Forty rebels belonging to Mukri Ahmad's band surrendered with 28 swords at Perintalmanna yesterday. Surrenders vicinity Olavattur on 26th number 1,487 men with 12 firearms.

CCCLXXIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 995, dated the 29th December 1921.

Nothing to report.

CCCLXXX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/661/G-3, dated the 29th December 1921.

Situation 18–00. Nothing to report.

CCCLXXXI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 1008, dated the 30th December 1921.

Nothing to report.

CCCLXXXII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/663/G-3, dated the 30th December 1921.

Situation 18–00. Nothing to report.

CCCLXXXIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 1015, dated the 31st December 1921.

Reliable information being received Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji with gang near Nemini; troops from Perintalmanna, Pandikkad and Malappuram moved out to locate him. Detachment 2/8th located him in house on north slope Pandalur, but gang escaped into thick jungle before contact actually gained, abandoning 6 guns, 20 swords. Search continues. Three rebels this gang captured early this morning.

CCCLXXXIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/664/G-3, dated the 31st December 1921.

Situation 18–00. Detachment 2/8th Gurkhas located Kunhamed Haji with gang near Nemini, but gang escaped into thick jungle before contact, abandoning 6 guns 200 (?) swords. Search continues. Three rebels this gang captured early morning.

CCCLXXXV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 2, dated the 1st January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCLXXXVI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/666/G-3, dated the 1st January 1922.

Situation 18–00. Nothing to report.

CCCLXXXVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 7, dated the 2nd January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCLXXXVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/667/G-3, dated the 3rd January 1922.

Situation 18–00 hours. Nothing to report.

CCCLXXXIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 14, dated the 3rd January 1922.

Auxiliary Police killed 9 rebels and wounded 5 at Peruli yesterday. Detachment 1/39th moving Arikkod-Kondotti encountered rebels 1½ miles from Arikkod at 03–00 hours. Rebels were dispersed with unknown casualties. Our casualties one Indian other rank wounded.

CCCXC

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/670/G-3, dated the 4th January 1922.

Situation 18–00. Special Police killed 9 rebels and wounded 5 at Peruli yesterday. Detachment 1/39th Garhwalis moving from Arikkod to Kondotti met rebels 1½ miles from Arikkod at 03–00. Rebels were dispersed. Casualties unknown. One Indian other rank wounded in this encounter.

CCCXCI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M.-32, dated the 4th January 1922.

Konara Tangal with 500 men has moved south of Beypore, seen in Kondotti last night and now reliably reported north of Tirurangadi. Parties sent to engage him.

CCCXCII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/672/G-3, dated the 4th January 1922.

Situation 18–00. Rebel band 500 strong under Konara Tangal has moved south of Beypore river, was seen near Kondotti last night and is now reliably reported north of Tirurangadi. Troops have been sent to engage this band. Headquarters and one Company 1st Suffolks returned Wellington to-day from Malabar.

CCCXCIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 39, dated the 5th January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCXCIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S.250/673/G-3, dated the 5th January 1922.

Situation 18–00. Nothing to report.

CCCXCV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 50, dated the 6th January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCXCVI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/675/93, dated the 6th January 1922.

Situation 18–00. Nothing to report.

CCCXCVII

From the Special Civil Officer, dated the 7th January 1922.

Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji has surrendered with twenty men. This does not immediately alter general situation.

CCCXCVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 56, dated the 7th January 1922.

Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji with 21 followers, one ·303 rifle, 10 police rifles and 4 other breech-loading guns captured by specially oraganized police force under leadership Subadar Gopala Menon and Sub-Inspector Ramanatha Ayyar at Chokad yesterday. Detachment 1/39th pursuing rebels under Karath Moidin Kutti Haji; killed 19, wounded 3 near Morayur.

CCCXCIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/676/G-3, dated the 7th January 1922.

Situation 18–00. Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji, an important rebel leader, with 21 followers, one ·303 rifle, 10 police rifles and 4 other breech-loading firearms captured by specially organized police force under leadership of Subadar Gopala Menon and Sub-Inspector Ramanatha Ayyar at Chokad yesterday. Detachment 1/39th Garhwalis pursuing rebels under Moidin Kutti Haji; killed 19, wounded 3 near Morayur.

CCCC

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 64, dated the 8th January 1922.

Garhwalis, pursuit Konara Tangal to Beypore, killed six rebels.

CCCCI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/679/G-3, dated the 8th January 1922.

Situation 18–00. Nothing to report.

CCCCII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 71, dated the 9th January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCIII

From the General Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. S. 250/683/G-3, dated the 9th January 1922.

Situation 18–00. Detachment 1/39th Garhwalis in pursuit of Konara Tangal's band killed six rebels near Beypore river. Ninth Field Company, 2nd Queen Victoria's Own Sappers and Miners, due leave Tirur for Bangalore and section 8th Armoured Car Company leave Tirur for Madras to-day.

CCCCIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 80, dated the 10th January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/685/G-3, dated the 10th January 1922.

Situation 18–00. Nothing to report.

CCCCVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 92, dated the 11th January 1922.

Thonikara Ayamu with two followers, two guns, captured near Nilambur. Four men of Koyamu Haji's gang, with three guns, four swords, captured by 2/8th on Pandalur Mala.

CCCCVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/691/G-3, dated the 11th January 1922.

Situation 18–00. Thonikara Ayamu with two followers and two firearms captured near Nilambur. Four rebels of Koyamu Haji's band, with three firearms and four swords captured by 2/8th Gurkhas on Pandalur Mala.

CCCCVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 100, dated the 12th January 1922.

Thirteen men with seven guns, five swords, of Thonikara Ayamu's gang surrendered to-day. Of Karath Moidin Kutti Haji's gang following accounted for: two killed, three captured, fourteen surrendered, twelve swords taken.

CCCCIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/693/G-3, dated the 12th January 1922.

Situation 18-00. Nothing to report.

CCCCX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 111, dated the 13th January 1922.

Four rebels killed, three guns captured near Kunnathubhalu.

CCCCXI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/695/G-3, dated the 13th January 1922.

Situation 18-00. Thirteen rebels with seven firearms and five swords belonging to Thonikara Ayamu's band surrendered on January 12th. Following of Moidin Kutti Haji's band: two killed, three captured, fourteen surrendered with twelve swords. Four rebels killed to-day and three firearms captured near Kunnathubhalu.

CCCCXII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 117, dated the 14th January 1922.

2/9th Gurkhas accounted for gang 5 rebels armed with 3 guns, 5 swords. Twenty-two rebels belonging Moidin Haji's gang surrendered at Arikkod with 1 gun, 17 swords.

CCCCXIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/696/G-3, dated the 14th January 1922.

Situation 18-00. Nothing to report.

CCCCXIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 120, dated the 15th January 1922.

Fourteen men Moidin Kutti Haji's gang and 7 men Konara Tangal's gang surrendered at Arikkod with 4 guns, 14 swords. Attutti, Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji's lieutenant, with two men captured to-day by police with one police rifle, 3 swords.

CCCCXV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/697/G-3, dated the 15th January 1922.

Situation 18-00. Fourteen men of Moidin Kutti Haji's band and 7 of Konara Tangal's band have surrendered with 4 firearms and 14 swords. Attutti, a lieutenant of Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji, was captured to-day by police with 2 other rebels, one police rifle and 3 swords.

CCCCXVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 127, dated the 16th January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCXVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/700/G-3, dated the 16th January 1922.

Situation 18-00. Nothing to report.

CCCCXVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 135, dated the 17th January 1922.

Special body Auxiliary Police captured Perakamanna Tangal and six rebels with one gun, five swords near Edavanna.

CCCCXIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/702/G-3, dated the 18th January 1922.

Situation 18–00. Special body Auxiliary Police captured Perakamanna Tangal and six rebels with one firearm, five swords near Edavanna. Small band rebels cut telegraph line at 26th milestone Wynad road and looted houses close by night 15th/16th. Detachment Auxiliary Police dealing with situation.

CCCCXX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 138, dated the 18th January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCXXI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/706/G-3, dated the 18th January 1922.

Situation 18–00. Nothing to report.

CCCCXXII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B. M. 149, dated the 19th January 1922.

One rebel killed, 6 captured, 8 surrendered.

CCCCXXIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/707/G-3, dated the 19th January 1922.

Situation 18–00. Nothing to report.

CCCCXXIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 175, dated the 20th January 1922.

Six hundred and fifty men Koduvalli Parambathukavu and Vavad amsams surrendered at 14th milestone Wynad road to Auxiliary Police on 17th. Yesterday 30 men Karakunnu amsam surrendered Edavanna; and 20 rebels with 2 guns, 23 swords, surrendered at Arikkod.

CCCCXXV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/709/63, dated the 20th January 1922.

Situation 18–00. On 19th one rebel of Moidin Kutti's band killed south slopes hill 2,198 by Special Police. Six men Konara Tangal's band captured by Special Police in Kakkad mosque. Eight surrendered at Edavanna, all of Moidin Kutti's band. On 17th 650 men from Koduvalli, Parambathukavu and Vavad amsams surrendered at 14th milestone on Calicut-Vayittri road. Other surrenders: thirty of Karakunnu amsam at Edavanna and 20 at Arikkod, with 2 firearms and 23 swords. Half 28th Mule Corps left Tirur for Meerut 16th instant. [Company 75th Infantry and Section 8th Armoured Car Company arrived Guntūr 18th and 19th respectively. Situation there reported quiet. 75th Infantry (less one Company) depart Madras to-morrow for Secunderabad.]

CCCCXXVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 184, dated the 21st January 1922.

Following surrenders took place to-day: Kondal Koya Kutti Tangal, brother of Chief Tangal known as Konara Tangal, with fifteen rebels. Veeran Kutti, member of Karath Moidin Kutti Haji's gang, with one .303 rifle and Koya Kutti Tangal of Perakamanna.

CCCCXXVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/710/G-3, dated the 21st January 1922.

Following surrendered to-day : Kondal Koya Kutti Tangal, brother of Konara Tangal, with fourteen rebels, also Veeran Kutti with one ·303 rifle and Koya Kutti Tangal of Perakamanna. [Situation unchanged Guntūr and troops marching through area as instructed by General Officer Commanding.]

CCCCXXVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 189, dated the 22nd January 1922.

Six more rebels surrendered at Arikkod yesterday. Total arms brought in by them, exclusive of ·303 already reported, 185 guns, 17 swords.

CCCCXXIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/711/G-3, dated the 22nd January 1922.

Situation 18–00. Six more rebels surrendered at Arikkod yesterday. Total weapons brought in were 5 firearms and 17 swords. 2/8th Gurkhas left Tirur yesterday for Landsdowne.

CCCCXXX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 198, dated the 23rd January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCXXXI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/716/G-3, dated the 23rd January 1922.

Situation 18–00. Nothing to report.

CCCCXXXII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 204, dated 24th January 1922.

Patrol working just north of Nilambur came on party five rebels and killed two. Four men Karath Moidin Kutti Haji's gang surrendered at Arikkod, with 1 gun, two swords.

CCCCXXXIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/718/G-3, dated the 24th January 1922.

Situation 18·00. Patrol working north of Nilambur came on party five rebels and killed two. Four men of Moidin Kutti's band surrendered at Arikkod, with 1 firearm and 2 swords.

CCCCXXXIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 211, dated the 25th January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCXXXV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/719/G-3, dated the 25th January 1922.

Situation 18–00. Nothing to report.

CCCCXXXVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 216, dated the 26th January 1922.

Abdu Haji and four followers took refuge in Hindu temple and declared their intention of fighting. All killed by Suffolks who captured 2 guns, 5 swords. Suffolks had one man seriously wounded.

CCCCXXXVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/720/G-3, dated the 26th January 1922.

Abdu Haji and four followers took refuge in Hindu temple and declared their intentions of fighting. All killed by Suffolks who captured 2 firearms, 5 swords. Suffolks had one man seriously wounded.

CCCCXXXVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 224, dated the 27th January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCXXXIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S./250/ 722/G-3, dated the 27th January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCXL

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 234, dated the 28th January 1922.

Karath Moideen Kutty Haji was captured by police last night.

CCCCXLI

From the General Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. S./250/723/G-3, dated the 28th January 1922.

Karath Moideen Kutty Haji was captured by Special Police last night. 3/70th Kachins embarked at Madras for Rangoon to-day.

CCCCXLII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 242, dated the 29th January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCXLIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/724/G-3, dated the 29th January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCXLIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 244, dated the 30th January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCXLV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/728/G-3, dated the 30th January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCXLVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 245, dated the 31st January 1922.

Koyamu Haji and his brother arrested last night, 30th, by police.

CCCCXLVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/ 730/G-3, dated the 31st January 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCXLVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/ 734/G-3, dated the 1st February 1922.

Koyamu Haji and his brother arrested on night 30th January by police.

CCCCXLIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 248, dated the 1st February 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCL

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 253, dated the 2nd February 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCLI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 274, dated the 3rd February 1922.

Four rebels took refuge in house near Vellila and intimated intention of fighting. Suffolks killed all without casualties themselves and captured one ·303 rifle, two guns and four swords.

CCCCLII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S/250/735-G-3, dated the 3rd February 1922.

Four rebels took refuge in house near Vellila and intimated intention of fighting. All killed by Suffolks who captured one ·303 rifle, two firearms and four swords.

CCCCLIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 287, dated the 4th February 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCLIV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 290, dated the 5th February 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCLV

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 291, dated the 6th February 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCLVI

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 305, dated the 7th February 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCLVII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 310, dated the 8th February 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCLVIII

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 313, dated the 9th February 1922.

Nothing to report.

CCCCLIX

From the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. B.M. 316, dated the 10th February 1922.

Ten rebels took refuge in temple near Kizhattur and were killed by Auxiliary Police and 1/39th who captured 11 guns, 7 swords.

CCCCLX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/X/G, dated the 10th February 1922.

Ten rebels took refuge in temple near Kizhattur and were killed after resistance by Special Police and detachment 1/39th Garhwalis who captured 11 firearms, 7 swords.

SECTION B.—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MILITARY AND CIVIL AUTHORITIES.

(i) *With Military authorities.*

[NOTE.—*This correspondence is not entirely in chronological order ; an attempt has been made, as far as possible, to group together correspondence on a particular subject, so that a telegram may be followed immediately by the reply to it.*]

I

I—V. Outbreak of Rebellion.

Telegram—from the Personal Assistant to the Collector of Malabar, dated the 20th August 1921.

Stationmaster, Kadalundi, wires following : *begins* gang maistri No. 6 reports Mapillas suddenly came 16 hours and threatened to murder us and broke open stores and removed stores and removing rails at mile 397/8 and 9. No. 77 detained here as no answer both morse and block Parappanangadi—*ends.* All telegraph wires are interrupted—no communication from Calicut any station beyond Feroke. Collector left yesternight for Tirurangadi. No telegraphic communication possible to him.

Repeated to the General Officer Commanding, Wellington—Telegram No. M. 1, dated the 21st August 1921.

II

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 21st August 1921.

(Presumably sent in by hand on 20th August for despatch from Calicut.)

Tirurangadi raid complete surprise. Returned cutcherry compound about noon. News received armed hostile crowd about three thousand from Tanur coming from Parappanangadi station. Police supported by troops proceeded disperse crowd. Firing became necessary. Casualties about 9, arrest about 20. Meanwhile 30 men left to make arrests Tirurangadi driven in about 14–25 by armed hostile crowd estimated number some thousands from eastern amsams and local crowd. Cutcherry attacked. Attack driven off. Our casualties—one officer Leinsters, A. S. P. Rowley missing also two constables. Situation extremely serious. Imperative despatch forthwith one battalion troops.

Repeated to the General Officer Commanding with following addendum :—Madras Government leave extent and composition reinforcements to your discretion. Inspector-General of Police leaves to-night Mettupalaiyam mail for Podanur in first instance—Telegram No. M. 3, dated 21st August 1921.

III

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S/250/27/G., dated the 21st August 1921.

Have had no news other than contained in your clear line wire just received. Wire working to Calicut *via* Ooty. If extreme measures necessary, suggest despatch two movable columns from Bangalore, mobilization Auxiliary Force, Calicut, enforcement railway security scheme from Podanur to Calicut. Have warned South Indian Railway Auxiliary be prepared latter precaution.

IV

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M. 4, dated the 21st August 1921.

Your 250/27/G. of to-day and in continuation my second telegram to-day. Further reports received. First from party who went out with escort from Calicut to repair line. Got to Parappanangadi, found station looted and learnt line was being cut further south, hence returned Calicut. This party also reports large bodies Mapillas moving about between Parappanangadi and Tirurangadi, but no signs any advance on Calicut. Second report from Magistrate, Palghat, who states Post office looted at Tanur by armed Mapillas and telegraph lines cut. Magistrate expects trouble, Tirur. In circumstances Government regard measures you suggest as necessary and request you to take action accordingly.

V

Telegram—from C. G. Tottenham, Esq., District Superintendent of Police, Calicut, dated the 21st August 1921.

Proceeded to Parappanangadi with escort and repairing parties by special train this morning, reached Parappanangadi safely, found two rails and some wooden blocks removed at the station also about 8 telegraph poles thrown down, station looted, wires cut. Repairing parties got to work but on receiving sure information that line shortly ahead was being cut it seemed useless and dangerous to remain ; so entrained and returned to Calicut. There is no sign of an advance on Calicut. Large bodies of armed Mapillas are moving about between Parappanangadi and Tirurangadi. The column has been in action but accounts conflicting. We rescued railway station cash chest.

[Similar telegram received by Inspector-General of Police and telephoned over. In that telegram however Mr. Tottenham mentions that he had been reconnoitering from Calicut, could not establish communication with Deputy Inspector-General (Mainwaring, who must be with Thomas) or with Distrate, and was about to investigate threatened trouble at Feroke (immediately south of Calicut).]

Substance repeated clear line to General Officer Commanding in our (M. 5) *fourth telegram* of 21st August 1921 also to His Excellency (M. 6) and telephoned to Inspector-General of Police.

VI

VI—IX. Reinforcements ordered Railway security scheme enforced.

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S./250/31/G., dated the 21st August 1921.

My No. S/250/28/G., to-day's date. Arrange trains forthwith for Tirur for one movable column complete with tents and transports. Warn remainder Dorsets be ready to follow and wire available numbers here. In event force being sent, Colonel Humphreys will assume command of troops in Malabar. Addressed Area, Bangalore. Repeated Madras, Madras.

VII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, dated the 21st August 1921.

Despatch one movable column to Tirur soon as possible, and arrange for available remainder. Second Dorsets follow without further orders. Report times at which trains depart. On arrival troops will be under command Colonel Humphreys. Military precautions on trains after leaving Podanur. Force to be completed with supply and medical personnel. One week's supplies will be taken. Situation report in next wire.

Addressed Area, Bangalore, repeated Madras, Madras, Commanding Calicut, Southern Command, Poona.

VIII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/41/G., dated the 22nd August 1921.

Consider railway security scheme should be enforced Podanur westwards and formation patrol train at Podanur be put in hand at once. Addressed Madras, Madras. Repeated Sirauxy, Negapatam ; Railway Superintendent, Podanur.

IX

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M. 10, dated the 22nd August 1921.

Your No. 250/41/G. Government approve enforcement railway security Podanur westward. Addressed Madist. Repeated Agent, South Indian Railway, Madras.

X

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/44/G., dated the 22nd August 1921.

Reference India 32 miles to inch Sheet ten. Situation 23–00 hours 21st. Mapillas in Ernad and Ponnani taluks in state of rebellion. Several encounters have occurred. Civil authority handed over local control. Troops sent from Calicut to assist police search for arms, withdrawing Calicut. South Indian Railway cut several places between Beypore and Tirur. Second Dorsets are leaving Bangalore to-morrow for Podanur followed by section Royal Field Artillery and Squadron, Queen's Bays. Colonel Humphreys, Leinsters, to command troops in Malabar. Force will be based on Podanur in first instance. Government given free hand. Southern Command informed more British Infantry may be required. **Colonel Humphreys appointed.**

XI

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, to the Postmaster-General, No. S-250/47/G., dated the 22nd August 1921.

Increased traffic expected Podanur. Can you increase telegraphic personnel and accept military wires continuously? European Superintendent desirable to keep touch with Colonel Humphreys now at Podanur. **Telegraph arrangements.**

XII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona, dated the 22nd August 1921.

My S. 250/42/G repeated. Consider preparations should be made immediately to send two more battalions, British Infantry, either by rail to Podanur or by sea to Calicut in case of necessity. Repeated Madras, Madras. **Two British Battalions to be ready.**

XIII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/49/G., dated the 22nd August 1921.

Colonel Humphreys, Leinsters, has assumed command all troops in Malabar. All troop reports to be addressed Commanding Troops Malabar, Podanur, and repeated General Officer Commanding, Madras District. Addressed Area Bangalore; Commanding Calicut, Cannanore; Collector, Calicut; Silvia, Trichinopoly; Sirauxy, Negapatam; Ordnance, Madras. Repeated Chief General Staff, Simla; Southern Command, Poona; Commanding Troops Malabar, Podanur; Madras, Madras. **Colonel Humphreys assumes command.**

XIV

Telegram—from the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C., dated Podanur, the 23rd August 1921.

First train left here 04–15. Not known how far line is clear. Second train due here 11–00. **Reinforcements arrive.**

XV

Telegram—to the $\frac{\text{General Officer Commanding}}{\text{General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command}}$, Nos. M-15 and M-16, dated the 22nd August 1921.

District Magistrate Calicut wires—*Begins*—Situation Calicut most critical. Am evacuating women and children to barracks. Beg Government ask Bombay send warship shallowest draught possible with supplies—*Ends*. **XV–XXI. "Comus" asked for and arrives.**

XVI

Telegram—from the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor, to the Naval Commander-in-Chief, Colombo, dated the 23rd August 1921.

Mapilla riots in Calicut. Following telegram received from District Magistrate: *Begins*—Situation Calicut most critical. Have evacuated women and children to barracks. Beg Government send if possible for a warship of smallest possible draught which can lie off Calicut with stores—*Ends*. Will you take action and keep me informed?

Governor of Madras.

Repeated Senior Naval Officer, Bombay, General Staff, Colombo.

Copy sent for information by the Chief Secretary to the General Officer Commanding, Madras District.

XVII

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona / General Officer Commanding, Nos. M. 17 and 18, dated the 23rd August 1921.

Continuation telegram about warship, Calicut. Have repeated District Magistrate's request to Admiral, Colombo, and Director, R.I.M., Bombay, with addition : *Begins*—Will you take action and keep us informed ?—*Ends*.

XVIII

Telegram—from the Naval Commander-in-Chief, dated the 23rd August 1921.

Your urgent telegram. H.M.S. *Comus* sails Calicut immediately. She is ready and proceeds Calicut with all despatch. I have directed her inform you and the Magistrate Calicut of her time and the date of arrival. H.M.S. *Espiegle* will follow if you require her in addition to *Comus*. Please say if she is wanted and the nature of stores required.

XIX

Telegram—to the Naval Commander-in-Chief, No. M. 21, dated the 23rd August 1921.

Many thanks for prompt response. Government are advised by Presidency Port Officer that *Espiegle* owing to her shallow draught would get much nearer in shore. If so glad if you will send. Stores required to feed garrison and refugees in barracks numbering perhaps 1,000. Presume request for stores is a precautionary measure against delay in relief by land. At present impossible to say when such relief can reach. Operations already in progress.

XX

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command / General Officer Commanding, Madras District / District Magistrate, Malabar, Nos. M. 22, 23 and 24, dated the 23rd August 1921.

Naval Commander-in-Chief, Colombo, wires H.M.S. *Comus* sails Calicut immediately and will inform Government and District Magistrate, Calicut, her time and date arrival. H.M.S. *Espiegle* will follow if required. Have replied on advice Presidency Port Officer *Espiegle* preferable as shallower draught and have informed Naval Commander-in-Chief stores required feed garrison and refugees numbering perhaps 1,000 as precautionary measure against possible delay in relief by land. Hope this will fall in with necessities military situation.

XXI

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding / General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, No. M. 39, dated the 25th August 1921.

Comus arrived Calicut to-day and District Magistrate interviewed Captain and suggested early conference Naval and Military authorities. He reports Calicut town still quiet, but dacoity, looting, murders of Hindus rife in Walluvanad, Ponnani, Ernad taluks and East Calicut taluk. Postmaster-General reports rioting on Calicut-Vayitri road near Kunnamangalam.

XXII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S.250/63/G, dated the 23rd August 1921.

XXII—XXV Situation in Malabar and outside.

What is general situation in Presidency, outside Malabar ?

XXIII

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M. 25, dated the 23rd August 1921.

No serious disturbance is threatened in this Presidency outside Malabar, at present, except in Guntūr district, where situation is somewhat disquieting, but is not likely to become acute during present festival at Bezwada which lasts about ten days more.

XXIV

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona, No. 74585/XLG., dated the 23rd August 1921.

Please let me have Government view of situation on West Coast, and keep me informed of situation from civil point of view.

XXV

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona, No. M. 26, dated the 23rd August 1921.

From information received Government have no doubt that the Mapillas are in open rebellion in Ernad, Walluvanad and Ponnani taluks, Malabar district, and also portion of Calicut taluk just south of Calicut. No trouble is reported and perhaps unlikely North of Malabar district, nor in South Kanara. Important that rising should be checked by early and vigorous military action, both to stop loss of life, and property, and to prevent similar disturbances elsewhere, though in this Presidency outside present area disturbances not likely to be so serious.

XXVI

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M. 29, dated the 24th August 1921.

XXVI—XXVII. Press telegrams asked for.

Government will be obliged if you would telegraph en clair each day such information as to operations troops as you consider may unobjectionably be published. Please also wire whether you receive news regularly from Calicut, or wish Government to pass on to you messages received from District Magistrate.

XXVII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/86/G., dated the 25th August 1921.

Calicut wires arrive regularly. Glad receive daily situation report from Government embodying important news.

XXVIII

* *Telegram*—from the General Officer Commanding, No. L.W. 2, dated the 24th August 1921.

Number of proposed arrests.

Please furnish list of persons it is proposed to arrest or detain in Malappuram and Tirur to Commanding, Malabar. If police officer with local knowledge could be sent by any means to report to Colonel Humphreys, he would be of greatest value. No civil authority with intimate local knowledge at present available. Addressed Collector, Calicut. Repeated Madras, Madras.

* See also B (ii) X.

XXIX

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/77/G., dated the 24th August 1921.

Unrest at Erode.

Your M.C. 14. Unrest reported among Mapilla workmen, Cauvery bridge, Erode. Erode under Sirauxy, Podanur Railway Security List. If situation demands send platoon Sirauxy, Podanur, to Erode guard bridge and junction. Podanur should also find patrol train Salem-Podanur section if required. Addressed Commanding Troops, Malabar, Podanur, and repeated Sirauxy, Negapatam and Podanur; Madras, Madras; Silvia, Trichinopoly.

XXX

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/87/G, dated the 25th August 1921.

XXX–XXXI. Special Civil Officer.

I consider that until a reunion is effected with Mr. Thomas, a responsible representative of Government should be with Colonel Humphreys, Officer Commanding Malabar Troops. Understand Mr. Armitage not empowered act in that capacity.

XXXI

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M. 36, dated the 25th August 1921.

Your S. 250/87/G. Evans, now Collector Coimbatore, instructed join Colonel Humphreys as responsible representative of Government with Colonel Humphreys pending reunion with Thomas. Armitage requested to act meanwhile. Please inform Colonel Humphreys.

XXXII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, No. 24585/25-G., dated Poona, the 25th August 1921.

S.S. "Nawab".

Asiatic liner *Nawab* left Bombay 13 hours to-day direct for Calicut where due Sunday morning. Has on board Captain Nowland with fifteen thousand British rations and ten thousand Indian rations. Addressed Madist, Wellington. Repeated Commanding, Calicut; Madras, Madras.

XXXIII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/99/G., dated the 26th August 1921.

XXXIII–XXXVII. "Comus". Departure of—.

Your 24585/29/G. of 26th. Consider unless very undesirable on account weather *Comus* should remain till railway through to Calicut. No military reason retain afterwards. Suggest Government be consulted before she goes. Third part your message undecipherable. Repeat if necessary. Addressed Southcom, Poona. Repeated Madras.

XXXIV

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona, No. 24585/29/G., dated the 26th August 1921.

Addressed General Officer Commanding, Madras, Wellington. Repeated Madras.

Do you still require the assistance of H.M.S. *Comus*? If required at present will you require when rail communication Calicut-Shoranur has been restored? Probable Navy do not want keep ship on West Coast during monsoon longer than necessary.

(Repetition of Part III, No. 24585/30/G.)

As Madras asked for *Comus* state your views to them direct and repeat here. Direct communication between Madras and Naval C.-in-C. regarding retaining *Comus* then possible.

(Repetition of Part III of above to Officer Commanding, Madras, Wellington. Repeated Madras.)

Reference your S. 250/99/G. As Madras asked for *Comus* state your views on the subject to them direct repeating here. Madras will then be able to address Naval C.-in-C. direct regarding retaining of *Comus*.

XXXV

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona, No. M. 57, dated the 27th August 1921.

Government consider that subject to naval necessities H.M.S. *Comus* should stay at Calicut until railway communication has been restored and S.S. *Nawab* has arrived. After that there will probably be no necessity for the *Comus* to remain but

on this point Government would like to have the views of the local Civil, Naval and Military authorities after mutual consultation. Repeated to General Officer Commanding.

XXXVI

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/119/G., dated the 27th August 1921.

When railway communications restored, I will arrange conference with Naval Civil subject of retention of *Comus*.

XXXVII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, dated the 31st August 1921.

Your 24585/29-G. of 26th. After conference with Collector, Malabar, to-day General Officer Commanding decides presence H.M.S. *Comus*, Calicut, can be dispensed with. *Comus* so informed. Addressed General Officer Commanding in Chief, Southern Command, Poona. Repeated Chief Secretary to Government, Madras.

XXXVIII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona, No. 24585/31/G., dated the 27th August 1921.

Reference State 2874 of 26th. Ordinance number II of 1921. Presume you have repeated to Madras District. If not, please do so. XXXVIII—XL. Martial Law Ordinance.

XXXIX

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona, No. 24585/36-G., dated the 28th August 1921.

You have not replied to my priority wire of 27th asking if you have repeated Ordinance number II to General Officer Commanding, Madras District.

XL

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona, No. M-65, dated the 28th August 1921.

Text Ordinance telegraphed General Officer Commanding, Madras District yesterday. Printed copies will follow to-morrow.

XLI

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona, No. M. 56, dated the 27th August 1921.

Malabar situation is that railway will shortly be restored but interior communications have been much damaged and whole area Ernad, Walluvanad and Ponnani taluks and parts of Calicut and Kurumbranad taluks are overrun with rebel parties burning and pillaging. District Magistrate reports this state of things producing a state of famine. Situation.

XLII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. 2302/7/93, dated the 27th August 1921.

Reference General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command's No. 24585/31-G. of date. Can you inform me in advance receipt of Ordinance what areas proclaimed under Martial Law ? This information required with view provision staff. XLII—XLIII. Areas under Martial Law.

XLIII

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M. 59, dated the 27th August 1921.

Your 2302/7/93. Ordinance applies taluks Calicut, Ernad, Walluvanad, Ponnani ; extension to Kurumbranad and Wynad probable.

XLIV

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M. 61, dated the 28th August 1921.

XLIV—XLVIII. Martial Law—Civil assistance.

After joining Thomas, Evans will continue to act as Special Civil Officer for Martial Law area attached to Military Commander and is appointed Additional District Magistrate.

Repeated Special Civil Officer, and District Magistrate, Calicut.

XLV

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M. 64, dated the 28th August 1921.

Reference concluding portion Government of India telegram containing Martial Law Ordinance communicated to you yesterday. Please say to whom you propose to delegate power of distributing criminal cases under section 9 (3) of Ordinance.

XLVI

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. 250/213-6-3, dated the 28th August 1921.

Your M. 64 28th. Proposed delegating power to Collector, Malabar. Hope to confer with him to-morrow.

XLVII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. 2302/10-A-3, dated the 28th August 1921.

Can you detail Civil officers with legal experience for duty District Headquarters, Wellington ? Am forwarding draft Martial Law instructions for review by you and translation into appropriate vernacular.

XLVIII

Telegram—to (1) General Officer Commanding, / (2) District Magistrate, Ootacamund, No. M. 66, dated the 29th August 1921.

Your 2302/10/A-3 of 28th. Intention is Evans should be your general civil adviser on legal and other matters. If consultation at Wellington necessary, Macfarland, District Magistrate, Nilgiris, will give you every assistance. Presume this will meet the case. Addressed General Officer Commanding, Madras District, Wellington. Repeated District Magistrate, Ootacamund.

XLIX

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/128-G., dated the 29th August 1921.

XLIX—LI. Action in circars.

Suggest simply as a matter of precaution that representative officers of Secunderabad movable column might be sent to Masulipatam and Cocanada, so that they may get into touch with the Collectors and local Auxiliary Force in those places in case of military intervention being required.

Addressed G.O.C., Southern Command, Poona; Auxinfy, Vizagapatam; and Chief Secretary to Government, Madras.

L

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona, No. M. 74, dated the 29th August 1921.

Reference telegram from the General Officer Commanding, Madras District, No. S. 250/128-G., dated 29th. This Government approve suggestion. Consider Guntūr should be included. Addressed Southern Command, Poona. Repeated General Officer Commanding, Madras District, Wellington.

LI

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/135/G., dated the 30th August 1921.

Reference my S. 250/128-G. of 29th.. General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Poona, informs me this being done.

LII

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M. 81, dated the 30th August 1921.

Government would be much obliged if in future military reports from Malabar you could include particulars as to police as well as military casualties. Police casualties.

LIII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. G.T. 2, dated the 31st August 1921.

Col. E. T. Humphreys Leinsters appointed Military Commander Martial Law area.

LIV

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/162-G., dated the 2nd September 1921 [Reference C.G.S. No. 9185-2/M.O., dated the 31st August 1921].

I consider that an additional battalion of British and a battalion of Indian troops will be necessary under conditions likely to obtain in Madras District for some time to come to ensure security. Future garrison of the Madras Presidency.

I should locate permanent garrisons thus. Bangalore Brigade Area no change. Madras Area, one British Battalion, Madras, one Indian Battalion, St. Thomas' Mount, one British Battalion, Wellington, with two companies Malappuram. One Indian Battalion, Cannanore, with one company Calicut. Hope to clear up Malabar situation with troops now there and if the additional troops specified above are furnished, I hope to make the above suggested permanent distribution in about a month's time. Movable columns from Madras and Bangalore would tour Kistna and Gōdāvari. Addressed Southcom, Poona. Repeated Madras.

LV

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M. 85, dated the 2nd September 1921.

*District Magistrate, Calicut, asks permission prepare and issue daily communiqués showing progress columns and giving brief details engagements subject approval Military Commander. These are intended for information of local public. This Government see no objection provided you approve. Please inform District Magistrate your decision and repeat here. LV—LVI. Communiques by District Magistrate.

* Section B (ii) No. XLIV.

LVI

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/169-G., dated the 3rd September 1921.

Your M. 85, September 2. No objection to communiqués provided Area Commander approves and future movements of troops are not given. Addressed Madras. Repeated Commanding Troops, Malabar, Tirur ; District Magistrate, Calicut.

LVII

Telegram—from the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C. 144, dated the 3rd September 1921.

2/73rd Infantry Cannanore wires : *Begins*—41-A/1616 3rd. Under orders General Officer Commanding, Madras District, am continuing disbandment unit. Railway refuse issue tickets to Mapillas between Mahe and affected areas. Request sanction authorize issue tickets to Mapilla sepoys proceeding on demobilization leave Monday. Please wire urgently—*Ends*. Request sanction early. Addressed General Officer Commanding, Madras District. Repeated Madras. LVII—LVIII. Railway passes for disbanded sepoys.

LVIII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. 2302/20/A-3, dated the 4th September 1921.

Railway tickets to be issued disbanded sepoys and other ranks of whatever class travelling into or through Martial Law area. Addressed Sirauxy, Negapatam. Repeated Distrate, Malabar; Madras, Madras; Commanding, Cannanore; and Officer Commanding Troops, Malabar, reference his M.C. 144, 3rd, referring Officer Commanding, Cannanore, 41–A/1616, 3rd.

LIX

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. 2302/19/A–3, dated the 4th September 1921.

Martial Law—Working of Ordinances.

Following from Adjutant-General—*begins*: In addition to reports on operations and movements of troops, please also report direct to me any action you or your subordinates may take under Ordinance. This information, which should include all serious punishments inflicted, fines levied or other impositions on inhabitants is required to answer questions in Legislative Assembly and should be sent by telegram every three or four days and repeated General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command—*ends*. Collate results of summary trials and wire them Adjutant-General repeating here and General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, who have been informed that report will not include awards by High Court. Addressed Officer Commanding Troops, Malabar. Repeated Chief Secretary to Government, Madras.

LX

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/193 G., dated the 8th September 1921.

LX--LXII. Rangaswami Ayyangar and Satyamurti.

Army Headquarters suggest Rangaswami Ayyangar, Editor, *Swadesamitran*, and Satyamurti, journalist, be allowed visit disturbed area in purely journalistic capacity. Have you any objection?

LXI

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M. 99, dated the 9th September 1921.

Consider the two people named in your telegram both extreme and dangerous propagandists. They should be given no special facilities, but take their chance with other journalists or private inquirers if they choose to go under existing conditions of Martial Law.

LXII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/202-G., dated the 9th September 1921 to C.G.S., Simla.

Madras Government consider both persons named to be extreme and dangerous propagandists and are adverse to allowing them any special journalistic facilities. I can therefore have no dealings with them and if they visit Malabar they must take their chance under existing conditions of Martial Law. Repeated Madras.

LXIII

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. 347-S., dated the 12th September 1921.

LXIII—LXX. Gandhi.

Stating that Gandhi was to proceed to Malabar about 15th and saying that Government thought his presence in Martial Law area at this juncture most undesirable.

LXIV

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/233-G., dated the 13th September 1921.

Your 347-S. of 13th. Does Government intend prevent Gandhi visiting Malabar or contemplate any action being taken against him should he enter Martial Law area? Agree his presence most undesirable.

LXV

Telegram—from the Officer Commanding, Malabar, No. M.C./247, dated the 13th September 1921.

Am issuing orders preventing Gandhi remaining or entering area under Martial law. Suggest he be intimated of this order. Should he enter propose serving him with this order at Tirur where action will be taken. Inform me of his movements.

LXVI

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 14th September 1921.

Military Commander issuing order prohibiting Gandhi enter Martial law area. Suggests Gandhi be informed of this order. Please do so if he means coming, and wire his movements.

LXVII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/238-G., dated the 14th September 1921.

Addressed Madras, repeated Southcom, Poona, and Chief General Staff. Martial law order has been issued preventing Gandhi entering or remaining in Martial law area, and if he enters will be served on him at Tirur where action will be taken. If order is to stand suggest he be informed of it. Have endorsed order meanwhile, but consider matter one on which I should have instructions from Government forthwith. Matter appears urgent. From military point of view consider it essential order should stand. Please keep me informed Gandhi's movements.

LXVIII

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M. 101, dated the 14th September 1921.

Saying that Government approve of the order and will keep him informed about Gandhi's movements.

LXIX

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, dated the 15th September 1921.

Government approves order regarding Gandhi. If he enters area stop him at Tirur. Send him back under escort till clear of area and report his ultimate destination. He is expected Madras to-morrow.

Addressed Officer Commanding Malabar, Tirur. Repeated Chief General Staff, Simla ; General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona and the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.

LXX

Letter—to Mr. M. K. GANDHI, Sett Ramjee Callianjee's house, Sullivan Street, San Thome, Mylapore, No. M. 105, dated the 15th September 1921.

In the event of your proposing to visit Malabar district, I am directed to inform you that the military authorities consider that the conditions prevailing in the area under Martial Law make it undesirable that you should enter or stay therein. In this view His Excellency the Governor in Council concurs. I am further directed to tell you that the military authorities have issued instructions that should you go to the Martial Law area, you should be turned back.

LXXI

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/268 G., dated the 19th September 1921.

Auxiliary Force.

Please convey to officers and men who have been called out in connexion with Malabar rebellion or in connexion with precautionary measures elsewhere the General Officer Commanding's appreciation of their prompt and willing response and of the alertness and efficiency with which all duties were performed. They have shown that the Auxiliary Force is to be relied on as a most valuable instrument of public security. Addressed Sirauxy, Negapatam ; Auxinfy, Ooty. Repeated Madras, Madras.

LXXII

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M.119, dated 21st September 1921.

Rajagopala Achariyar, C.

Following telegram received from C. Rajagopala Achariyar :—" Working Committee Indian National Congress voted funds for immediately distributing relief among sufferers disturbed area Malabar. As General Secretary am asked personally distribute such relief. Propose to carry mission with aid local men namely K. P. Kesava Menon, K. Madhava Nayar, A. Karunakara Menon. To remove misapprehension am prepared give undertaking on behalf of myself and above named that we shall not do any political propaganda work whilst distributing relief. Pray favour early reply whether Government prepared give necessary permission facilities." Following reply sent. "Your telegram of 20th. Your application should be made to the Military Commander whose headquarters are Tirur. Government cannot advise you in the matter but would deprecate multiplication of relief agencies. Government understand a relief fund administered by non-official committee has already been started at Calicut." Addressed General Officer Commanding, Madras District. Repeated District Magistrate, Malabar ; F. B. Evans, Esq., I.C.S. ; Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor.

LXXIII

Letter—from Major-General J. BURNETT-STUART, General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/281/G., dated the 21st September 1921.

LXXIII—LXXV. General Officer Commanding's request for information as to Civil Policy.

I have the honour to request that I may be given the latest information on the following points :—

(*a*) What progress has been made in the organization of the Special Armed Police Force, the raising of which was decided upon by His Excellency the Governor at the Conference at Tirur last week ?

No permanent pacification of the country is possible until reliable police are available in sufficient numbers to consolidate the area cleared by the troops ; also the lack of such a force delays operations by making it necessary for the troops constantly to retrace their steps.

(*b*) What steps have been taken by the local civil authorities to get into touch with the rebels, to gauge the effect of the military operations, and to bring home to those in arms against us, and to the waverers, the futility of further resistance ?

(*c*) What is the policy of the Government with regard to the gradual re-establishment of stability in the disturbed areas ? What areas do they intend to bring back first under civil control, from what centres do they intend to operate this control and by what means, and how are the special police force of occupation to be distributed ?

I must point out that the military policy is at present necessarily confined to locating and defeating the rebel bands in the field, to securing the communications of the various columns, and to carrying out arrests and search in support of the police. It is however for the Government to state their plans for the eventual re-establishment of order, so that I may direct and restrict the action of the troops so as to conform to that policy and so as to coincide with the eventual police occupation of the area.

2. I beg respectfully to point out that since the outbreak of the rebellion I have received no information or instructions from Government, either as regards their own appreciation of the situation or as regards their policy and plans, and that the conduct of operations in Malabar has been left entirely in my hands. While most grateful for the confidence which this implies and the freedom of action which it confers, I am anxious not to exceed my proper functions as merely the military instrument of the Government. And I am particularly anxious not to exceed the minimum application of force necessary to bring the rebels to reason.

LXXIV

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M. 130, dated the 24th September 1921.

Your letter S. 250/281/G of September 21st. Reply will be sent after consulting District Magistrate and Special Civil Officer.

LXXV

Letter—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M. 131, dated the 24th September 1921.

In continuation of my telegram No. M. 130 of to-day, I am directed to enclose * copy of the telegram sent to the Government of India on 14th September after the conference at Tirur at which His Excellency the Governor presided. It was then thought that it was premature to frame any definite policy of reconstruction and restoration of ordinary civil administration. Action is being taken to form the additional special force of police, but generally judging from the military reports since received to date, the situation appears materially unchanged. However the views of the local officers are now again being invited on the subject with reference to your letter. See section B (ii)—LVI—LVIII.

* See D (i) XL.

LXXVI

Telegram—from F. B. Evans, Esq., I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, dated the 26th September 1921.

I recommend strong support of proposals in General's wire S/250/B-1/G of to-day.

LXXVI—LXXX. First reinforcements and Military Courts.

LXXVII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S/250/B1/G., dated Tirur, the 26th September 1921.

Addressed to General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona ; repeated Chief of the General Staff, Simla, Chief Secretary to Government, General Officer Commanding, Madras District, Wellington ; and Private Secretary, Madras, Ootacamund.

After careful consideration and discussion with Colonel Humphreys, Mr. Evans and Colonel Radcliffe have come to definite conclusion that present methods and powers for dealing with Malabar rebellion are inadequate. Two recent actions at Nemini and Nilambur prove that rebel programme is now based on guerilla warfare, terrorisation, looting and refusal of battle. Resistance is stiffening and militant armed gangs number probably † 1,000 with tendency to increase. Rebellion has evidently unsuspectedly deep influence behind it. Consider therefore that new and unforeseen situation has now arisen ,which must be dealt with more drastically. To do this I require two more battalions that is, Burma battalion offered in your recent wire plus one other, preferably a Gurkha. Also one Pack Battery 3·7 Howitzers. On arrival of above troops section 18th Pioneers would return Bangalore and three companies 83rd W.L.I. be available to proceed to Madras to enable 88th Carnatic Infantry to commence disbandment. Also essential to supplement Summary Courts and Special Tribunal now exercising limited powers under existing ordinance by additional military courts, with fuller powers to deal on the spot with rebels taken in an act of war against His Majesty's forces. Death sentences to be subject to my final confirmation. Courts to be modelled on Regulation 24, page 30, Martial Law Instructions. Efforts to deal with situation as odinary outbreak liable to collapse under application of minimum military force, have been exploited to the full and have failed. Situation is now definitely war, and only prompt steps to deal with it as such can prevent prolonged rebellion, famine and widespread devastation of area.

† Should be 10,000 as per General Officer Commanding's telegram S. No. 250/310/G dated 27th September 1921. See section A, No. CLXXXIII.

LXXVIII

Telegram—from the Under Secretary to Government, to the Chief Secretary to Government, Ootacamund, No. M. 137, dated the 27th September 1921.

Having read ‡ Evans' demi-official of 25th and § Thomas' demi-official of 26th, which you have not seen, but which agrees generally with Evans, and also General's telegram of September 26th from Tirur, the members of the Executive Council present in Madras strongly support demand for additional troops. Regarding proposed constitution of additional military' courts Srinivasa Ayyangar definitely and strongly against, Davidson and Habib-ul-lah support proposal.

‡ B (ii) LVII. § B (ii) LVIII.

LXXIX

Letter—from the General Officer Commanding, to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona, No. S/250/313/G., dated 27th September 1921.

I submit the following report in amplification of my cipher telegram No. S. 250/B. 1/G sent from Tirur yesterday, a copy of which is attached.

When the rebellion in Malabar broke out it was considered both from the study of previous Mapilla outbreaks and from the opinion of the local authorities that the rebels would accept battle from British troops and after a few collisions order would be restored. The actions at Tirurangadi and Pukkottur tended to confirm this view. The action of the troops has therefore been confined so far to the despatch of columns of a strength calculated both to invite and resist attack to any place where a rebel concentration was reported; to restoring communications; and to making arrests in co-operation with the police. These operations have been carried out under Colonel Humphreys up to the limit of the marching powers of the troops. At the same time the punishment of arrested persons was left in the hands of summary courts of purely civilian composition established under the Martial Law Ordinance and supplemented within the last week by the special tribunals, also civilian, established under the second Ordinance, with limited powers, to try more serious offences.

2. It has now become clear that the situation is developing on different and unforeseen lines, and that other methods must be employed to stamp it out. Instead of being merely a fanatical outbreak on a large scale, it has all the appearance of being a carefully-planned rebellion, based on political propaganda long and sedulously spread, and aiming at the overthrow of Government and the establishment of a local republic. The more recent rebel tactics and methods support this conclusion. The rebel leaders now avoid open conflict with the troops and have adopted guerilla warfare, ambushing and sniping columns, reoccupying places which the troops have passed, looting, terrorising and forcibly converting all inhabitants of other persuasions, commandeering crops and food supplies, and destroying property and communications.

The difficult nature of the country lends itself to such methods, while the policy of terrorisation constantly forces recruits into the rebel ranks.

3. Since the rebellion broke out about 1,000 rebels have been killed or put out of action, while over 2,000 have been arrested. Yet the strength of the armed gangs in the field is now probably greater than it was five weeks ago. This strength is estimated at 10,000 with a potential 50,000 more not yet in open rebellion. The operations of the troops have been carried out with energy and thoroughness, but they have had against them the facts that their movements are for the most part confined to the roads; that the rebels outpace them; that every inhabitant is, either by sympathy or on pain of death, a spy; that information of the rebel movements is most difficult to obtain; and that they have no power to deal with rebels actually caught in arms against them or in communication with the enemy.

4. I have felt in duty bound to accept the modified form of Martial Law decreed by the Government and to confine the activities of the troops to the straightforward tactics and action in support of the civil power described above, up to the last possible moment. But I have now had to report that these methods are inadequate; the present limited application of military force has been exploited to the full and a continuance of action on the same lines can only result in prolonging the disturbance, in the loss of valuable lives, and in filling the gaols with prisoners. The most that can be hoped for under present conditions is to continue the collection of prisoners and to keep the rebellion localized; but meanwhile the devastation of the area will continue.

5. I have therefore asked for two fresh battalions of reliable troops accustomed to work in the jungle and a Pack Battery of 3·7 Howitzers. This additional force will enable the Officer Commanding Troops, Malabar, to establish garrisons at central points already selected, each capable of sending out a column to act immediately on any information received or to combine in systematic operations for clearing the country. I have also asked for the fullest powers for military courts convened by the Military Commander to deal with persons taken in arms against His Majesty's

Troops, or convicted of actively aiding the rebels. I would have avoided this if I could, but the experience of the past five weeks has already confirmed my previous conviction that rebellion cannot be stamped out by military force unless the Military Commander is entrusted with the fullest powers of punishment.

Given these powers, and the additional troops asked for, I should hope to re-establish order within a month or six weeks of the troops getting into position.

6. I have not yet received a reply to my letter No. S. 250/281-G*. of 21st September 1921, addressed to the Madras Government and repeated to Southern Command Headquarters, which I hoped would produce an appreciation of the situation from the Government's point of view in support of my own conclusions. I have therefore had to anticipate their reply after conference with the civil authorities on the spot. I am, however, confident of their concurrence.

7. Any comment on the situation from the wider political point of view is beyond my province. But it seems to me possible that, unless the Malabar rebellion is suppressed promptly and with a strong hand, worse trouble may follow.

Half measures have been given the fullest trial and have failed.

* No. LXXIII.

Copy to Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.

LXXX

On September 28th the Members of the Executive Council in Madras (The Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson and the Hon'ble Messrs. Habib-ul-lah Sahib and K. Srinivasa Ayyangar) and the Ministers left Madras for Ootacamund for a conference between the Government and the General Officer Commanding.

The Conference took place on 29th September 1921 at Ootacamund. All the Members of the Government were present and also Messrs. Evans and Thomas, I.C.S. The Military were represented by the General Officer Commanding and Colonel Humphreys, (Officer Commanding, Malabar). The following Order in Council was passed :—

Order in Council.

The proposals of the General Officer Commanding in his telegram No. S/250 B-1/6 of the 26th to be strongly supported by telegram and letter to the Government of India.

W[ILLINGDON]—29-9-21.

Telegram † (M. No. 142, dated 29th September 1921) was despatched to Government of India the same evening.

† See D (i) No. LI.

LXXXI

(Demi-official to the G.O.C. No. M-149, dated 6th October 1921.)

Reference your telegram ‡No. S/250/330 G. of October 1st, I am to ask that you will kindly report to this Government the names of all British officers killed or wounded as the Secretary of State desires to have this information by cable. LXXXI-LXXXII Casualties.

Probably in the present instance the Government of India will have already cabled the names to the Secretary of State. Their names have appeared in the papers—Colonel Herbert and Captain Harvey (Quartermaster).

G.R.F.T.—5-10-21.

The papers say he has died.

N.E.M.—5-10-21.

‡ Section A No. CXCV.

LXXXII

Letter—from Madras District Headquarters No. 2712/13 A.-3, dated the 11th October 1921.

Your demi-official No. M. 149, dated 6th October 1921, to General Burnett-Stuart. I am directed to say that the information required is cabled from this office to the War Office in accordance with existing Regulations.

Your request, however, will be complied with. A report giving the names of British officers killed and wounded up to date is forwarded. A similar report concerning any further casualties will follow.

List.

Second Lieutenant Rutherford Musket Johnstone, Unattached List, Indian Army, attached 1st Leinsters, killed on 20th August 1921.

Lieutenant H. D. K. McGonigal, M.C., 1st Leinsters, wounded on 26th August 1921.

Captain T. J. Barnes, 64th Pioneers, wounded on 24th September 1921.

Lieutenant and Quartermaster F. A. Harvey, 2nd Dorsets, died of wounds, 1st October 1921.

Lieutenant-Colonel G. M. Herbert, 2nd Dorests, wounded on 1st October 1921.

LXXXIII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. 5/119/90, dated the 17th October 1921.

S. and T. Barracks, Cannanore.

District Magistrate, Calicut, has asked that part of Supply and Transport barracks at Cannanore be lent to accommodate refugees. I have no objection provided any expense entailed and possible damage are met from Civil funds. No rent will be charged.

Repeated by the Chief Secretary to District Magistrate, Calicut.

LXXX IV

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. Z. 1, dated Camp Malappuram, the 21st October 1921.

LXXXIV—LXXXVI 2nd Reinforcements.

Although the situation is completely in hand, I have been informed by Sir William Vincent, whose visit has been of the greatest assistance, of the desirability of expediting a settlement, and I therefore consider that the immediate provision of more troops would be best and probably in the end most economical course. I therefore recommend two more selected Indian battalions be sent to Malabar with first line transport and tents.

Battalions can be received at once and no further addition to existing transport or ancillary service would probably be required. Further reasons for this recommendation are (1) Weakness of Chin Kachin Battalion and Gurkhas, whose effective strengths respectively are only 670 (?) and 600 (?) with no provision for wastage, (2) spread of rebel activity to western part of Martial Law area, owing to length of time re-inforcements have taken to arrive, delay in materialization of Special Police force and delay necessarily entailed in trials by Special Tribunal, (3) Insufficiency under present conditions of police force so far authorized. Addressed to Southern Command, Poona.

LXXXV

Letter—from the General Officer Commanding, to Army Headquarters, General Staff Branch, Simla / Headquarters, Southern Command, Poona No. S. 250/444-G, dated the 24th October 1921.

Disturbances in Malabar.

1. The following is a brief summary of the situation in Malabar as it has developed during the period between 27th September 1921, when my telegram asking for more troops was sent, and 21st October 1921 when I sent my telegram No. Z. 1 recommending the despatch of still further reinforcements.

Many factors have been at work in the disturbed area during this period. The change in the rebel tactics from open to guerilla warfare has steadily developed and has shown increasing signs of more intelligent and efficient leading. There are no signs of weakening or repentance. As the rebellion goes on it is obvious that more people become implicated in it and therefore committed to it; while terrorization and the attraction of loot constantly bring in new recruits. It may be assumed now that, except in the places actually controlled by troops, the whole of the Ernad and Walluvanad with portions of the Calicut and Ponnani taluks are involved to the extent of every Mapilla being more or less implicated in the rebellion, while the low class cultivator continues to cultivate either under Mapilla direction or with Mapilla permission.

2. This does not mean that every Mapilla in the area is always in active rebellion; but that behind the bands of leading spirits actually in the field, practically all the remainder are in a state of potential rebellion, and take part in such looting, ambushing and dacoity as comes in their way, reverting to an outwardly peaceful life between the outbursts. Nor does it mean that the situation is out of hand in the military sense, since the troops are perfectly capable of dominating any situation in their immediate neighbourhood and of dealing with any possible rebel concentration.

I have summarised the cause of these developments in my telegram of the 21st from Malappuram. They are, in a word, the result of the length of time required to give effect to the recommendations urgently put forward in my previous telegram of 27th September. If there had been greater despatch in organizing the special armed police sanctioned by the Madras Government as long ago as September 11th, the spread of rebel activity westwards would have been prevented; if the military reinforcements, or some of them, could have arrived a week sooner than they did, the situation could have been dealt with in time; and, above all, if the full Martial Law powers asked for could have been granted earlier, a few examples could have been made which would have acted as a powerful corrective.

3. In effect, the result has been that the reinforcements and the increased Martial Law powers asked for to compete with the situation have only arrived in time to find that another situation has developed. I am quite ready to admit that I failed to appreciate, not the situation itself, but the time that it takes to collect and move units from a distance under Indian conditions. I must refer also to the facts that (*a*) the two battalions sent are 130 and 200 respectively below the anticipated strength, and have no provision for wastage; (*b*) that the wireless sets as sent are useless—they are, as far as my own experience goes, worn out, and of a pattern long out of date; (*c*) that there are, apparently, in India no 30 cwt. lorries, a few of which I had relied on to increase the mobility of the troops; (*d*) that the armoured cars are of such a weight ($7\frac{1}{2}$ tons) as to necessitate the strengthening of every bridge in the area before they can be used.

4. I reported in my telegram Z.1 of the 21st that I had been impressed by Sir William Vincent with the importance, from the higher point of the Government of India itself, of ending the rebellion quickly even at the cost of sending more troops. This is of course a point of view which has hitherto been closed to me, and presumably to the Madras Government also, since my letter * to them of 21st September 1921, elicited no such appreciation of the situation. Hitherto I have rather acted on the assumption that, owing to the general shortage of troops in India, and possible commitments in other parts, the smaller the force employed to repress the rebellion the better the Government would be pleased, even if the process took a little longer. It is of course obvious that, up to a point, the more troops that are sent, the sooner the trouble will be over, and I have now therefore asked for what I consider will be the maximum number of troops required from outside this district.

* No. S/250/281/G, LXXIII.

5. I was also influenced by the consideration that the time will soon come when the second Battalion Dorsets Regiment, must return to Bangalore preparatory to sailing for Egypt, and when the 1st Battalion Leinster Regiment must go to Madras for the Prince of Wales' visit, and thence to Lucknow on relief; and I shall be left with only two Companies of the Suffolk Regiment (one of which is already in Malabar) available as British Troops for Malabar. Also the 83rd W.L.I. must soon go to Madras to replace the 88th Carnatic Infantry on disbandment.

6. It is difficult to foresee on what lines the rebel policy will develop, but my view is that the tendency will be for the active bands to become smaller, and consequently more numerous and elusive; for dacoity to increase; and for the bulk of the population to become part-time, as distinct from whole-time, rebels and looters.

If this view is correct, it is clear that as the rebels scatter, the troops must be dispersed to deal with them, until the whole area is covered. This development has been foreseen for some time, and now that the area to be dealt with has spread, more troops are required to control it.

It is of course possible, though I think it unlikely, that the effect of greater military pressure may be to compress the rebels into larger bands for the purposes of self-protection and resistance; and if this happens in whole or in part, the situation will in proportion become the easier to deal with. But I consider that the former development is that with which we must be prepared to compete.

7. As things now are, I cannot commit myself to any prophecy as to when the rebellion can be expected to end. It may go on in some districts until every Mapilla is either exterminated or arrested. On the other hand a period will probably be reached, in some districts at any rate, when the Mapilla will throw in his hand. In either event, there will come a time when the military control can be replaced by police control, and I hope that the Madras Government will hasten the arrival of that moment by providing larger forces of armed special police in anticipation.

8. It will be seen that the military situation can now be reduced to comparatively definite terms. Rebellion is rampant in a well-defined area, in which every Mapilla not under immediate surveillance must be regarded as a rebel until he proves himself otherwise. This area must be occupied by troops and police in sufficient strength (*a*) to allow of active operations being continuous, (*b*) to prevent rebels against whom active measures are in progress in one part moving to another, (*c*) to enable immediate action to be taken on local information; and (*d*) to secure the repair and safety of roads, bridges and communications.

I have now recommended the provision of troops in sufficient number to allow of this being done.

The great difficulty hitherto has been to gauge the depth and extent of the rebellion. This information has had to be fought for; and it is entirely due to the ceaseless activity and perseverance of Colonel Humphreys and of the troops and police serving under him that it has become possible to arrive so soon at any sort of definite conclusion. The situation has not been allowed to drift.

9. I would like to add my appreciation of the visit paid to the disturbed area a few days ago by the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent, and the Hon'ble Mr. Knapp. They were shown as much of the local conditions and difficulties as it was possible to show any one in the short time at their disposal, and it was of great value to all of us, both civilians and soldiers, who are engaged in dealing with the rebellion, to be able to discuss it on the spot with representatives of the Governments of India and of Madras. The rebellion is, after all, a civil domestic problem to which the military aid is incidental, and I have throughout, as have Colonel Humphreys and his officers, adhered rigorously to the principle that the military force is employed in aid, and not in supersession, of the civil power.

Copy to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.

LXXXVI

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 967-Pol., dated the 26th October 1921.

In compliance with the request made in the General Officer Commanding's telegram of October 21st, the Military authorities have ordered the despatch of the following two battalions:—

(1) 2/9th Gurkhas.
(2) 1/39th Garhwalis.

[Reference your * Telegram No. M. 159 of October 24th.]

* D (i) LXII.

LXXXVII

Letter—from G. R. F. Tottenham, Esq., I.C.S., Under Secretary to Government, Public Department, to the General Officer Commanding, dated the 8th November 1921.

[*Mapilla rebellion—Military outposts—Calicut-Vayittiri road.*]

LXXXVII—LXXXVIII Nilgiri-Wynad.

I am directed to forward copies of † letter No. 4517, dated 3rd November 1921, from the Secretary, United Planters' Association of Southern India, and of a letter of

† See Section K. XXII, page 400.

the same date from the Wynad Planters' Association and to request that you will be so good as to let this Government have your appreciation of the situation and also to request you to take such action as you may consider feasible and necessary in the matter.

LXXXVII (*a*)

Letter—from the General Officer Commanding, Madras District, No. S. 250/505/G-3, dated Wellington, the 7th November 1921.

I have the honour to inform you that operations are now being undertaken by the Officer Commanding, Malabar Force, with the object of clearing, effectively, that part of Martial Law area bounded by the Vayittiri-Calicut road, the sea, and the Tirurangadi-Malappuram-Manjeri-Edavanna road.

Although it is impossible to say for certain what the effect of these operations will be, it is reasonable to hope that they will result in the above area being rendered fit for re-establishment of police control and for the commencement of the work of reconstruction and resettlement.

The operation consists, broadly speaking, of a sweeping movement by two battalions abreast from the line Kannamangalam-Manassheri to the Beypore river and thence by four battalions abreast from the line Feroke-Pannikod to the line Malappuram-Mambad, commencing on the 10th instant and ending on the 20th. I hope that Government will be able to make their plans for the reintroduction of civil control in the area affected conform to this operation.

Copy to the Headquarters, Malabar Force, Malappuram.
" " Hon'ble Mr. A. R. KNAPP, C.B.E., I.C.S., Special Commissioner for Malabar.
" " Headquarters, Southern Command, Poona.
" " Army Headquarters, General Staff Branch, Simla.

LXXXVIII

Letter—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/523/G-3, dated Wellington, the 12th November 1921.

Malabar Rebellion—Calicut- Vayittiri Road.

[Reference your letter "Public Department" of 8th November 1921.]

With reference to the application of the United Planters' Association of Southern India forwarded with above letter, I beg to inform you that the question of the security of convoys on the Calicut-Vayittiri road was brought to my notice on the 2nd November 1921 by the District Magistrate, The Nilgiris, and Sir Fairless Barber.

2. A conference was held at my Headquarters on 7th November 1921 attended by the Officer Commanding, Southern Provinces Mounted Rifles, and Officer Commanding, Wynad, as a result of which I applied for permission to embody a composite Light Motor Patrol, Southern Provinces Mounted Rifles, for duty.

3. This Patrol was ordered to concentrate at Puthupadi on the 10th November 1921 and the Officer Commanding ordered to collect, organize and escort convoys proceeding to and from Wynad. Copies of my orders were sent to the Special Commissioner for Malabar and the District Magistrates concerned and the United Planters' Association of Southern India.

4. In addition to the above two Companies, Special Police commenced to clear the affected area southwards from Tamarasseri on the 8th November 1921 working in conjunction with a Motor Patrol found by Calicut garrison. The police have now reached a line running east from Kunnamangalam after some opposition.

5. Two battalions commenced a drive towards the Beypore river on the 11th November 1921 from the above line.

6. The Light Motor Patrol, Southern Provinces Mounted Rifles, will be retained at duty for the present, but I do not anticipate that its services will be required for long in view of the area having been cleared by the Police and the troops.

I hope this will meet the case.

Copy to the Secretary, United Planters' Association of Southern India.

LXXXIX

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, dated the 8th November 1921, No. M. 168.

LXXXIX.—XCI. Medical officers.

Malabar rebellion. Civil medical subordinates cannot be compelled accompany police in operations Martial law area. Can you arrange to send six military sub-assistant surgeons to work with the Special Malabar Police taking in their stead for cantonment duty civil sub-assistant surgeons? If this can be managed, please instruct your A.D.M.S. to arrange details direct with Surgeon-General, Madras.

Post copy—to Surgeon-General through Local Self-Government Department; Special Civil Officer, Malappuram; District Magistrate, Malabar; Special Commissioner and General Officer Commanding with the following covering letter No. 196 M., dated 8th November 1921—

In enclosing herewith a post copy of my telegram, I am to say that His Excellency the Governor in Council would be much obliged if you could see your way to carrying out the arrangements suggested therein.

XC

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, dated Wellington, the 9th November 1921, No. 2763/16/A.-3.

Your telegram No. M. 168. Regret unable to supply any sub-assistant surgeons from this district to replace civil medical subordinates.

In the first place, I think we should instruct the District Magistrate and Mr. Evans and inform the General Officer Commanding that the Special Police are not to be used in offensive operations unless accompanied by a qualified medical officer. A | General Giffard yesterday told me that cases had occurred where the men wounded were not attended to at once owing to the absence of a medical officer. Meantime we may wire to the Government of India and ask for the loan of military sub-assistant surgeons.

N. E. Marjoribanks—9-11-21.

Please telegraph to Southcom. stating facts and asking him to arrange for his A.D.M.S. to depute six men at once. Refer to **A** and say use of Special Police on offensive military operations cannot continue if adequate medical aid is not supplied. Repeat to General Officer Commanding, Madras.

L. D[avidson]—9-11-21.

XCI

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona, dated the 10th November 1921, No. 173.

Malabar rebellion. As civil medical subordinates cannot be compelled accompany police in operations Martial Law area, Governor in Council would be obliged if you would arrange to send six military sub-assistant surgeons to work with the Special Malabar Police taking in their stead for cantonment duty civil sub-assistant surgeons. Suggest details may be arranged by your D.D.M.S. direct with Surgeon-General, Madras. Application was made to General Officer Commanding, Madras District, who replies that he is unable to supply sub-assistant surgeons from his district. Government Madras understand cases have occurred where wounded police not attended to at once owing absence medical officer and in these circumstances use of special police on offensive military operations cannot continue if adequate medical aid is not supplied.

Repeated to General Officer Commanding; to Special Civil Officer, Malappuram; to District Magistrate, Malabar.

Post copy—to Surgeon-General through Local Self-Government; to Special Commissioner, Malabar.

We have had no reply about this. Is any further action necessary? Perhaps the Surgeon-General has had a reply.

G. R. F. TOTTENHAM—16-11-21.

The Surgeon-General telephoned to me day before yesterday that Madist had sent men and asked for substitutes: and that it was all right.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—16-11-21.

XCII

Extract from demi-official report from Mr. EVANS, dated the 23rd November 1921.

It looks more than ever now that the war will last another three months at least. Possibly fifteen battalions instead of five might end it sooner; but I doubt whether another two, which I suppose is about the limit of possibility, would make much difference.

XCII--XCIV 3rd Reinforcements (proposed).

XCIII

Demi-official—to the General Officer Commanding No. M. 200, dated the 29th November 1921.

The Government of India have been asking us whether we consider that the number of troops in Malabar is sufficient, and Knapp has mentioned that the matter is under your consideration at present. Now that the series of military drives is over, it seems a suitable moment for a further conference on the situation, and I am to say that if you agree the Government would suggest that such a conference should take place as soon as possible, both to consider the results of the drives and the answer that should be sent to the Government of India about the number of troops.

If convenient to you, I am to suggest that the conference might take place at the end of this week in Madras. I am to ask if 11 a.m. on Saturday the 3rd would suit you.

XCIV

Demi-official—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/579-G-3, dated Wellington, the 1st December 1921.

[Your demi-official No. M. 200 of 29th November 1921.]

If the Government wishes it, I will attend a conference at Madras at 11 a.m. on December 3rd.

I can, however, say now that I do not consider that I should be justified at present, nor do I see any likelihood of my becoming justified, in asking for more troops for Malabar.

The result of the recent drives, though not spectacular, has been satisfactory; the country has been searched, rebel gangs have been turned out of their favourite haunts, the rebel concentrations have been dispersed, and the beginnings of confidence have been restored. In a word, the ground has been prepared for a reversion to the area system by which means alone can we hope really to get on terms with the rebels and hunt them down.

Apart from the purely military difficulties of maintaining more troops and of giving them the necessary degree of mobility, I would even go so far as to say that by increasing the number of troops we might defeat our own ends, and produce a premature settlement. It is a matter of fine adjustment. What we require is sufficient troops to deal with the rebels still out, to prevent the rebellion spreading, and to enable the peaceful elements of the population to re-assert themselves. This sufficiency I consider we now possess, provided units are kept up to strength as I am assured they will be. If we put more troops into the area we run the risk of forcing the rebels out of it, or of producing within it a state of artificial security dependent on the actual presence of troops everywhere; a state of affairs with no lasting basis and one which it would be very difficult to depart from when the time comes for the troops to go away.

I consider also that there is a real danger of our pandering too much to the utter self-helplessness of the non-rebel population who rush from panic to panic, whose only care is to avoid giving the slightest offence to the rebels who prey on

them, and who seem incapable of making any effort to assist in the apprehension of lawbreakers or in the restoration of their country to normal conditions. What is required in my opinion is not more military force, but more civic responsibility and determination on the part of the population.

The improvement in the conditions in Malabar within the last three weeks is substantial, and in the centre of the original storm-area, i.e., in the area Tirur-Kotakkal-Nilambur-Wandur-Pandikkad-Perintalmanna, the conditions are again approaching the normal.

The progress now being made towards resettlement is, in my opinion, as rapid as is compatible with a healthy return to peace, and I should doubt the wisdom of forcing the cure.

NOTE.—For decision, see section D (1)—LXXVIII.

XCV

NOTE.—Further correspondence with the military authorities was chiefly concerned with the withdrawal of Martial Law. See section F (ii).

SECTION B—CORRESPONDENCE WITH MILITARY AND CIVIL AUTHORITIES.

(ii) *With Civil Authorities.*

[Note.—*This correspondence also is not entirely in chronological order; an attempt has been made as far as possible to group together correspondence on a particular subject so that a telegram may be followed immediately by the reply to it.*]

I

Telegram—to C. G. TOTTENHAM, Esq., District Superintendent of Police, Calicut, No. M. 9, dated 21st August 1921.

*Your telegram received. Ample reinforcements being sent. Please inform District Magistrate and keep Government informed. I—II. Information called for.

* See section A-IV.

II

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. M-13, dated the 22nd August 1921.

Communication by post being interrupted, it is essential you should telegraph, in cipher if necessary, detailed accounts of events of Saturday and Sunday, more particularly dealing with fate of Rowley and Leinster officer. Similarly Government desire to be kept fully and promptly informed of future developments.

II (a)

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 22nd August 1921.

Line wrecking has been done in Calicut. Propose issue proclamation under section 9 warning amsam affected Calicut taluk. If Calicut not proclaimed section 2, please proclaim. II (*a*)—II (*b*). Mapilla Outrages Act—Application of.

II (b)

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 22nd August 1921, No. M-14.

Act XX of 1859 applied to whole of Malabar in Proceedings Madras Government, No. 1460, dated 28th October 1859, and therefore applies Calicut taluk.

III

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated Calicut, the 22nd August 1921. (Despatched at 17–15 hrs. Received at 22–0 hrs.).

Situation Calicut most critical. Am evacuating women and children to barracks. Beg Government ask Bombay send warship shallowest draught possible with supplies. III—VI. *Comus.* [See also-B (i) XV, et seq.]

IV

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. M. 19, dated the 23rd August 1921.

Your request warship forwarded Naval authorities, Colombo, Bombay. Wire full details situation, especially Calicut.

V

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona, General Officer Commanding, Madras District, and District Magistrate, Malaba Nos. M. 22, 23 and 24, dated the 23rd August 1921. (Despatched about 14 hours.)

Naval Commander-in-Chief, Colombo, wires H.M.S., *Comus* sails Calicut immediately and will inform Government and District Magistrate, Calicut, her time and date arrival. H.M.S. *Espiegle* will follow if required. Have replied on advice Presidency Port Officer *Espiegle* preferable as shallower draft and have informed Naval Commander-in-Chief stores required feed garrison and refugees numbering perhaps 1,000 as precautionary measure against possible delay in relief by land. Hope this will fall in with necessities military situation.

VI

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. M. 28, dated the 24th August 1921.

Your telegram yesterday and continuation mine same date. H.M.S. *Comus* will arrive Calicut noon Thursday. Inform Port Officer. Regarding deaths Rowley and Johnstone, Government desire circumstances to be investigated at once as fully as possible.

VII

Telegram—to the Subdivisional Magistrate, Tellicherry, No. M. 20, dated the 23rd August 1921. [11 hours.]

VII—VIII. Communications north of Calicut.

Asking whether communications with Calicut by rail and telegraph are open.

VIII

Telegram—from the Subdivisional Magistrate, Tellicherry, dated the 23rd August 1921.

Saying that communications from Tellicherry to Calicut were open and safe.

IX

Letter—from the Postmaster-General, Madras, No. F.O. 987, dated the 23rd August 1921.

Postal arrangements.

I have the honour to forward herewith, for the information of the Government, the accompanying copy of my telegram to the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, Calcutta, regarding the revised postal arrangements made in the disturbed area in Malabar.

ENCLOSURE

Telegram—from the Postmaster-General, Madras, to the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, Calcutta, No. F.O. 987, dated the 23rd August 1921.

Owing serious Mapilla riots in Malabar communication to Calicut and Mangalore cut off between Shoranur and Tirur. Mails to Calicut and Mangalore are being transmitted via Ootacamund, Vayitri by hired motor cars. Am informing Postmasters-General, other circles, to issue instructions to all offices their circles not to accept insured letters all classes and parcels to Mangalore with its sub and branch offices and Calicut with its sub and branch offices except Alatur, Kalpathi-Palghat, Kollengode, Nellampatti, Olavakot, Ottapalam, Palghat, Tattamangalam-Palghat with their branch offices. Three post offices were looted by rioters and am instructing superintendent close all post offices in disturbed area where civil or military protection cannot be secured. Shall wire particulars offices closed later. Money orders may be paid at Calicut and places north of Calicut though not in affected areas. Kindly issue circular also postal notice.

X

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. L.W. 2, dated the 24th August 1921. (Despatched 18 hours. Received 18–45 hours.)

Arrests. [See XXII infra.]

Please furnish list of persons it is proposed to arrest or detain in Malappuram and Tirur to Commanding, Malabar. If police officer with local knowledge could be sent by any means to report to Colonel Humphreys, he would be of greatest value. No civil authority with intimate local knowledge at present available. Addressed Collector, Calicut. Repeated Madras, Madras.

XI

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, The Nilgiris, No. M. 32, dated the 25th August 1921.

Apprehended extension to Nilgiri Wynad.

* General Officer Commanding Madras reports on information from Calicut, body about 300 Mapillas left Nilambur for Gudalur, Tuesday night, but not located on road yesterday. Warn planters and consult General Officer Commanding.

* See section A-XXI.

XII

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. M. 33, dated the 25th August 1921.

Regular information called for.

No telegram received from you yesterday. Imperative that, apart from special messages, you should send, every afternoon, clear line resume of events and information.

XIII

Telegram—to F. B. EVANS, Esq., I.C S., Collector of Coimbatore, No. M. 34, dated the 25th August 1921.

Proceed at once join Colonel Humphreys, Commanding Troops, Malabar, Podanur, as Special Civil Officer till re-union with Thomas is effected. You will act as responsible representative of Government. Hand over charge by wire to Gawne, care of Collector, Ootacamund. XIII—XV. Special Civil Officer.

XIV

Telegram—to the Collector, The Nilgiris, No. M. 35, dated the 25th August 1921.

Instruct Gawne take over charge from Evans by wire, and proceed Coimbatore forthwith for temporary charge of that district.

XV

Telegram—to the Inspector-General of Police, Podanur, No. M. 37, dated the 25th August 1921.

As Government do not wish to tie you down in Malabar indefinitely instructions are being issued to Evans to join Colonel Humphreys as Special Civil Officer. Pending arrival Evans will you kindly act.

XVI

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Nilgiris / South Kanara / Coimbatore, Nos. M. 40, 41 and 42, dated the 25th August 1921.

Instruct the police to keep a look-out for and arrest under 110, Criminal Procedure Code, or 121, Indian Penal Code, any Mapillas escaping into your district from disturbed area Malabar and communicate any cases to District Magistrate, Malabar. XVI—XIX. Precautions in adjoining districts. [See section A-XXVI.]

XVII

Telegram—to the Resident in Travancore and Cochin, Trivandrum, No. M. 44, dated the 25th August 1921.

Please move the Cochin Darbar to keep a look-out for and arrest and detain any Mapillas suspected escaping disturbed area Malabar and communicate any cases to District Magistrate, Malabar.

XVIII

Telegram—from the Resident in Travancore and Cochin, Trivandrum, dated the 26th August 1921. (Received at 18-30 hours.)

Your cipher wire received. Action taken.

XIX

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, The Nilgiris, dated the 27th August 1921. (Received 17-30 hours.)

Police have been instructed look out for and arrest Mapillas escaping from disturbed area Malabar. So far no arrests.

XX

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, The Nilgiris, No. M. 43, dated the 24th August 1921.

Please inquire and report whether planters Eaton, Browne and Colebrook have succeeded in escaping from disturbed area Malabar and reached your district safely. XX—XXI. Planters.

XXI

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, The Nilgiris, dated the 26th August 1921. (Received 20-30 hours.)

Brown, Colebrook and Police Sub-Inspector V. Krishnan arrived here safe last night. No news Eaton.

XXII

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. M-45, dated the 26th August 1921.

XXII—XXIII. Information called for.

[See also A-XXXIII, page 60.]

Government quite appreciate difficulties your position, nevertheless would like daily telegram containing your information and appreciation its value. Asiatic line S.S. *Nawab* has left Bombay with ample supplies, will arrive Calicut Sunday morning. Please wire news planter Brown. Instruction given adjoining District Magistrates and Resident as you suggested. Wire what action you have taken on telegram * LW/2 from Madist, dated 24th August 1921, about arrests and Police Officer.

* See X supra.

XXIII

Telegram—to the Subdivisional Magistrate, Palghat, No. M-46, dated the 26th August 1921.

Please wire resumé all information in your possession concerning disturbances with your appreciation its value and send daily telegram hereafter.

XXIV

Telegram—from the Special Civil Officer, dated Shoranur, the 26th August 1921. Received 20-30 hours.

XXIV—XXV. Martial Law —*de facto*.

Some doubt whether Martial Law exists. Think it essential should be proclaimed at once. Ponnani, Ernad, Walluvanad and Calicut taluks, all besieged, captured or hiding. Palghat quiet.

XXV

Telegram—to the Special Civil Officer, Shoranur, No. M. 51, dated the 26th August 1921.

Martial law exists *de facto*. Government India Ordinance expected hourly. Act accordingly. Do you want magisterial powers ?

XXVI

Telegram—from F. B. EVANS, Esq., I.C S., dated Shoranur, the 27th August 1921. (Despatched 8 hours.)

XXVI—XXVII. Special Civil Officer. Additional District Magistrate.

Assume I have general magisterial power. Would be convenient have powers District Magistrate for Malabar. We hope possibly get through tonight on engine Calicut and discuss general plan with Thomas.

XXVII

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M-61, dated the 28th August 1921.

After joining Thomas, Evans will continue to act as Special Civil Officer for Martial Law area attached to Military Commander and is appointed Additional District Magistrate.

Repeated Special Civil Officer, and District Magistrate, Calicut.

XXVIII

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. M-63, dated the 28th August 1921.

XXVIII—XXIX. Martial Law proclamation.

The following proclamation is issuing *Begins*—Proclamation. Martial Law, Malabar. It is hereby proclaimed under section 2 of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, that a state of Martial Law exists in the taluks of Calicut, Ernad, Walluvanad, Ponnani, Kurumbranad and Wynaad in the district of Malabar. By order of the Governor in Council. (Signed) N. E. Marjoribanks, Chief Secretary—*Ends.* Please have a large number of copies in poster form printed in English and Malayalam and widely distributed and posted. Government Order follows.

XXIX

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. M. 71, dated the 29th August 1921.

My telegram M. 63 after words 'Chief Secretary' at end of Proclamation *add* the words 'to the Government of Madras.'

XXX

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. M. 55, dated the 27th August 1921 (despatched about 18 hours).

Please wire a list of officers whom you would recommend to be posted to Malabar (*a*) for investigation, (*b*) for trial of offences under Martial Law Ordinance. Presume the proper dossiers have been started as far as practicable. Government wish to receive particulars of the force of Police and Military who were at Tirurangadi on August 20th and the officers who were in charge of and who were attached to each party. Was no force told off to guard the roads from east? Government understand this was an essential feature of the plan of operations. Were any attempts made to arrest any Tangal either inside or outside a mosque? The * question of the departure of the *Comus* has been raised and Government consider that subject to naval necessities she should remain until through railway communication has been restored and the *Nawab* has arrived. After that the matter depends on consultation between yourself and the Naval and Military authorities.

XXX—XXXV. Martial Law —Courts—Outbreak at Tirurangadi —Departure of *Comus*—Congress workers.

* See also B (i), XXXIII—XXXVII.

XXXI

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. M. 62, dated the 28th August 1921.

Wire whether the account as stated in newspapers is true that you despatched Congress and Khilāfat workers to disturbed tract to compose matters.

XXXII

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 131, dated the 28th August 1921.

Your M. 55 of 27th. Will wire list Magistrates to be empowered under Ordinance to-morrow. Hitchcock's confidential papers, etc., lost Tirurangadi but preparation dossiers in hand. Following Police and Military present twentieth, Tirurangadi:—Police officers three, Inspector one, Sergeants five, constables 190; troops officers three, other ranks, seventy-nine, one Doctor; District and Assistant Magistrate also present. Roads east guarded but impossible to close country on sides of roads effectively. No attempt made arrest any Tangal mosque or elsewhere. Warrant against Ali Musaliar not executed as he was not found. One mosque searched for arms. First by friendly Mapillas, then by Mapilla head constable in mufti with Mapilla Deputy Superintendent, latter having removed boots. Question *Comus* remaining discussed to-day with Humphreys and Commanding *Comus*; will stop till Wednesday certainly. Your telegram to-day M. 62. Facts are Kesava Menon, Congress Secretary, asked permission visit disturbed area, use his influence which is nil with rebels. I permitted him take party Congress workers, not expecting any result. Information is he returned almost at once. Risk is theirs, they cannot make matters worse. They would have made capital out of refusal and it may do good to open their eyes to immensity conflagration raised. Just learnt Kesava Menon's party returned from Tirurangadi convinced of impossibility reason with Mapillas.

XXXIII

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 149, dated the 29th August 1921.

Propose ask Military Commander empower following first-class Magistrates under Martial Law Ordinance: Austin, Batty, Mathai, Sekhara Kurup, Kunhi Raman Nayar, Tahsildar Kurumbranad, Anantarama Ayyar, Tahsildar Walluvanad; second-class Magistrates (places shown against each name indicate present station). Crombie John (if alive), Manjeri Narayana Ayyar, Tirur Gangadhara Ayyar, Ponnani Krishnan Nayar, Chowgat Govinda Ayyar, Badagara Kannan, Kuttuparamba (these two will be in reserve), Parasurama Ayyar on leave, Sequeira, Huzur office, Narayana Menon, Tahsildar, Ernad. Cannot now forecast how many will be required. Quick despatch of cases will be essential.

XXXIV

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. M. 70, dated the 29th August 1921.

Your number 149. Names wanted are not those of officials already in Malabar but of those if any whom you would recommend to be posted to Malabar to help.

XXXV

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 166, dated the 30th August 1921.

Your M. 70. Propose for the present manage with local magistrates until see how much work is involved. Evans concurred. Will ask if necessary for further men who should be Malayalis or know Malayalam.

XXXVI

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Nilgiris, No. M. 68, dated the 29th August 1921.

XXXVI—XXXVIII. Nilgiris—Martial Law.

Wire whether you consider it necessary that Martial Law should be extended to the Nilgiri-Wynad and give reasons for your view.

XXXVII

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Nilgiris, dated the 29th August 1921

So far no disturbance in Nilgiri-Wynad. Will see the General Officer Commanding on Thursday at Wellington and will then report if extension of Martial Law advisable.

XXXVIII

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Nilgiris, dated the 1st September 1921.

See also Section E (*d*), IV.

Don't consider it necessary to extend Martial Law to the Nilgiri-Wynad for the present.

XXXIX

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Nilgiris, dated the 29th August 1921.

XXXIX—XL. Aeroplanes.

Planters want to ask questions in Legislative Council regarding shortage of British troops and absence of aeroplanes. At the same time they do not wish to embarrass Government. Richardson would like advice to be wired through me.

XL

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Nilgiris, No. M. 72, dated the 29th August 1921.

Military matters are not under the control of the Local Government. Question should be asked in the Legislative Assembly.

XLI

Telegram—from the Diwan of Cochin, dated Trichur, the 30th August 1921.

XLI—XLII. Cochin Darbar—Assistance.

On reports position in Ponnani was serious and taluk officials in dangerous isolation took out yesterday frontier patrol force with Pitt and Brown, Police Commissioners of Travancore and Cochin States, to Ponnani. Found officials, offices and treasury safe, though officials cut off from all news from Calicut and Madras sides. Numerous dacoities by Mapillas on Nambudri and Nayar landholders in the taluk since 22nd August. Large stores of paddy and rice looted. Dacoities still rife committed even in neighbourhood of taluk headquarters, 45 cases having been registered in kasba station. Nearly all toddy and arrack shops burnt.

XLII

Telegram—to the Resident in Travancore and Cochin, No. M. 82, dated the 31st August 1921.

Abstract.—Asking him to convey the thanks of the Government to the Darbar for this telegram and their assistance.

XLIII

Telegram—to the Subdivisional Magistrate, Palghat, No. M-84, dated the 1st September 1921.

Communications with Calicut having been restored, please send your situation reports to District Magistrate hereafter. XLIII—XLV. Situation. reports, local communiqué's

XLIV

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 191, dated the 1st September 1921.

Report 1st September 16–00 hours. Reported to-day Khan Bahadur Chekkutti, retired Police Inspector, and a Mapilla head constable murdered near Manjeri and their heads exposed on spears and carried through bazaar. Eaton's head also exposed similar fashion. Komu Menon, Melmuri amsam, wealthy landowner, forcibly converted with whole family. Wholesale conversions reported from Melattur and round Karuvarakundu. Not heard from other places but certain that conversion or death is being freely offered Hindus. Report from Pandikkad Sub-Inspector of Police which follows by post fair indication state Ernad and Walluvanad. May I issue communiqués daily showing progress of columns and giving brief details battles subject to approval Military Commander ? Calicut quiet. District Gazette issued to-day with Ordinance and regulations issued by Military Commander. Will send copies to-morrow.

XLV

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S/250/169-9, dated the 3rd September 1921.

*Your M. 85, Sep. 2nd. No objection to communiqué provided Area Commander approves and future movements of troops are not given. Addressed Madras. Repeated Commanding Troops, Malabar, Tirur; District Magistrate, Calicut.

* See B (i), LV.

XLVI

Demi-official—to F. B. Evans, Esq., Special Civil Officer, No. M. 88, dated the 3rd September 1921.

[Malabar disturbances—Wounded—Care of.]

The Government of India † have drawn our attention by telegram to Chapter IV, paragraph 12 of the Martial Law Instructions, and say that they assume that all possible efforts are being made for the medical treatment and care of the wounded, but that they would be glad to receive an assurance on the point, and some information as to the methods adopted. Presumably they refer to the wounded amongst the rebels. This perhaps indicates that they do not fully realize the actual conditions. I am to say that Government will be glad if you will send them a statement explaining what is practicable and is being done, and what is not practicable in this respect. XLVI—XLVII. Care of wounded.

† See D (i), XXXV.

XLVII

Demi-official—from F. B. Evans, Esq., I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, Malabar, dated Camp Malappuram, the 5th September 1921.

Your demi-official M. No. 88–21, dated 3rd September 1921. Malabar disturbances—Wounded—Care of.

The Military authorities are making such arrangements as are feasible for the treatment of rebel wounded in the same way as our wounded. As the Government know, the fanatical Mapilla does not usually stop till he is dead. At Pukkottur one Leinster soldier was killed by a wounded and apparently disabled rebel; and the rebels left no wounded on the field. It is in fact most difficult to get them, though we should like them for information. Any wounded that fall into our hands will be treated in the same way as our wounded. Stretcher parties, etc., accompany fighting columns.

XLVIII

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, dated the 3rd September 1921.

Report 3rd. Prisoners are now being brought in freely and surrendering and summary trials commenced in Walluvanad. A few Nambudris and Nayars including some members big houses joined or lead local outbreaks. Am arranging for photographs of scenes of destructions *re* Tirurangadi fight. Important to note that troops Situation—Firing on mosques.

did not fire on mosque, but only at rebels when they charged out of mosque. Mosque was used as a fort and arsenal but no assault made. Mosque at Cherpulcheri also used as arsenal for swords, guns and batons, latter taken from police. Every military justification for firing on mosque at Tirurangadi, but this was not done. Kunhi Tangal, Malappuram, believed to have blessed Pukkottur rebels before fight, known to have been Pukkottur during fight, arrested interior Calicut taluk while escaping north.

XLIX

Telegram—from J. F. Bryant, Esq., I.C.S., Simla, dated the 4th September 1921.

Legislative Assembly Debate.

Mapilla debate Legislative Assembly fifth instant. Please wire instructions if any to Long Wood Hotel.

L

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 262, dated the 6th September 1921.

Summary Courts begin.

September 6th went Tirur early morning returned 15–00 hours. Summary trials commenced there and Cannanore. Inspected damage to office, conferred with Evans and Military Commander Nothing else to report

LI

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 335, dated the 13th September 1921.

Buildings destroyed. (See also LIX—LXI.)

Following buildings destroyed. Revenue buildings, Manjeri, combined offices Tahsildar, Sub-Magistrate, Sub-Registrar. Treasury looted, six lakhs. Angadipuram combined offices as above. Treasury looted twenty thousand. Tirurangadi Deputy Tahsildar's office and court, Registrar's office, Civil Courts, Parappanangadi, Manjeri, Angadipuram Munsifs' Courts. Registration offices besides those above, Wandur, Kaippakancheri. All forests buildings, lines, offices Nilambur. Building where records, furniture, etc., destroyed. Tirur combined offices Sub-Magistrate, Registrar, Munsif. Registrar's offices at Kottakkal and Mannarghat. Latter building now probably destroyed. Police stations mostly burnt but some records and furniture only destroyed. Kalikavu, Wandur, Manjeri, Angadipuram, Kottakkal, Pandikkad, Nilambur, Muttikode, Tanur, Tirurangadi, Karuvarakundu, Cherpulcheri, Melattur, Kaipakancheri, Mannarghat, Tirur, Edavanna, Kattuparuthi. Post offices looted Parappanangadi, Manjeri, Kottakkal, Nilambur, Angadipuram, Tirur, Tanur, Kattuparuthi. Impossible specify extent damage communications, roads, bridges, culverts still being broken. Not yet have engineering department inspected damage. All main roads blocked; bridges, culverts damaged. This statement subject to revision as more accurate information is received and will certainly require amplification later.

LII

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 341, dated the 13th September 1921.

Hindu.

Local public indignant at lies in *Hindu.* * Request action under section 26 of Post Office Act.

* Note—No action taken.

LIII

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 351, dated the 14th September 1921.

Situation—Relief measures.

Between two and three thousand names recorded of persons against whom definite complaints made of offences under dacoity, arson, extortion, removing rails, breaking telegraph wires, destroying bridges and roads, complaints still coming in daily, crimes still being reported from areas not under immediate military control. News received one Mapilla Sub-Inspector and two constables Nilgiri police probably murdered Ettakara between Nilambur and Nadghani. Nilambur effectively held by rebels who charge five rupees for allowing Hindus leave place and collecting money and provisions. One or two official prisoners will probably be murdered. Austin expects starvation parts of his division. Am therefore organizing relief. To-

my statement of buildings burnt, etc., add several travellers' bungalows, details not certain yet. Crimes against private citizens impossible of tabulation. In many places all Hindu houses looted; probably few Nambudri illoms in Ernad, Walluvanad, North Ponnani escaped, many also in central Ponnani; practically no liquor shops escaped in the three taluks. Will hereafter report by wire only if something noteworthy other than military operations comes to notice. Respectfully beg Government expedite appointment tribunal.

LIV

Mapilla Outrages Act.

An Official Memorandum was sent to the District Magistrate, Malabar, on 15th September 1921, suggesting the advisability of proclaiming immediately that amsams will probably be fined under the Mapilla Outrages Act and that the amount of the fines will be reduced if loot is surrendered immediately; and requesting the District Magistrate to offer remarks on this suggestion.—The original and the District Magistrate's reply cannot be traced.

LV

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 374, dated the 15th September 1921.

LV and LV (a) Gandhi. See also B (1) LXIII et seq.

Messrs. Krishnan Nayar, Prabhakaran Tampan, M.L.C., wire very necessary stop Gandhi and Ali brothers coming even to Palghat. Representatives different schools of politics join in request. I concur.

LV (a)

Note—from the Special Branch, Criminal Investigation Department, dated the 16th September 1921, No. 503-T.

The following is an extract from Mr. Gandhi's tour according to telegram T. 76, dated 16th September 1921, from Traffic Manager, South Indian Railway, Trichinopoly :—

* * * * * *

25th leave Coimbatore at 10 p.m.
26th arrive Calicut at ? a.m.
27th leave Calicut at 5-10 p.m.

* * * * * *

I have asked Criminal Investigation Department by telephone to communicate the programme to all districts concerned and also to inform General Officer Commanding direct of any change in programme as early as possible.

G. R. F. TOTTENHAM.

LVI

LVI—LVIII Civil Policy.

Demi-official—to F. B. EVANS, Esq., I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, Malabar, and E. F. THOMAS, Esq., I.C.S., Collector of Malabar, dated the 24th September 1921, No. M. 132.

I am directed to enclose for your information a copy of the telegram* sent to the Government of India as the result of the conference at Tirur. I am also to enclose copy of a letter † recently received from the General. As regards point (*a*), action has been taken and orders will, it is hoped, issue shortly. As regards points (*b*) and (*c*), I am to say that Government would be glad of your remarks as soon as possible. Judging from the military reports received to date it did not appear to Government that situation had materially altered. Please address your replies to this demi-official to me at Ootacamund whither I go to-morrow. Other communications should continue to be sent to Madras.

* Section D (i) XL. † Section B (i) LXXIII.

LVII

Demi-official—from F. B. EVANS, Esq., I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, dated Tirur, the 25th September 1921.

Your demi-official No. M. 132, dated 24th September 1921.

Letter from General Officer Commanding to Government of Madras, No. S/250–281.

I made some general remarks about the General's letter in my‡ daily report, dated 24th September 1921, which I suppose you have not yet seen. I said that in the interior of Ernad and Walluvanad there are still an unknown number of gangs actively militant (we know of five gangs or aggregates of gangs), and that I considered the destruction of these gangs an essential preliminary not only to any attempt to restore law and order in the areas in which the gangs are still de facto masters, but also to the restoration of any real confidence in the rest of the martial law area. The destruction of these gangs is a military operation and I consider that any attempt to negotiate would involve useless sacrifice of life. I say distinctly that it is not possible for the 'local civil authorities to get into touch with the rebels' or 'to bring home to those in arms against us, and to the waverers, the futility of further resistance'. I think I have brought this out sufficiently in my recent daily reports; at least I have endeavoured to do so. I wrote on 23rd September 1921: "In the back of Ernad and Walluvanad the rebels are still masters; they murder our scouts and also Mapillas who refuse to join them; they have spies everywhere and their information about our movements is probably very much better than ours about theirs." I am just back from Malappuram, where I saw both Military and Police who were in the unfortunate affair at Nemmini; all the officers from 'the front' clamour for more troops, and more power, e.g., to string up spies in situ. My deliberate impression is that the situation is worse than it was at the time of His Excellency's conference, and the longer a big battle or a big capture is delayed the worse it will get.

2. In the above I am referring primarily to the inner half of Ernad and Walluvanad, which I regard as country still held by the enemy. In the rest of the martial law area civil control has already been largely re-established and is being extended as fast as possible; but troops are still necessary in some parts and may again be necessary in others to lend support. I reported in my daily report of this morning a case where a police station that had been opened a fortnight ago after a march through by the troops had again to be abandoned to a gang of looters. This was within ten miles of Tirur.

3. To (*c*) of the General's letter therefore I do not think that a very explicit reply can be given yet; and I don't know why he asks it. The Military Commander fully understands that his first job is to destroy or capture the militant gangs; he also fully understands that it is a most difficult job and one in which the civil authorities can only help by advice and information; and he does not want to look farther ahead at present. The 'policy of Government' is of course to re-establish civil control as soon as the civil authorities can move about without reasonable fear for their lives; the centres of control will be the old ones, the means the ordinary civil staff reinforced by special police. It is little use definitely settling the stations for the extra police yet; 'the action of the troops' certainly cannot at present "be directed and restricted . . .

‡ Section E (*e*) No. XXI and XXIV.

so as to coincide with the eventual police occupation of the area". Let 'the rebel bands', first 'be defeated in the field'; and I would add, with a full sense of responsibility, "let the maximum permissible application of force be made with the maximum speed".

4. In my letter of 24th, I added some remarks about the withdrawal of martial law and expressed the opinion that it should not be withdrawn anywhere till the special tribunals had finished their job, though that might be months hence. I will not repeat the remarks here as I find that the point is not specifically raised in the letter referred to me. But I may assure Government that so far as I can judge every respectable man in the martial law area would strongly object to the withdrawal of the law from any part of the area.

5. Colonel Humphreys agrees generally with the views that I have expressed, and will probably ask for further reinforcements. The General is coming here to-morrow; and I will write again when we have had our discussion: but I think it advisable to send this off at once in case there is delay in getting my other letters up from Madras.

LVIII

Demi-official—from E. F. THOMAS, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate, Malabar, dated Calicut, the 26th September 1921.

Your demi-official No. M. 132.

I do not think that it is a police job to consolidate country cleared by the troops. It is their work to destroy or capture the bands of armed rebels which still infest the country and until they have done so the police cannot begin to function again. An area is not cleared by marching troops through it: the rebels have settled on a policy of what is practically guerilla war: they prefer an ambush and flight to standing up to fight and die. These bands are a menace to the whole country for with their greater mobility they may demonstrate almost anywhere with a fair chance of impunity and their existence is a source of encouragement to everyone who has leanings towards crime. Thus the first postulate of restoring civil administration is not there.

Where however the presence of the troops has given the local rebel a conviction that it is no good going on police stations have been opened sometimes too soon and the police carry on independently. This is the case at Cherpulcheri, Angadipuram, Manjeri, Tirur, Kattuparutti, Kaipakancheri, Tanalur, Parappanangadi and many other places. Kaipakancheri has had to be abandoned owing to the re-appearance of a gang of dacoits. In many of these places—Tanalur was the first—the police have been able to get into touch with repentant rebels and get them to surrender. Hitchcock hopes, perhaps, a little optimistically to get the people now in Tirurangadi to give themselves up and to bring the women back to the town and settle down again. There are bands of sullen and rather frightened Mapillas in several amsams near Tirurangadi who may be amenable to this kind of treatment and it may be yet possible to pacify this corner without taking troops there again. The rebels have their families in hiding all over the place and almost the first thing is to get them to bring the women and children home. I would answer General Burnett-Stuart's question (*c*) as follows. Kill or destroy the rebels in the field and we will re-establish law and order by restarting the existing police stations so far as this has not been done and will protect them with a few posts of armed auxiliary police located at good strategic centres, but do not expect us to begin until the troops have carried out their task. It seems to me that the letter is somewhat premature seeing that it is not a week since Radcliffe was ambushed with three platoons within 3 miles of Manjeri on the main road, and not three days since Weldon was ambushed scarcely a mile from his temporary head-quarters. We use the protection of the troops to make arrests, but if the bands are wiped out we shall be able to make arrests without requiring the help of the troops. I told His Excellency at the Tirur conference that the country could be held with a strong detachment at Malappuram and with three hundred auxiliary police, and I think it can be done as soon as something approaching normal conditions are restored. Finally I venture to suggest that it seems likely that it is the enemy in the field that will in practice direct and perhaps restrict the action of the troops who will have to follow them; to round them up will, I fear, involve employing more.

LIX

Letter—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 456, dated Calicut, the 24th September 1921. LIX—LXI Buildings destroyed.

[Mapilla rebellion—Buildings destroyed.]

In continuation of my telegram* No. 335, dated 13th September 1921, I have the honour to forward a further list of buildings destroyed about which information has now been received.

Pandikkad.—Police station building burnt down completely. Only the bare walls remain. Police lines.—Part of the roofing and most of the doors and door frames destroyed. Travellers' bungalow.—Roofing demolished and destroyed. Furniture missing.

* No. LI supra.

Vettikattiri (Near Pandikkad).—Amsam Cutcherry building completely demolished and destroyed.

Payyanad (Near Pandikkad).—Amsam Cutcherry building and pound completely burnt up. Walls only remain.

Tuvur.—Amsam Cutcherry building demolished and materials carried away.

Karuvarakundu.—Police station building destroyed by fire. Three huts, one kitchen and latrine of the Police lines also destroyed. The travellers' bungalow and one stable destroyed by fire.

Kalikavu.—The travellers' bungalow has been destroyed by fire. Police station also burnt. Police lines not burnt but demolished.

LX

Letter—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 474, dated the 27th September 1921.

In continuation of my telegram No. 335, dated 13th September 1921, and my letter No. 456, dated 24th September 1921, I have the honour to furnish the following supplementary list of buildings, etc., destroyed:—

(1) Public Works Department rest-house, Manjeri.
(2) Police station and Police lines at Nattukal in Walluvanad taluk.
(3) Mannarghat Sub-Registry office.
(4) Records of the Sub-Registry office at Vilayur in Walluvanad taluk.

LXI

Letter—from T. Austin, Esq., I.C.S., Sub-Collector, Malappuram, to the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 30th September 1921.

In continuation of my letter, dated 28th September 1921, I have the honour to report about public buildings at Nilambur.

The following buildings have been gutted:—District Forest Officer's bungalow, new Forest Circuit House, the Forest Office and most of the forest guards' lines.

The roof of the travellers' bungalow has been destroyed and that of the Police station partially damaged. The following buildings have not been damaged:—the old and new hospitals, the Post office, the school and some of the out-buildings attached to the Forest Office. At Edavanna the Police station has not been damaged.

It is reported that all public buildings at Nedungayam have been destroyed, but I have received no details.

True copy submitted to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Madras, in continuation of this office letter No. 474, dated 27th September 1921.

Calicut,
6*th October* 1921.

E. F. Thomas,
District Magistrate.

LXII

LXII—LXIII (*a*) Sufficiency of troops.

To—E. F. Thomas, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate, Malabar, and F. B. Evans, Esq., I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, Malabar, dated the 14th October 1921, No. M. 157.

I am to enclose copy of a* telegram received from the Government of India and a copy of our reply and to ask for your very early remarks on paragraphs 3 and 4 of the telegram from India. Presumably Lewis guns are referred to in paragraph 4. Please also comment on paragraph 2 if you have changed your views since the matter was last discussed at Ootacamund. You have already got a copy of our telegram† No. M. 153 of the 10th in connexion with Sehammad's questions.

* See Section D (1) LVI. † Section D (1) LX.

LXIII

Demi-official—from F. B. EVANS, Esq., I.C.S., dated 21st October 1921.

Paragraph 3 *of the Government of India's telegram* 850-*Pol., dated* 11*th October* 1921.—General Burnett Stuart is asking for two more battalions of Indian troops. This is after yesterday's experience, when two battalions were hard at work all day and rounded up less than 100 in an area containing about 500 probable fighters, and after a discussion of the whole situation with Sir W. Vincent. I, naturally, support the proposal; it will be most economical in the long run.

2. *Paragraph* 4 *of the telegram.*—I recommend that sanction be given immediately to raise 600 special military police instead of 300. For the present the police are urgently wanted to deal with the western areas, and to take over gradually from the military as they advance further island; and the military officers think that 600 will be none too many. For the more distant future also I think that that number at least will be required, probably six permanent posts will be necessary for some years, but I would rather not attempt to locate them at present. Details must be worked out with Hitchcock, whom I have not yet had an opportunity of talking to at length. But he agrees that the number should be increased. On one point he is very insistent, and I agree, viz., that this force should be put in all respects on as good a footing as regards pay and allowances as a native infantry regiment: and also that there should be a definite promise of, say, five years employment at least. It will be impossible to recruit satisfactorily, if it is not to be regarded as a permanent force. At present recruits have joined blindly because Hitchcock has asked them.

Note.—Mr. Thomas' reply cannot be traced.

LXIV

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. 5/119/90, dated the 17th October 1921.

District Magistrate, Calicut, has asked that part of Supply and Transport barracks at Cannanore be lent to accommodate refugees. I have no objection provided any expense entailed and possible damage are met from Civil funds. No rent will be charged. (Repeated by Chief Secretary to District Magistrate, Calicut.) S. and T. Barracks, Cannanore.

LXV

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, dated Delhi, the 4th November 1921, No. 1015-Political.

Following telegram received from Secretary of State:—*Begins*—Question in Parliament, 14th November next, Malabar. Can you give any safe estimate number of forcible conversions of Hindus by Mapillas reported—*Ends*. Kindly furnish information early. LXV—LXVII Conversions.

Repeated to District Magistrate, Calicut, for report in consultation with Special Civil Officer.

LXVI

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Calicut, dated the 8th November 1921, No. 687.

Good information received relating to 180 conversions. This figure excludes conversions some of worst areas from which details will not be available till rebellion crushed. Many converts detained with rebel bands, some actually fighting. Safe estimate therefore most difficult. My opinion is conversions must exceed five hundred and may run up to over thousand. Many have been murdered for refusing conversion.

LXVII

Demi-official—from A. R. Knapp, Esq., c.b.e., I.C.S., Special Commissioner for Malabar, dated the 8th November 1921.

Your telegram of November 5th. I am afraid it is not possible to give any safe estimate of the number of forcible conversions. No detailed record of such conversions has been kept. It is said that there have been many recently in Calicut taluk and the Arikkod area of Ernad, but these there is no means of verifying at present. Evans' guess, in which I concur, places the total number of forcible conversions at 400 to 500, but it is only a guess.

LXVIII

Demi-official (*extract*)—from F. B. Evans, Esq., I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, Malabar, dated the 8th November 1921.

*   *   *   *   *   *

LXVIII—LXXIX Surrenders—policy and numbers.

2. Requests to 'surrender' are being received from other amsams in the Malappuram area. I propose to tell such people that, if they behave and assist the police, no further action will be taken against those of them who were concerned in a subordinate capacity in offences against the State committed on or before the 26th August. I am not in favour of waiving action on *any* private complaint; nor at present of offering any immunity for acts committed after the first outburst; August 26th has been taken as the date of the Pukkottur battle and the date when the troops from Bangalore got into the field, it covers practically all the first lootings of Government buildings. The proposed concession is of course not logically defensible; we have already punished a large number of the rank and file for acts against Government property committed on the 21st and 22nd of August; but I do not think it is unreasonable. It will only be offered in response to offers to 'surrender' and in amsams where comparatively good behaviour justifies it or drastic military punishment has already been inflicted. If the Government do not approve I should be obliged for a wire. I enclose a copy of the proposed order.

Enclosure

Proposed order.

Many requests have been received in the last few days from Mapillas of amsams round Malappuram offering to surrender themselves to the authority of Government and praying for protection.

The names of all such persons will be recorded, and subject to their good behaviour in future and to their active co-operation with the Government, no further action will be taken against those of them who have been concerned, in a ^ subordinate capacity only, in offences against the State or Government property ^ committed on or before August 26th. This concession is subject to the condition that the persons who surrender themselves inform the authorities if they know that rebels have come into their amsam and assist the police when required to arrest persons—

^ *Purely.*
^ *Unaccompanied by the use of criminal force and.*
L.D.—12-11-21.

(*a*) who have been concerned in offences against the person or property of individuals,

(*b*) who took a leading part in offences against the State or Government property committed between the 19th and the 26th August, inclusive, or

(*c*) who have been concerned in offences against the State or Government property committed since the 26th August.

Malappuram,
8th November 1921.

F. B. Evans,
Special Civil Officer, Malabar.

LXIX

Demi-official—from the Chief Secretary to Government, to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor, dated 11th November 1921.

Please see above for the order which Evans proposes to issue and please get His Excellency's orders thereon urgently as a telegram should go to Evans at once. The file ought to have gone to Sir Lionel Davidson marked *special* but did not and so has been delayed.

LXX

Telegram—No. M. 176, dated 12th November 1921, to Mr. Evans telling him that Government approved with the alterations noted in *italics* in the draft.

LXXI

Demi-official (extract)—from Mr. F. B. Evans, I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, Malabar, dated the 12th November 1921.

* * * * * *

3. Overtures have now been received from Mapillas in twenty amsams altogether, and up to date four have been 'paraded'; the bag of important criminals has not been great at present, but I expect an improvement in this respect and I think the 'surrenders' are genuine and a hopeful sign for the future. I did not expect minute criticism in the order of which I sent up a copy on the 8th and as I had received no disapproval I issued it on the 11th. I regret the addition of the words about criminal force (the other addition is superfluous); they are capable of making the whole concession practically void; if a crowd breaks open a door of an office I suppose it uses criminal force and I can see no reason why that should be treated as more serious than if the crowd threatens a Government servant for instance; if it is intended only to rule out cases where some person is assaulted they were already ruled out in my draft. I did not intend that the draft should necessarily be a stereotyped order applicable to all parts; it may be advisable to mention other dates for instance in the Arikkod area. I presume that I can alter details at my discretion.

* * * * * *

LXXII

Demi-official—to Mr. F. B. Evans, I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, Malabar, dated the 15th November 1921.

Your letter of the 12th referring to the amendments made by Government in your order.

If you will refer to the telegrams that have passed previously between this Government and the Government of India on the subject of amnesty (copies were I think sent to you) you will see that there are some people who attach great importance to the wording of such orders. I am to say that however clear you may be in your mind as to what you intend the order to cover, it is necessary to be careful that other constructions are not put on it afterwards and charges of breach of faith based thereon. Further I am to say that breaking open the door of an office would not be using criminal force as the latter has reference to a person as its object—vide section 350, Indian Penal Code.

Your suggestion that other dates might be suitable for other areas, i.e., Arikkod, is not quite understood. How can people who started active violence long after the first excitement come within the pale of your order?

Copy to Special Commissioner for Malabar.

LXXIII

Demi-official—from F. B. Evans, Esq., I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, Malabar, dated the 17th November 1921.

Thanks for your demi-official about the 'surrender' order. I trust that Government will believe that I took considerable care in wording my draft and that I purposely omitted all reference to 'violence', which was the phrase used in previous correspondence. I do not wish to quibble or argue, but I would suggest that the words 'unaccompanied by criminal force' may be open to different interpretations. In section 141, Indian Penal Code, the phrase is in one place 'by criminal force or show of criminal force', and in another 'by criminal force or show of criminal force to any person'; I don't know whether there is any difference, and I don't know whether 'unaccompanied by criminal force' includes 'show of force' or not. The typical case is this: an armed mob comes to a Government building and frightens Government servants away, or compels a policeman to hand over his arms. My intention, and I think Government's, was not to prosecute the rank and file of such a mob, unless some one had been definitely hurt; I am not sure whether Government's wording necessarily implies this. But I have no wish to reopen the matter.

2. As to the point about dates, my idea was this: the essence of the surrender order was to drop further action against the rank and file for the first rebellious acts in the Malappuram area; Arikkod did not rebel as a whole till last month, and I thought that it might be expedient and not inequitable to drop action against the rank and file concerned, e.g., in the burning of the police station there, though it did not take place till last month, if there was a genuine widespread offer of surrrender in that area after the recent drive. It is no doubt in a sense an extension of the principle of the draft, but it seems to me to be reasonable; and I should be glad to know whether the Government would be inclined to approve of such an extension.

LXXIV

Demi-official—to F. B. Evans, Esq., I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, Malabar, No. M. 186, dated 21st November 1921.

Your demi-official of the 17th about the extension of the 'surrender' order to Arikkod.

I am to say that while the Government have no objection to legal proceedings not being taken against the rank and file concerned in lesser offences against Government property in Arikkod (or indeed elsewhere), they do not consider that there would be justification for the public offer of an amnesty for acts done long after the first week of wild excitement until the time arrives for announcing a general amnesty, which can hardly be till the principal leaders are captured or killed and the active offensive spirit of the insurgents is broken.

LXXV

Telegram—to the Special Commissioner, Malabar (repeated to the Special Civil Officer), No. M. 206, dated 7th December 1921.

D (i) LXXVI. Can you give figures indicating extent to which submissions have been made and accepted in Martial Law area up to date? In replying state how far estimate may be considered reliable. Question asked by Government of India with reference to reports of surrenders.

LXXVI

Telegram—from the Special Commissioner, Malabar, dated 8th December 1921.

Your telegram M. 206 December 7th regarding submissions. I have no independent information and cannot add to reply which Evans will send.

LXXVII

Telegram—from the Special Civil Officer, Malabar, dated 9th December 1921.

Your M. 206. Surrenders. Up to and including 7th about 15,000 names of persons surrendering have been recorded from about fifty amsams. Others have petitioned and will be dealt with in turn. Figures are reliable but likely to mislead. No gang leaders and no gangs as such have surrendered yet. Surrenders include every degree of complicity from passive sympathy to active fighting.

LXXVIII

Yes. Emphatically.
L. D[AVIDSON]—13-12-21.

Mr. Evans'* reports of 8th and 10th and Mr. Knapp's letter of 10th. Surrenders should presumably be unconditional.

* See section E (e), Nos. LXXXIII, LXXXIV, LXXXVI.

'Accepted' in paragraph 4 of Mr. Evans' letter of 10th presumably means only recorded and does not imply a decision of the case against the person surrendering.

R. A. GRAHAM—12-12-21.

L. D[AVIDSON]—13-12-21.

LXXIX

Demi-official—to A. R. KNAPP, Esq., C.B.E., I.C.S., Special Commissioner, Malabar, dated the 14th December 1921, No. M. 210.

Your demi-official No. 6-E., dated 10th December 1921. With reference to paragraph 2 of Evans' daily letter of December 8th, I am to say that the Government are emphatically of opinion that all surrenders should be unconditional.

Copy to F. B. Evans, Esq., I.C.S.

Note (i).—Further correspondence with Civil authorities was chiefly concerned with the withdrawal of Martial Law [see section F (ii)], or with the Special Commissioner for Malabar affairs. It is impossible to print the whole of this correspondence in this volume and it may be found in separate office files. (See Appendix V).

Note (ii).—For correspondence about the raid on Pandalur (Nilgiris) and the consequent proposal to extend Martial Law to The Nilgiris, see section E (*d*), VII—XV, pages 229-231.

SECTION C—PRESS COMMUNIQUÉS.

No. 1, dated 22nd August 1921.

For some time past there have been indications that agitators in Malabar have been working on the well-known religious fanaticism of the more ignorant class of Mapilla. About two or three months ago the formation of so-called volunteers was noticed in certain localities. These volunteers wore a kind of uniform and sometimes a sword. At Tirurangadi parties of them began to pray at the place where the bodies were burnt of the Mapillas who were killed in the outbreak of 1894. Latterly seditious pamphlets have been circulated and seditious speeches made. It was not thought necessary to proceed against the volunteers so long as they did not actually break the law. After taking legal opinion, the Government recently sanctioned the prosecution of the author of a seditious pamphlet and the maker of a seditious speech and proceedings were about to be instituted, when the events of the last few days indicated the widespread and dangerous nature of the organization that had been created in certain parts of the Malabar district.

At the beginning of this month two cases occurred which were also reported in the Press at the time. These showed the existence of an organization among the Mapillas to resist lawful authority by force. Briefly, they were, first, that at Pukkottur near Malappuram on the pretext that the house of a Mapilla tenant had been unjustly searched by the police after a burglary in the house of a landlord (one of the Nilambur Tirumalpads) a crowd of several hundreds of Mapillas armed with knives, swords and spears collected, levied blackmail from the landlord on threat of murder and threatened to murder also the Inspector of Police. The latter officer stood his ground with great coolness and bravery and the crowd ultimately dispersed. The police, however, were powerless to arrest any of the offenders either at the time or subsequently.

The second case occurred at Tanalur near Tirur where Mapilla pickets assaulted Tiyya toddy drawers and broke their pots, and an armed crowd of Mapillas prevented the police from making any arrests. The concerted action of the crowd in these cases and their equipment showed that they were acting under some sort of organization. Information was collected as to the leaders, and the District Magistrate decided to arrest and proceed against them under the Mapilla Outrages Act, 1859. With this object the District Magistrate arrived at Tirurangadi on the early morning of Saturday the 20th accompanied by a party of the Leinster Regiment and a body of Special Police. The details of the day's occurrences have not yet been received, as telegraphic communication is interrupted ; but the following account contains the information which has reached Government.

Nothing untoward appears to have happened till 12 noon when news was brought to the District Magistrate that an armed body of Mapillas about three thousand strong was approaching Tirurangadi from the Parappanangadi railway station. The bulk of the force with the District Magistrate appears to have gone out to meet this crowd in order to disperse it. Firing was necessary and there were nine casualties and twenty arrests. Meanwhile a detachment of the party left behind at Tirurangadi was attacked and driven in by large armed bodies of Mapillas from the amsams on the east together with the local crowd. The police and military took up their position in the Sub-Magistrate's office and drove off their assailants. It is reported, however, that one officer of the Leinsters and the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Mr. Rowley, and two constables are missing. Later, the District Magistrate telegraphing from Kadalundi railway station reports that he had found it expedient to withdraw from Tirurangadi. From a telegram sent by the District Superintendent of Police of North Malabar from Calicut it is learnt that this officer went down the line as far as Parappanangadi station on Sunday morning with a repairing party, but found the station looted and learned that the line was being cut at several places further to the south and that the party returned to Calicut. The Joint Magistrate reports that he is holding Malappuram with 30 men of the Leinster

Regiment and 20 Special Police but is unable to send assistance to Manjeri whence he has received a call for help. He also reports the murder of the driver of a motor bus and of a constable. The Subdivisional Magistrate, Palghat, reports that the railway is interrupted and damaged in several places west of Shoranur, and that the post offices at Parappanangadi and Tanur have been looted and wrecked. He also mentions the report of several murders. Both Subdivisional officers report that telegraphic and road communications have been interrupted by the cutting of wires and felling of trees.

The Government in consultation with the General Officer Commanding, Madras District, have ordered the enforcement of special measures for the safeguarding of the railway line westward from Podanur and have arranged for the immediate despatch of additional troops from Bangalore.

No. 2, dated 23rd August 1921.

Further news has been received from the Collector at Calicut to the effect that a mob numbering several thousand Mapillas is reported to have captured the Sub-Magistrate, the Police Inspector, two soldiers and one European at Tirur and burnt the public offices at that place. The fate of the captured persons is unknown. Military dispositions are proceeding expeditiously.

No. 3, dated Fort St. George, the 4th August 1921.

The military operations in connexion with the disturbances in Malabar are progressing satisfactorily.

The following telegraphic report, dated 23rd August 1921, received from the District Magistrate, Calicut, is published for general information. *Begins*—

" Following complete resume events since Friday night. Contemplated surprise Tirurangadi successful as surprise. Unsuccessful as regards arrests. Only three men arrested out of those wanted with one war-knife. Searches ceased about 10. Town then quiet. Twenty-five reserve men left continue search for absconding warrantees.

" Clear that news of our action sent out round country-side. At quarter to twelve news came crowd 2,000 Mapillas from Tanur, come by train Parappanangadi and other places on west advancing on us. At noon police and myself went out to meet and disperse them, supported by troops. Contact made 12–30. Mob called disperse, advanced steadily. Police charged with fixed bayonets and were met with sticks. In self-defence firing began from front rank with nine known casualties. Crowd partly yielded, partly dispersed to parambas on both flanks.

" Lancaster, Assistant Superintendent of Police, struck with club. Without further firing police pushed crowd back slowly to one mile from Parappanangadi and returned with 40 prisoners at 15 hours. Learnt then that crowd estimated 2,000 drove in Tirurangadi Police party and attacked platoon Leinsters guarding camp. Dispersed with Lewis guns and magazine fire. Rowley with this party. Not known how Rowley and Johnstone of Leinsters became separated from men. After much-needed meal we were preparing search for them when after 17 hours news came that bodies and head constable's body lying by road near camp. Bodies recovered hours 17–30. Bodies terribly mutilated and hacked. Returned camp and prepared defence for night anticipating attack from 2,000 men reported assembled in mosque. Nineteen hours Deputy Tahsildar reported from Parappanangadi Railway station and post office sacked and line cut. About 19 hours handed over situation Officer Commanding as one beyond civil powers. Unexpectedly night was peaceful. Sunday at 8–30 hours after burying our dead marched back Parappanangadi. Impossible remain without rations or communications in face vastly superior numbers. Arrived Parappanangadi 10–30 hours. At 14 hours column began march along Railway for Kadalundi beating off several attacks on both flanks, front and rear during first three miles. Line had been cut three places, intention obviously being to isolate column. Arrived Kadalundi 17 hours. Learnt line being cut near Chaliar bridge and tried to intercept. Came too late and therefore marched to Feroke. Arrived 20 hours. Line cut Calicut side Feroke bridge being then under repair. Train awaiting. Entrained about 22 hours arrived Calicut midnight. Had column not returned most probably

Calicut would have been looted. Monday morning required Officer Commanding take charge Calicut for sufficient reasons. Line repairs proceeded with. Situation now as follows.

Known that Malappuram Detachment isolated. Line cut to Kuttipuram, perhaps beyond. Road blocked, bridges broken from 10th mile from Calicut, also Malappuram, Tirur and Nilambur roads similarly blocked, probably also other trunk roads, Kottakkal Sub-Registrar's office and Post office, Tirur offices, Manjeri treasury, Tirurangadi offices, after our evacuation known to have been gutted. Two British soldiers, one European from Tile works, 15 police, and the local officials Tirur prisoners." *Ends.*

The Government have also received information from the Inspector-General of Police indicating that the Force at Malappuram is all right. Having observed from the *Daily Express* of the 23rd a long report emanating from a correspondent of Trichur the Government requested the Publicity Officer to caution the Press in Madras against the publication of unverified hearsay stories calculated to cause alarm. The need for this caution is emphasised by the appearance in the next issue of the *Daily Express* of a large type heading *Mr. Austin Still Missing.* This officer is in charge at Malappuram. Further the *Hindu* of Tuesday the 23rd publishes a long message 'from our own correspondent' at Shoranur much of which is entirely without foundation and untrue. The correspondent admittedly based his story on hearsay reports which he has made no attempt to verify, as in his own words it was too risky to go to the scene of operations. The mischief done by the publication of such matter is in no way reduced by qualifying remarks on the part of the correspondent or the editor to the effect that the authority of the information cannot be vouched for for acceptance without indisputable corroboration. The Government confidently hope that the responsible Press of Madras will recognize this aspect of the matter and will support them by refusing to publish any unverified reports of an alarming nature which they may receive.

No. 4, dated 25th August 1921.

Military operations continue to progress satisfactorily. The General Officer Commanding has been requested to telegraph daily such particulars as can properly be published.

Information has reached Government that the sub-treasury at Walluvanad and other public offices at that place have been looted.

H.M.S. *Comus* arrives at Calicut to-day.

His Excellency the Governor granted an interview to Mr. Yaqub Hassan today. Mr. Yaqub Hassan offered to go to Malabar and use his influence in composing the present disturbances. His Excellency pointed out to Mr. Yaqub Hassan that he was an avowed member of a movement which directly aimed at upsetting constituted authority, and that there was every reason to suppose that the present disturbances were due to the persistent efforts of the organization of which he was a prominent member. His Excellency further pointed out that Mr. Yaqub Hassan's sentiments as disclosed in his letter published in the *Hindu* newspaper last night made it clear that his influence would more probably be irritating than soothing ; for example, he used violent language with reference to speeches made and Fatwas issued by Moulvies whom he described as renegades in the pay or influence of the Government, gentlemen whom Government well knew are highly respected leaders of the community. His Excellency further pointed out to Mr. Yaqub Hassan that the whole tone of his letter showed that he had prejudged the situation, for it contained repeated references to the tyranny of the police and the provocative action of the Government. His Excellency therefore declined to accept Mr. Yaqub Hassan's offer or to advise him as to his further course of action. At the same time His Excellency informed Mr. Yaqub Hassan that the greater part of Malabar was under Martial Law.

No. 5, dated 26th August 1921.

The following telegram has been received from General Officer Commanding, Wellington, concerning military operations in Malabar :—" Repair of road Calicut-Malappuram and railway southwards to Tirur proceeding satisfactorily. Railway from Shoranur repaired to Pallipuram. Concentration of necessary troops completed,

and country in areas occupied by troops quiet. Total casualties to troops since rebellion broke out have been one officer (Lieut. Johnstone, Attached Leinsters) murdered, and two men missing. Health of troops is excellent. All troops in the best of spirits."

H.M.S. *Comus* has arrived at Calicut and will remain there for the present. Asiatic line S. S. *Nawab* has left Bombay for Calicut and is expected to arrive on Sunday with ample supplies.

Mr. F. B. Evans, I.C.S., has been appointed Special Civil Officer with the Officer Commanding Troops, Malabar, until such time as communications with the District Magistrate, Malabar, are completely restored.

The District Magistrate, Calicut, reports that dacoities, looting and murders of Hindus are occurring all over Ernad, Walluvanad, Ponnani and the eastern parts of Calicut taluk. The road to Malappuram from Calicut has been repaired for nine miles, and a column for the relief of Malappuram is advancing. The District Magistrate confirms the report of the murder of Inspector Reedman, Malappuram Special Force, and his Mapilla orderly on August 20th. The postal authorities report serious rioting at Kannamangalam, near Calicut, on the Calicut-Vayitiri road. This is not referred to, however, by the District Magistrate.

It must not be overlooked that the District Magistrate at Calicut is isolated from the greater part of the district and his information is therefore necessarily incomplete.

Information has reached Government from a well-known Hindu vakil of Walluvanad, who fled from Mapilla violence on August 23rd, and reached Madras on 24th morning that besides sacking the public offices at Angadipuram and destroying currency-notes, records, and stamps, the rebels plundered the important Hindu houses in the neighbourhood and carried off jewels, cash and paddy, and on his way to the Railway he saw small bands of Mapillas looting private granaries. He states that one of the features of the rebellion is the wholesale destruction of liquor shops throughout the disturbed area. He also reports that Police stations throughout Walluvanad have been raided and the rebels have forced the wealthy janmis to give up their arms.

From another source information has been received of the safety of Mr. Narayana Ayyar, Sub-Magistrate, Tirur, who was at first reported to be a prisoner in the hands of the Mapillas.

No. 6, dated 26th August 1921.

The Government have noticed statements in the Press to the effect that the additional police who were drafted into the city at the time of the recent disturbances have been all removed and sent to Malabar. This is incorrect. Only about 100 of the 300 Police so drafted have left Madras and they have returned to their respective districts.

No. 7, dated 27th August 1921.

The General Officer Commanding, Wellington, has sent the following telegram on the Military situation in Malabar: "No further developments to report regarding Military situation in Malabar, where troops are making steady progress. Widespread robbery and violence, directed against Hindu population in Ernad and Walluvanad taluks is reported. Patrol train from Calicut reached Tirur, rescued two men Leinsters previously reported missing. Calicut quiet. Movable column from Calicut reported within four miles Malappuram, still advancing."

The District Magistrate, Malabar, reports the situation on the 26th at 15 hours to be as follows. The Railway has been restored except for about 10 much damaged miles and through communication is expected in about four days. The internal situation is worse. Wholesale arson looting and occasional murders are reported from all parts of the affected area. Large parties of Mapilla rebels are entering Kurumbranad taluk inland from Calicut taluk. Mr. Tippetts of the Calicut estate just escaped with his life, and a rescue party has been sent for Mr. Norman of the Kinalur estate. Troops have also been requisitioned from Cannanore to meet and

disperse these roving gangs north of Calicut. Since the arrival of the *Comus*, Calicut has been quiet, but there has been a large influx of deserters from Ernad taluk. To help in restoring public confidence an armed party from the 'Comus' was to land in Calicut on the 26th. The reports of the escape of Mr. Brown of the Kerala estate, and Mr. Colebrook and of the murder of Mr. Eaton of the Pullangod estate are confirmed, also the arrival at Calicut of the three Europeans and others who were taken prisoners by the Mapillas at Tirur. Mrs. Brown and Mrs. Eaton are safe in Calicut.

Owing to the disorganization of business and communications caused by the rebellion, the whole of the affected area is now threatened with famine. Fires have been observed up the Calicut-Vayitiri road. The Forest Officer's bungalow at Nilambur, with the range officer's quarters and the lines there have been gutted. The District Forest Officer, Mr. Chandy, the rangers and the forest subordinates are all prisoners.

The Subdivisional Magistrate, Palghat, reports that gangs of Mapilla rebels are roaming about Ponnani taluk boasting that they have now got Swaraj and consequently are plundering houses, and destroying all liquor shops. Seven rebels captured by the Railway Police have been confined in the Palghat jail. The Thuppanad and other bridges on the Palghat-Mannarghat road have been damaged and the road blocked. Looting and black-mailing by the rebels are going on at Thuppanad, Kongad and neighbouring places. Palghat is safe.

In reply to a telegram from the United Planters' Association of Southern India, Government have given them such information as they possess about the safety of various planters. Orders have been issued for the supply of emergency arms and ammunition to planter units of the Auxiliary Force at Pandalur, Meppadi and Vayitiri in the Wynad.

The following telegrams are published for general information :—

(1) *To the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Madras.*

As soon as physically practicable desire going affected area Malabar with reliable Malayalam-knowing friend. Excellency probably aware my views extent limitations usefulness yet feel it duty reach area and press cessation violence. Please request Excellency and inform if can go. Am ignorant nature of orders passed regarding ingress and movement in area. Would like obey lawful orders.

C. Rajagopalachari,
General Secretary, Congress, Tanjore.

(2) *Telegram sent in reply.*

Reference :—Your telegram to Private Secretary of to-day. I am to say that affected area is under Martial Law. Government can give you no advice as to possibility of proceeding.

N. E. Marjoribanks,
Acting Chief Secretary.

An Ordinance declaring that Martial Law prevails in the affected area in Malabar has been promulgated by the Governor-General.

No. 8, dated 29th August 1921.

The following telegram was received on Saturday 27th evening from the General Officer Commanding, Wellington, concerning the Military situation in Malabar :—

"Detachment British Infantry with Lewis guns sent out as support to Police and planters in Nilgiri-Wynad. Operations progressing satisfactorily in Malabar. Troops from Calicut reported in Malappuram to-day, not yet confirmed. Column from Kuttipuram left this morning to join forces with Calicut garrison."

The following is his report for Sunday 28th :—

"Calicut quiet. S.S. *Nawab* arrived there to-day with supplies. Line reported through to Podanur from Calicut. No reports from Malappuram. District Magistrate, Calicut, reported rioting unarmed Mapillas in South Ponnani last night.

Detachment reports all quiet at Gudalur, and on roads leading into it. Famine reported probable in Malabar due to effect of looting and destruction of communications."

The District Magistrate reports that Calicut is filling with refugees, including Nambudris. The railway line is open for running by day from Calicut to Podanur. Ali Mussaliar who was not arrested is now at Tirurangadi, and styles himself Raja. Mr. F. B. Evans, I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, with the Troops in Malabar and Colonel Humphreys arrived at Calicut on 28th and conferred with the District Magistrate and the Naval Commander. With reference to certain misstatements that have appeared in the Press the District Magistrate states that no attempt was made to arrest any Tangal, either in a mosque or elsewhere. One mosque was searched for arms at Tirurangadi on the 20th, first by loyal Mapillas, and afterwards by a head constable and a Deputy Superintendent of Police both of whom are Mapillas and removed their boots before entering the building.

With reference to the statement that appeared in the Press that the District Magistrate had permitted a number of Congress and Khilāfat workers to visit the disturbed area and use their influence with the rebels, the District Magistrate reports that Mr. Kesava Menon did ask him for permission to go and intercede with the rebels, and that he allowed him to do so with a party of Congress workers, but that they soon returned from Tirurangadi convinced of the impossibility of reasoning with the Mapillas.

The Subdivisional Magistrate, Palghat, reported on the 27th that he visited Thuppanad on the 26th and found one span of the bridge there broken and trees thrown across the road south of the bridge. On the 28th the same officer reported that Mannarghat and Nattukkal police stations were looted on the 22nd, and the carbines and ammunition carried off. The rebels were also forcibly collecting arms from licence-holders and were impressing Hindus to assist in the work of destroying communications. Refugees were reaching Palghat from the neighbourhood of Mannarghat, but Palghat taluk itself remained quiet.

Martial Law has been extended to the taluks of Kurumbranad and Malabar-Wynad, and Major-General Burnett-Stuart has been appointed Military Commander for the whole Martial Law area.

No. 8-A, dated 29th August 1921.

News has just been received from the District Magistrate, Malabar, and the General Officer Commanding, Madras District, that the detachment of Leinsters and Special Police Force which left Calicut for the relief of Malappuram was attacked at Pukkotur, a few miles from Malappuram, by a large body of Mapilla rebels at about 11 o'clock on the morning of August 26th. The Mapillas were well—armed with carbines captured from police stations they had looted, as well as with some sporting rifles and swords and war-knives. They displayed their traditional ferocity and eagerness for death, and after five hours' fighting were beaten off, their casualties being estimated at 400 killed. Two British soldiers were killed; and an officer and five men were wounded. Mr. Lancaster, Assistant Superintendent of Police, was shot and has since died. The detachment has reached Malappuram where they found all safe and well.

No. 9, dated 30th August 1921.

The following telegram has been received from the General Officer Commanding, Wellington, regarding the military situation in Malabar on August 29th:—

" A small movable column from Calicut had engagement with rebels on 26th killing about 400. Our casualties two killed, six wounded, including one officer. This column relieved Malappuram Detachment and was joined there by column from Kuttipuram. Operations along railway north of Tirur proceeding. All quiet Tirur and on railway. Further details engagement Pukkotur. Rebels attempted ambush column firing from front, rear and flanks. Were dispersed after four hours' hand-to-hand fighting. No further opposition, and Malappuram now quiet."

The Subdivisional Magistrate, Palghat, reports that on the 22nd August the rebels looted the police station, post office, amsam cutcherry at Kattuparutti, near Kuttipuram, destroyed records and uniforms and carried away carbines.

The Officer Commanding, Malabar, reports that a telegraph repair party was interfered with by Mapillas at Parappanangadi.

The District Magistrate states that Calicut is quiet. This morning the Officer Commanding, Malabar, wires that he has nothing to report.

No. 10, dated 31st August 1921.

The following telegram has been received from the General Officer Commanding, Wellington, regarding the military situation in Malabar on the 30th August :—

"Movable columns were to converge on Tirurangadi to-day, where Collector reported large number of rebels assembled. Reports of rebel attack on small British force near Pukkottur on 26th show that rebels attacked in most determined manner. Mallapuram since quiet."

Mr. Chandy, the District Forest Officer, Nilambur, who was reported to have been captured with some of his subordinates, is now known to be safe. The repair of the railway line is proceeding.

Nothing else of importance has been reported anywhere in Malabar or the Wynad.

A telegram from the Diwan of Cochin, who had just returned from a visit to Ponnani, states that the officials and offices there are safe though isolated, that numerous dacoities have been committed by Mapillas in the taluk since the 22nd August, the victims being Nambudri and Nayar landlords, and that large quantities of paddy and rice have been looted. In the kasba station 45 dacoities have been registered during the above period. Nearly all the liquor shops in the taluk are said to have been burnt.

No. 11, dated 1st September 1921.

The following telegram has been received from the General Officer Commanding, Madras district, regarding the military operations in Malabar on 31st August :—

"Operations Tirurangadi carried out yesterday according to plan. No opposition. Calicut and railway quiet. Gudalur quiet. Small parties Mapillas returning to homes in Malabar. Naval support no longer required on West Coast. H.M.S. *Comus* leaving."

Colonel Humphreys of the Leinsters has been appointed Military Commander in the Martial Law area.

The Subdivisional Magistrate, Palghat, wired yesterday that the Mannarghat Sub-Registrar's office was broken open on the 29th August and the records removed. He adds that at Melattur many Hindus have been forcibly converted to Muhammadanism, and that in North Ponnani many dacoities are being committed.

No. 12, dated 2nd September 1921.

The following telegram has been received from the General Officer Commanding, Wellington, regarding the military situation in Malabar on September 1st :—

"As sequel to operations Tirurangadi, yesterday party of rebels, who had harboured in mosque, emerged and attacked troops, and were either killed or captured. Our casualties one killed, four wounded, presumably Second Dorsets. Ali Mussaliar, an important rebel, captured.

The District Magistrate, Malabar, reports that retired Police Inspector, Khan Bahadur Cheykutti, and a Mapilla constable were murdered by the rebels near Manjeri, and their heads carried through the bazaar on spears. He also says that wholesale conversions to Muhammadanism are reported from Melattur, Karavarakundu and the neighbourhood. The rebels are offering Hindus the alternatives of death or Islam.

[*Note.*—Nos. 13–18 simply repeat the information given in the General Officer Commanding's daily Press telegrams and are therefore not reproduced here.]

No. 19, dated 21st September 1921.

The following telegram has been received from the General Officer Commanding, Madras District, regarding the military situation in Malabar on 20th September:—

Small column from Malappuram reports 100 rebels seen north and south of Manjeri-Calicut road near Manjeri, but no collision occurred. Otherwise nothing to report.

The following correspondence is published for general information:—

Telegram from M.R.Ry. C. Rajagopala Achariyar, Congress Office, Trichinopoly, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated the 20th September 1921.

Working Committee Indian National Congress voted funds for immediately distributing relief among sufferers disturbed area Malabar. As General Secretary am asked personally distribute such relief. Propose to carry mission with aid local men namely K. P. Kesava Menon, K. Madhava Nair, A. Karunakara Menon. To remove misapprehension am prepared give undertaking on behalf of myself and above named that we shall not do any political propaganda work whilst distributing relief. Pray favour early reply whether Government prepared give necessary permission facilities.

Telegram from the Chief Secretary to Government, to M.R.Ry. C. Rajagopala Achariyar, Congress Office, Trichinopoly, dated the 21st September 1921.

Your telegram of 20th. Your application should be made to the Military Commander whose headquarters are Tirur. Government cannot advise you in the matter but would deprecate multiplication of relief agencies. Government understand a relief fund administered by non-official committee has already been started at Calicut.

[*Note.*—After this date such press communiqués as were issued merely repeated the information given in the General Officer Commanding's daily telegrams (see Section A) or in the weekly telegrams to the Government of India (see Section D (ii))].

SECTION D (i)—GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

[NOTE.—*This correspondence is not in strictly chronological order. The method of arrangement has been to group together correspondence on the same subject, so that a telegram may be followed immediately by the reply to it.*]

I

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 8, dated the 21st August 1921.

I-V. Situation—Reports.

Troops and Police who were assisting District Magistrate, Malabar, in making arrests of dangerous leaders under Mapilla Outrages Act, have been heavily attacked by armed bodies of Mapillas at Tirurangadi. Casualties reported so far, one Officer Leinsters, and Assistant Superintendent of Police and two constables missing. Railway stations at Parappanangadi and Kadalundi attacked and looted, also Post offices at former place and at Tanur. Arrangements made with General Officer Commanding to send necessary reinforcements. Troops and Police at Tirurangadi and also Detachment Leinsters at Malappuram are apparently on defensive with communications cut.

II

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 11, dated the 22nd August 1921.

Continuation cipher telegram of yesterday. Malabar affairs. District Magistrate reports from Kadalundi he has abandoned Tirurangadi and Government suppose he is withdrawing to Calicut. He requests military take charge, as situation beyond civil control. Subdivisional Magistrate, Malappuram, reports that he is holding Malappuram with 30 Leinsters and 20 Special Police, and is unable to send assistance to Manjeri from which place he has received call for help. Palghat Subdivisional Magistrate reports railway interrupted and damaged several places west Shoranur and both Magistrates report telegraphic and road communication interrupted by cutting of wires and felling of trees. This Government, at request of General Officer Commanding, have sanctioned introduction railway security scheme west of Podanur and are satisfied from reports received that condition of open rebellion exists and that Martial Law should be established in the taluks of Ernad, Walluvanad and Ponnani. Conditions now correspond to state of affairs described Chapter II, Martial Law Manual, and this Government therefore consider regular action as contemplated in Chapter III should be taken and Martial Law introduced by Ordinance of Governor-General.

III

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 12, dated the 22nd August 1921. Despatched about 16 hours.

Malabar. Continuation my telegram to-day. District Magistrate wires he has received reports that mob 10,000 captured at Tirur two soldiers, one European, also Sub-Magistrate and Police Inspector. Fate unknown. Offices burnt.

IV

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 27, dated the 23rd August 1921. Despatched 19 hours.

Malabar. In continuation my telegram of yesterday. On receipt message from District Magistrate that situation in Calicut was critical, that women and children had been evacuated to Barracks, and asking that warship be sent to Calicut with supplies, this Government communicated with Naval C–in–C, Colombo who intimates departure for Calicut this morning of H.M.S. "Comus" to be followed by H.M.S. "Espiegle" if required. District Magistrate to-day reports Calicut surrounded all sides except north, and expects rising in town if Mapillas from outside enter. In circumstances Ordinance should apply Martial Law to Calicut taluk also. Police Inspector, Walluvanad, telegraphs two police stations attacked, carbines taken, and records burnt.

V

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 30, dated the 24th August 1921.

Continuation my telegram yesterday M. 27. More detailed report received from District Magistrate has been published as Press Communiqué. District Magistrate instructed investigate fully circumstances death Rowley and Johnstone. In addition to treasury at Manjeri gutting of which is reported by District Magistrate, Tahsildar, Walluvanad, reports looting of that sub-treasury and destruction other public offices. Accountant-General estimates Rs. 1,30,000 cash and four and a half lakhs notes in former, and Rs. 27,000 cash in latter Treasury. H.M.S. "Comus" expected Calicut noon to-morrow.

VI

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 24th August 1921. [Despatched 4–25. Received noon.]

ABSTRACT.—Draft Martial Law Ordinance. [See section F (i) III]. VI—XVI. Martial Law.

VII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 31, dated the 24th August 1921.

Your telegram to-day Martial Law. Madras Government agree that Ordinance should be promulgated and accept view that provisions 11 and 12 namely for Special Tribunal and Summary General Courts-Martial are unnecessary at present. They accept other provisions with modifications suggested. Area to be notified should be taluks of Ernad, Walluvanad, Ponnani and Calicut of the Malabar district. Date under provision 6 should be August 19th.

VIII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 488, Pol., dated the 26th August 1921.

Announcing the promulgation of Martial Law and adding the following :—

Government of India presume power of distributing criminal cases will be delegated to some civil authority and hope care will be taken in distribution to ensure important cases not tried by third-class magistrates. Government of India also draw attention of Local Government to fact that only persons who can be empowered under section 6 are magistrates. Please repeat ordinance to Madras District Command. Addressed Madras. Repeated Southern Command.

IX

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 52, dated the 27th August 1921.

Your 488 of 26th. Martial Law, Malabar. Please wire clear line immediately date notified in *Gazette of India* under section 7 (*b*) of Ordinance.

X

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 27th August 1921.

Your telegram 27th instant. Martial Law Malabar. Date notified 19th August.

XI

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 54, dated the 27th August 1921.

Malabar. *My telegram of August 27th M. 52. Under the circumstances there stated the Governor in Council requests extension Martial Law Ordinance to the Wynad and Kurumbranad taluks of Malabar.

* See No. XIX.

XII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 496, Pol., dated the 27th August 1921.

Your telegram M. 54 of 27th August. Malabar. By notification issued to-day Governor-General in Council is extending Martial Law Ordinance to Wynad and Kurumbranad taluks of Malabar with reference to section 7 (*b*) of Ordinance. Please wire clear-the-line date which should be notified by Governor-General in Council for these areas.

XIII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 60, dated the 28th August 1921.

Your telegram Home No. 496, dated 27th August.

Owing to the defective state of communications, it is difficult to say exactly when overt acts of rebellion first took place in the taluks of Kurumbranad and Wynad. Moreover it is undesirable to proclaim different dates for limited and contiguous areas. The Governor in Council therefore recommends that the date for these two taluks also should be August 19th.

XIV

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 507 Pol., dated the 29th August 1921.

Martial Law Malabar. Your telegram No. M. 60 of August 28. Notification under section 7 (*b*) of Martial Law Ordinance declaring August 19th as the date referred to in that section in respect of the Wynad and Kurumbranad taluks. Government of India do not consider altogether convincing the reasons given in your telegram for having the same date in all areas. During the Punjab disturbances it was one of the chief grounds of complaint that retrospective effect was given to Martial Law Ordinances without sufficient justification, courts established by Ordinance thus acquiring power to try offences before Martial Law was promulgated. In case of Wynad and Kurumbranad taluks Government of India would prefer to notify date on which the military actually took charge unless before then the number of offences committed in connexion with the disturbances were too numerous to be tried by ordinary courts. On consideration of this aspect please communicate date to be notified. Should Ordinance be extended to further area, date to be notified should be, except as indicated above, date on which military actually took over control of the situation.

XV

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 75, dated the 30th August 1921.

Home 507 Pol., 29th. First reports of military intervention were on 25th. Cannot say at present whether offences prior to that were too numerous for trial by ordinary courts. Local Government therefore prepared though with great reluctance accept 24th.

XVI

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 530 Pol., dated the 31st August 1921.

Notification issued to-day 30th under section 7 (*b*) Martial Law Ordinance declaring 24th August as date applicable under that section for Wynad and Kurumbranad taluks.

XVII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 38, dated the 25th August 1921.

Situation. District Magistrate, Calicut, reports Comus arrived. Situation Calicut quiet but dacoity, looting, and murder of Hindus rife in Walluvanad, Ernad and Ponnani taluks, also east of Calicut taluk. Relief party left Calicut for Malappuram to-day. Inspector Reedman, of Malappuram, Special Force, murdered on 20th with his

Mapilla orderly. Two planters reported murdered are believed to have escaped Ootacamund. This being verified. Military operations progressing satisfactorily as will be seen from reports of General Officer Commanding, Wellington, to Chief General Staff, Simla. Evans, I.C.S., appointed Civil officer with Officer Commanding Troops, Malabar, Podanur.

XVIII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 480, Pol., dated the 26th August 1921. Despatched 8–5 hours. Received 10–18 hours.

Following from Secretary of State. *Begins*—Your telegram dated 22nd August. Mapilla outbreak. Please telegraph as soon as possible names of any officers killed or injured. Death of Lieut. Johnstone already reported through War Office—*Ends.* We have wired names of Rowley and Reedman. If any other officers killed or injured, please wire Secretary of State direct repeating to us. We presume Secretary of State refers only to British officers. British casualties.

XIX

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M-52, dated the 27th August 1921.

Malabar internal situation 26th. Affected area now includes Kurumbranad taluk which has been entered by large parties of Mapilla rebels. Indian troops have been requisitioned from Cannanore to meet and deal with these. Owing to disorganization of business and communications, the whole affected area now threatened with famine. Planter Eaton of Pullangod estate now definitely reported killed. Planters Brown and Colebrook have arrived safely Ootacamund. Planter Tippetts escaped Calicut. Relief party sent for Planter Norman. The Forest Officer's bungalow, Nilambur, also Range Officer's quarters and lines gutted. District Forest Officer, Chandy, rangers and forest subordinates all prisoners. Palghat Subdivisional Magistrate reports gangs Mapillas roaming Ponnani taluk plundering houses and liquor shops and boasting that Swaraj established. Incursion into Wynad threatened. Emergency issue arms ammunition to planter units Auxiliary Force being ordered. Situation.

Relief force reported within four miles Malappuram 26th. Railway Calicut restored except 10 badly damaged miles. Special Civil Officer hopes to establish contact with Calicut to-night.

Reference—Your telegram No. 480-Political. No further casualties of European officers to report.

XX

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 498 Pol., dated the 28th August 1921.

Malabar disturbances. The Government of India would be glad if the Local Government could supply as soon as possible a general appreciation of the situation, both civil and military, in view of the approaching opening of the Legislative Assembly. Has the Local Government any objection to their fortnightly report of August 20th being used in the Legislative Assembly? The Government of India would be glad to know if the Local Government are satisfied that their resources are adequate in all respects to deal with the situation, or if more troops are needed. Please say if the Government of India can take any further action to assist the Local Government. Has the Martial Law Ordinance been found suitable in actual practice, if not what additions or modifications would the Local Government suggest? Offer of assistance.

XXI

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 513 Pol., dated the 29th August 1921.

In continuation of Home Department telegram No. 498, dated 28th August, please include in appreciation of the situation number of casualties on both sides so far as known, also if possible give a rough estimate of material damage done to property, etc. Estimate of casualties and damage.

XXII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M-76, dated the 30th August 1921.

XXII—XXVI. Replies to XX and XXI. Supplementary Ordinance asked for.

Your telegram No. 498, Political, dated 28th August 1921. Appreciation general situation—Malabar. Railway to Calicut has been temporarily restored for running by day, and is being held by troops. Garrison Malappuram having been brought back to Calicut, the whole interior of South Malabar except Palghat taluk is in the hands of the rebels. Probable that the troops will again have to meet and overcome determined resistance by the rebels in force. Subsequent operations will take the form of locating and dealing with numerous small and mobile parties of Mapillas in extremely difficult country. Active assistance by loyal inhabitants cannot be counted on. Situation from point of view of civil administration is that local machinery of Government has broken down. Throughout the affected area Government offices have been wrecked and looted, and records destroyed. Communications have been obstructed. Those officials who have not escaped are, so far as known, either captives or in hiding. All Government offices and courts have ceased to function and ordinary business is at a standstill. Famine conditions imminent portions affected area. Europeans and numerous Hindu refugees of all classes now concentrated at Calicut. Other parts of the Presidency. Non-co-operation propaganda has produced a serious state of unrest and contempt for authority in the districts of Gōdāvari, Kistna and Guntūr. In Madras City industrial disputes stimulated by some propaganda have now developed into caste warfare necessitating repeated armed intervention by police supported by troops. No objection suggested use our fortnightly report of 20th August.

XXIII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 30th August 1921.

Reference my clear the line telegram No. M. 76 in penultimate sentence for "stimulated by some propaganda" read "stimulated by the same propaganda."

XXIV

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 77, dated the 30th August 1921.

Continuation my en clair telegram No. M. 76 of 30th. With reference to the concluding portion your telegram No. 498 Pol., dated 28th August, Malabar. Subject to military advice local Government consider two more British battalions will be required for some time restore normal conditions of law and order in Malabar. Elsewhere display military force in districts Gōdāvari, Kistna and Guntūr necessary as already suggested—see our letter *No. 285-S, dated 18th August. In Madras City substantial addition to present slender British garrison imperative. Government consider it essential put an end to present intolerable feeling of insecurity, prevalent among all classes of the community.

* See S. F. 330

XXV

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 78, dated the 30th August 1921.

Continuation my No. M. 77 of 30th. Martial Law Ordinance. It is too early to appreciate the working of the ordinance in practice. However, having regard to large number of cases waging war, murder, arson, dacoity and other crimes of violence, with which ordinary courts will be unable to deal in any reasonable time Government now consider it necessary to provide by ordinance for the establishment of at least one Special Tribunal which would consist of one High Court Judge and two Sessions Judges, one European and one Indian.

XXVI

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M-79, dated the 30th August 1921.

Reference †Home No. 513 Pol., 29th and continuation my ‡ No. M. 76. It is impossible at present collect even approximate particulars loss of life and property disturbed area under circumstances stated in last telegram. Casualties so far as

† XXI ‡ XXII

known :—Troops-killed—one officer, two men, wounded—one officer, five men. Police, killed—two Assistant Superintendents, one Inspector, two head constables, wounded—not reported. Planter Eaton definitely reported killed. Unverified reports numerous murders Hindu civil population. Rebel casualties not definitely reported except at Pukkottur where killed estimated at four hundred.

XXVII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 69, dated the 29th August 1921.

Malabar District Magistrate reports that Detachment Leinsters and Special Police force that left Calicut on 25th for the relief of Malappuram was attacked at Pukkottur, a few miles from Malapuram, by a large body of rebels at about 11 o'clock on the morning of the 26th. The Mapillas were armed with carbines captured from police stations they had looted as well as with some sporting rifles and swords and war-knives. They displayed their traditional ferocity and eagerness for death, and after five hours' fighting were beaten off, their casualties being estimated at 400 killed. Two British soldiers reported killed and an officer and five men wounded. Lancaster, Assistant Superintendent of Police, was shot and has since died. Secretary of State informed. The detachment reached Malappuram where they found all safe and well and has returned with the Malappuram garrison to Calicut. Railway is now temporarily repaired through to Calicut for day—running. No further news of rebels from the Nilgiris border, nor from Kurumbranad. **Situation.**

XXVIII

Telegram—to the Secretary of State, London, No. M. 70, dated the 29th August 1921.

Malabar disturbance. Lancaster, Assistant Superintendent of Police, died of wounds after encounter with Mapillas on 26th August.

XXIX

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 502-Pol., dated the 29th August 1921.

XXIX—XXX. Gandhi and Muhammad Ali.

The Government of India have seen press telegrams stating that Gandhi and Muhammad Ali have been invited by the Kerala Congress Committee to visit Malabar with a view to pacify the Mapillas. Military authorities have full power under Martial Law to exclude them from the Martial Law areas. Government of India approve arrest of Muhammad Ali as proposed in paragraph 6 of your letter * No. 284 S. of 18th August if Local Government consider this necessary. They would be glad to learn what action the Local Government propose in regard to Gandhi should he enter the neighbourhood of the Martial Law area. They do not however think it likely that either of the two persons named will accept the invitation of the Congress Committee.

* See S. F. 326

XXX

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M 80, dated the 30th August 1921.

Your telegram No. 502-Pol., dated 29th. Please refer my telegram † No. 76, dated 30th. In view of state Northern districts there reported and also of Madras City, Madras Government propose to arrest Muhammad Ali on entering Presidency. Do not propose arrest Gandhi unless he offends against ordinary law.

† XXII.

XXXI

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 562 Pol., dated the 2nd September 1921.

XXXI—XXXII. Supplementary Ordinance.

Your telegram of August 30th, ‡ No. M. 78. Terms of Supplementary Ordinance regarding special tribunals under consideration. Ordinance will probably be promulgated September 5th.

‡ XXV.

XXXII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 582, dated the 5th September 1921.

Abstract.—Enclosing text of the Supplementary Ordinance. [See F (i) XXVII.]

XXXIII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 575, dated the 3rd September 1921.

XXXIII—XXXIV. Casualties and damage.

Notice received of question Council of State asking for following information regarding Mapilla disturbance—(1) number of casualties amongst Mapillas in firing by troops, (2) number of officials murdered by Mapillas, (3) amount of damage to property by mob. Can Local Government add any information on these points to that given in their telegram M. 79, August 30th. Please telegraph reply.

XXXIV

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 89, dated the 4th September 1921.

Your telegram No. 575, dated 3rd September 1921. Only additional official information received since despatch my telegrams Nos. 76 and 79 of August 29th and 30th is that on 31st August a party of rebels attacked troops at Tirurangadi. Twenty-four rebels were killed and thirty-eight captured. Our casualties three privates killed and four wounded. Troops now advancing into area hitherto held by rebels. Until that area is effectively re-occupied it will not be possible to ascertain the loss of life and property public and private due to the outbreak. Heaviest rebel casualties occurred—

(1) at Tirurangadi on 20th August where troops were on the defensive,

(2) in repelling repeated attacks during withdrawal to Calicut on 21st, and

(3) at Pukkottur on 26th when troops marching relief of Malappuram, were ambushed and had to fight their way through. On none of these occasions evidently was it possible to stop and count the enemy casualties. It is understood that the dead and wounded were removed by the rebels themselves. Would observe that use of the word mob in this connexion suggests entire misapprehension of the nature of the outbreak.

XXXV

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 561 Pol., dated the 2nd September 1921.

XXXV—XXXIX, Care of wounded. [See B (ii) XLVI—XLVII.] Martial Law instructions.

Mapilla disorders. Please see Chapter IV, paragraph 12, Martial Law instructions. We assume that all possible efforts are being made for medical treatment and care of wounded but should be glad to receive an assurance on point and some information as to methods adopted.

XXXVI

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 605-Pol., dated the 7th September 1921.

Government India would be grateful for reply to inquiry made in Home Department telegram No. 561, dated 2nd September, regarding care of wounded in Malabar district. They would also be glad to have a definite assurance that Martial Law instructions have and are being carefully observed by civil and military officers and appreciation of situation by local Government at regular intervals say every two days would, if Governor in Council sees no objection, be very helpful.

XXXVII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 94, dated the 8th September 1921.

Clear the line—Your telegram No. 605 of 7th. Malabar rebel wounded. Please refer my telegram No. M. 89 of September 4th. Further report from Special Civil Officer as follows : *Begins*—The military authorities are making such arrangements as are feasible for treatment of rebel wounded in same way as our wounded. The fanatical Mapilla does not usually stop till he is dead. At Pukkottur one Leinster soldier

was killed by a wounded and apparently disabled rebel. Rebels left no wounded on field. Most difficult to secure wounded though desirable for information. Any wounded that fall into our hands will be treated in same way as our wounded. Stretcher parties and medical appliances accompany fighting columns—*Ends.* As regards situation reports telegrams received during last few days are to effect that there is nothing to report. Arrangements have been made for detailed written reports but these are delayed through difficulties of communication as troops are now operating away from railway and restoration of telegraph lines still incomplete.

XXXVIII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 627 Pol., dated the 9th September 1921.

Malabar disturbance. We would with reference to Martial Law instructions chapter III, paragraph number 2 and 4 ask Local Government take all possible steps for insuring that the Civil authorities maintain close touch with Martial Law administration and exercise the responsibility of advising military any cases of improper orders. Wrong exercise power should be promptly reported to Government of India. We fully recognize Military authorities are primarily responsible for administration Martial Law but in view of Punjab experience we wish emphasize the responsibilities of the Civil Government also. We understand that you now have all the additional troops you require both in Madras itself and in Malabar but should be glad to know exactly what has been done. His Excellency the Governor in Council will no doubt take up the question of terminating Martial Law as soon as possible. It may be necessary to make special provision for trial of persons accused of offences in disorders after termination Martial Law. We should be glad to have Local Government's view as to probable date of termination.

XXXIX

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 100, dated the 10th September 1921.

Your telegram No. 627-Pol. of September 9th. Martial Law administration. Necessary action being taken. Further reply will be sent after His Excellency's return from Malabar next week.

XL

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 101, dated the 14th September 1921.

XL—XLI Situation reviewed after Tirur Conference. Insufficiency of troops.

Your telegram Home 627, Pol. of 9th September and continuation of my telegram of 10th September No. M.100. In the light of information elicited during His Excellency the Governor's visit to Malabar and subsequent information regarding military situation, position now clearly appears more serious than was hoped. Spirit of rebellion is unbroken. Except close to the railway and in immediate vicinity of troops, life and property of non-Muhammadans unsafe. Bridges and roads repaired by troops are broken after they have passed. Sub-Registrar's office at Mannarghat was destroyed on the 12th. Interior Ernad and Walluvanad taluks still in the hands of rebels, of whom five bodies are known to be in existence with a total strength estimated at 3,000. Owing to their mobility and our difficulties regarding transport, communications and intelligence, Military are experiencing difficulty in dealing with them. Please refer to * telegram of 13th September from General Officer Commanding, Wellington, to Chief General Staff, Simla, No. S. 250-227/G. Local Government have been compelled to oppose the suggestion move troops from Madras to Malabar area, and have also been obliged to ask for a detachment of British troops to be sent from Secunderabad to Bezwada. It appears therefore to Local Government that troops in Malabar are insufficient. It is impossible to re-establish police stations, still more so to re-open ordinary courts and offices, or even to ascertain the extent of damage done to public and private property. All that is possible at present is to maintain close association between Civil and Military authorities and to provide for trial of those arrested for serious offences. A relief fund has been started by Collector of Malabar, but its administration will be impracticable till normal conditions are restored. Please note that trials that have taken place are for what would

* A No. CXXXI.

be offences against ordinary law in normal times such as robbery, extortion, dacoity, arson, damage to railway and telegraphs, and not merely for any violation of special regulations. It has not been possible to take many wounded rebels prisoners, but those few captured are being cared for in exactly the same way as our men. It is quite impossible at present to forecast when it will be practicable to terminate Martial law.

XLI

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 735-Pol., dated the 21st September 1921.

Please see reference in your telegram No. M. 101 of 14th September 1921, to insufficiency troops in Malabar. Same day Headquarters Southern Command reported increased activity in Malabar; adding that reinforcements of one British Company were being despatched and that if this was insufficient more of 64th Pioneers would be despatched. On 17th Commander-in-Chief wired General Officer Commanding in Chief, Southern Command, telling him that if it was necessary to despatch additional troops Malabar area he had sufficient to cope with requirements. Southern Command has replied stating that troops are sufficient. In circumstances Army Department do not propose take any further action at present.

XLII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 113, dated the 17th September 1921.

Situation.

Your telegram No. 627, Political, of September 9. Situation reports Malabar. Nothing further to report beyond information contained in military telegrams to Chief General Staff. Owing lack ordinary jail accommodation will probably be necessary to form special jail out of Turkish prisoners camp at Bellary. Matter being investigated by Inspector-General of Prisons. General Officer Commanding has been asked to stop dismantlement this camp.

XLIII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 662 Pol., dated the 13th September 1921.

XLIII—XLIV Committee of inquiry.

Malabar disturbances. Notice has been received proposed resolution in Legislative Assembly, recommending appointment committee seven non-officials of both houses, to inquire into causes which led up to riots. We are inclined to think if committee is appointed, it would be preferable for the Madras Government, themselves to appoint a committee of inquiry when situation admits of this, and should be glad to be informed view of Madras Government, and whether His Excellency the Governor in Council himself contemplates holding inquiry when normal conditions have been restored.

XLIV

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 107, dated the 15th September 1921.

Your telegram 662 Pol. of September 13th. Please refer to our telegram * No. M. 101 September 14th. In conditions there reported Governor in Council is emphatically of opinion that any decision as to appointment of a committee of inquiry would have a most undesirable effect in fortifying the rebels and discouraging loyalists. The local Legislative Council, recognizing the gravity of the situation, has refrained from moving resolution and has not even put a question on subject of Malabar disturbances. The Governor in Council considers that it is most undesirable that question of committee of inquiry should be even mooted at present stage. Question will of course receive his most careful consideration as soon as spirit of rebellion has been broken and some semblance of law and order has been restored. Governor in Council trusts that no commitment will be made without giving him further opportunity of expressing his views.

* XL.

XLV

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 106, dated the 15th September 1921.

Abstract.—Telling them that in view of the military situation the General Officer Commanding has decided with concurrence of this Government in view of prevailing condition in Martial Law area, to prevent Gandhi from entering or remaining therein and that Gandhi has been informed accordingly. XLV—XLVIII Gandhi [see also B (i) LXIII, et seq.]

XLVI

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 676 Pol., dated the 15th September 1921.

It is reported that the military authorities propose excluding Gandhi from Martial Law area. Please telegraph clear the line whether Local Government support this proposal and if so why. If order of exclusion is passed and is disobeyed, is it proposed to enforce the order by prosecution or by mere exclusion?

XLVII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 108, dated the 15th September 1921.

Your telegram No. 676 of to-day. Please see our telegram No. M. 106 of to-day. It is proposed to enforce the order by mere exclusion. If he is found in the area he will be conducted out of it.

XLVIII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 703 Pol., dated the 16th September 1921.

Your M. 108 of 15th. In view of the fact that Local Government agree with the Military authorities, Government of India approve the order of externment from Martial Law area and method by which it is proposed to enforce the order.

XLIX

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 130, dated the 21st September 1921.

Clear the line. Your telegram No. 605, Political, of 7th September. Situation Malabar. Besides events mentioned in General Officer Commanding's telegrams to Chief General Staff following information may be of interest. Between 15th and 19th September one hundred and fifty-seven accused sentenced by Summary Courts for offences under ordinary law. One hundred and seventy-four accused remanded to Special Tribunal for offences against Indian Penal Code and Railway Act. Only one conviction for breach of Martial Law regulations independent of offences under ordinary law. This was for knowingly disseminating false intelligence. Arrangements made Special Tribunal begin hear cases Calicut twenty-third. Prosecution of forty-four persons under section 121, Indian Penal Code, sanctioned. Inspector-General of Prisons after inspecting Prisoners' Camp at Bellary is submitting official proposals in consultation with General Officer Commanding for its utilization as additional jail owing to all jails being now full. Secretary, Provincial Congress Committee, applied for permission proceed Malabar to distribute relief among sufferers. Informed that he must apply Military Commander and that Government deprecate multiplication of relief organizations. Situation.

L

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 780 Pol., dated Simla, the 28th September 1921.

Government of India have seen * letter of September 21 to address of Madras Government in which the General Commanding Madras District asks for information regarding (1) organisation special armed police, (2) steps taken local L—LVIII First reinforcements and Military courts. [See also B (i) LXXVI—LXXX.]

* B (i) LXXIII.

civil authorities to get into touch with rebels, (3) policy of Government regarding re-establishment of stability in disturbed area; and for instructions regarding Madras Government's appreciation of situation and their policy and plans. Government of India would be glad to be informed what action has been taken and what instructions have been or are being issued by Madras Government regarding matters abovementioned.

LI

Telegram—to the Government of India, No. M. 142, dated the 29th September 1921.

Your No. 780-Pol. of September 28. On conference with General Officer Commanding, Madras District, to-day the Governor in Council learns that the letter you refer to stands superseded by the proposals of the General Officer Commanding in his telegram* No. S. 250/B 1./G. of September 26 to Southern Command, Poona, repeated to the Chief of the General Staff, Simla. The Governor in Council concurs in the views stated in that telegram and strongly supports the proposals made therein. Letter giving full reasons follows.

* B (i) LXXVII.

LII

Letter—to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 144, dated the 1st October 1921.

In continuation of my telegram No. M–142, dated 29th September 1921, I am directed to state more fully the views of His Excellency the Governor in Council on the situation in Malabar with special reference to your telegram No. 780, Political, dated 28th September 1921.

2. His Excellency the Governor in Council and the Ministers have had the opportunity of discussing the subject exhaustively with the General Officer Commanding, Madras District, Colonel Humphreys, Officer Commanding, Malabar, Mr. Evans, the Special Civil Officer with the troops in Malabar, and Mr. Thomas, the District Magistrate. The General Officer Commanding explained at the outset that his letter of September 21st referred to in the Government of India, Home Department, telegram No. 780 should be considered superseded by his telegram No. S/250/B1/G., of the 26th September addressed to the Southern Command, Poona, and repeated to the Chief of the General Staff, Simla. The views and proposals in this telegram will be found more fully explained in the letter from the General Officer Commanding, Madras, to the Southern Command,† No. S/250/313/G., dated 27th September, copy of which has been submitted by the General Officer Commanding to the Chief of the General Staff, Simla.

3. Before stating the opinion of His Excellency the Governor in Council on the proposals finally arrived at by the General Officer Commanding, I am briefly to review the present position in Malabar as reported by the local Civil officers. Throughout the area that may be roughly described as the interior of Ernad and Walluvanad taluks there are a number of armed bodies of Mapillas openly waging active war against the British Government. The total number of these bodies varies, but the largest number is under the general leadership of two persons named Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji and the Chembrasseri Thangal and operates in the east of the Ernad taluk. Another body under another leader (Kumaramputhur Sithi Koya Thangal) operates round Mannarghat in the east of the Walluvanad taluk. Other bodies are acting in the immediate vicinity of Malappuram and Manjeri. The total strength of all these is estimated at from 8,000 to 10,000. They are all actively hostile, but have abandoned the wild tactics that led to the open collisions with the troops at Pukkottur on the 26th August and at Tirurangadi on the 31st August. The policy now adopted by them is to lie in ambush and snipe at the troops and to avoid as far as possible open encounters. They murder our scouts and also any Mapillas who refuse to join them. They have spies everywhere and their information about the movements of our troops is probably very much better than any information our troops are able to obtain about them. They are in fact de facto masters of the country and attack and plunder Hindu houses and maltreat the inmates as they will.

† B (i) LXXIX.

4. Outside the area above referred to, that is to say, in the Western part of the Ernad and Walluvanad taluks and the Ponnani and Calicut taluks there is less of organized rebellion and more of isolated cases of looting and forcible conversion of Hindus by wandering gangs of armed Mapillas. Police stations have been opened in this area, though in one case the post had to be abandoned in the face of a superior force of Mapillas who in their turn disappeared before a Military force. This was within 10 miles of the military headquarters at Tirur. Throughout this area the Mapilla population is in a sullen and uncertain frame of mind.

5. His Excellency the Governor in Council therefore considers that the first essential operation is the destruction or capture of the organized bands that are engaged in systematic warfare against His Majesty's troops. Until this is done the first postulate of restoring civil administration is lacking. An area is not cleared of the enemy by merely marching troops through it. The continued existence of these armed bands is a menace to the whole area for, with their greater mobility, they can demonstrate almost anywhere with a fair chance of impunity, and their existence is a source of encouragement to every one who has leanings towards crime. Further, their continued existence and comparative success against the troops effectually prevents the rest of the area from settling down and may indeed not impossibly lead to the dormant hostility there becoming more organized and active.

6. His Excellency the Governor in Council therefore strongly supports the proposals of the General Officer Commanding for the employment of more troops to deal more effectively with the rebels and is glad to learn from the General Officer Commanding that these troops will probably be supplied at an early date.

7. There remains the proposal of the General Officer Commanding for the establishment of military summary courts-martial to deal with rebels taken in arms against the troops and persons guilty of actively assisting the rebels. When it first became apparent that martial law prevailed, His Excellency the Governor in Council, judging by the experience of former Mapilla outbreaks, at first expected that the provision of summary courts supplemented by action under section 6 of the Mapilla Outrages Act and the Madras State Prisoners' Regulation of 1819 (the usual procedure in these cases in the past) would suffice to meet the needs of the situation. It soon, however, became apparent that the outbreak was more than an isolated fanatical demonstration. The catalogue of serious crimes of violence grew with unexpected rapidity, and His Excellency the Governor in Council was obliged to ask for the constitution of Special Tribunals for the trial of the more serious cases. But even at that stage, it was hoped that resistance to the military operations, once these were organized, would be neither obstinate nor long continued. The course of events in the last fortnight has proved that these hopes were too optimistic; that the opposition has increased and hardened and that systematic military measures with adequate forces are absolutely necessary. It appears to His Excellency the Governor in Council a necessary and inevitable corollary that means should be provided for the speedy trial and punishment of those taken in arms against the troops or found guilty of actively assisting those fighting against His Majesty's forces. The belief of the chief local Civil Officers is that the rebels have been greatly fortified in their resolution of defiance by the absence of all provision for the speedy trial and punishment of those taken red-handed. They report further that the ordinary Hindu population do not understand the policy that relegates a Mapilla caught fighting sword in hand, or a spy detected leading our troops into an ambush, to Calicut to undergo trial before a Tribunal of judges with the prospect of further proceedings on appeal; and consequently they shrink from rendering any active assistance to the authorities or the troops. His Excellency the Governor in Council is not unmindful of the probability of political criticism or of considerations that may be adduced from the experiences of the Punjab in 1919, but he feels it difficult to believe that any reasonable person can draw any parallel between the happenings of 1919 in the Punjab and the organised rebellion now continuing unabated in Malabar six weeks after the first outbreak of violence. His Excellency the Governor in Council can confidently claim that all

steps to deal with the rebels in Malabar have been taken with the most careful consideration, and conducted with the greatest moderation. The proposed summary courts-martial are no extraordinary and novel institution, but the ordinary and appropriate accompaniment of regular warfare which is what the operations in Malabar have unfortunately become. His Excellency the Governor in Council therefore strongly recommends that the request of the General Officer Commanding in this matter be complied with and the necessary powers be granted by an appropriate supplementary ordinance reproducing the provisions of Draft Regulation 24 appearing on page 30 of the Martial Law instructions issued by the Government of India.

8. His Excellency the Governor in Council has in this matter had the advantage of consultation with the Ministers, though, of course, the Ministers do not share with the Governor in Council the responsibility for the recommendations made. The Ministers are in full agreement with him as to the need for a summary court with full powers to try without appeal rebels taken in arms or persons found guilty of actively assisting rebels in the field. They shrink however from the proposal to constitute *military* courts and would prefer the court to consist exclusively of *civilian* judges. Their objection is based on political considerations and not on any distrust of the impartiality of military judges. The Government of India have however decided the limitations of the powers of special civil tribunals and it is probably impracticable now to revise these limitations in respect of any particular class of cases. Besides it would not be possible to arrange for a special tribunal of judges to accompany troops in active warfare. It has been a matter of some difficulty to constitute the special tribunal that is now sitting at Calicut and the list of cases for trial by it will at the rate of progress hitherto achieved keep the tribunal fully occupied for a considerable period. As already indicated, His Excellency the Governor in Council considers that to incur some political criticism will be a lesser evil than to prolong operations in Malabar with their accompaniment of loss of life and property and general misery of the unfortunate Hindu inhabitants.

9. The Hon'ble Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar does not wholly concur in the recommendations made by His Excellency the Governor in Council in this letter and his separate minute on the subject will follow.

LIII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 5th October 1921.

Reference your telegram of September 29th No. M. 142, Mapilla disturbance. When may letter therein promised be expected ?

LIV

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 148, dated the 5th October 1921.

Your cipher telegram of to-day without number. Letter should reach Simla by October 8th.

LV

Letter—to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 151, dated the 6th October 1921.

In continuation of my letter No. M-144, dated the 1st October 1921, I am directed to forward herewith copy of the minute recorded by the Hon'ble Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar.

ENCLOSURE

Minute by the Hon'ble Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar, Member of Council.

I regret I am unable to support the proposal of summary Courts-martial. I fully realize the gravity of the situation, but I do not think the necessities of the situation demand a summary trial and punishment of military tribunals. So long as communications are open and so long as it is possible to send prisoners to take their trial before the special tribunals, I am not convinced of the need of a trial and punishment immediately after an encounter and at the place of encounter. It is true that

summary execution may have a moral effect, but it is in these cases that ordinary safeguards should not be lightly taken away. In cases where the punishment is imprisonment or transportation, the prisoners have anyhow to be sent away, and it cannot have much effect whether they are so sent after conviction or for trial.

I am sure that the military tribunals will exercise their authority with care: but the circumstances under which they sit immediately after an encounter with a strong feeling against rebels who may have killed some of their comrades with possibly no legal assistance to the accused is not precisely the atmosphere for a calm judicial determination. The risk has to be taken when there is absolute necessity for it, but the facts disclosed do not, I think, justify the institution of the military tribunals at present.

LVI

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 850 Pol., dated the 11th October 1921.

Your letter M-144, dated October 1st. It has been decided to issue an Ordinance authorizing the establishment, when considered necessary by the Military Commander or any officer not being below the rank of a field officer empowered in writing in this behalf by the Military Commander by general or special order, of Military courts for the trial of persons guilty of offences under sections 121, 122, Indian Penal Code, or of aiding and abetting such offence, or offences under section 302, Indian Penal Code, if committed in connexion with events necessitating the enforcement or continuance of Martial Law, of spying or harbouring rebels and of any other offences notified in this behalf by Local Government with the sanction of the Governor-General in Council. Terms of Ordinance will be telegraphed as soon as practicable.

2. Government of India desire Madras Government should consider whether simultaneously with the issue of this Ordinance a proclamation should issue offering terms of amnesty to all rebels not guilty of grave crimes of violence. **Amnesty proposed by Government of India.**

3. Government of India will sanction despatch of additional troops over and above those already despatched if Local Government so desire and wish to be informed if any additional troops are required.

4. Government of India attach great importance to strengthening of the Police in the area of the rebellion and the effective occupation by the police of the area cleared by the troops. They had already on September 30th sanctioned the issue of the three hundred and fifty rifles asked for by Madras Government and will sanction issue of such further armament as the Local Government consider to be required.

5. Sir William Vincent is proceeding on 13th to Madras to confer with the Local Government.

LVII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M-156, dated the 14th October 1921.

Reference your telegram No. 850 of October 11th. When may Ordinance be expected? Regarding question of amnesty please see my telegram * No. M. 153 of October 10th. As regards additional troops and further armament of Police reply will follow on receipt of reports from local officers.

* No. LX.

LVIII

Letter—from H. R. Pate, Esq., I.C.S., Officiating Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Army Department, No. 11700-2/G.S.—S.D.-1, dated Simla, the 30th September 1921.

I am directed to state, for the information of His Excellency the Governor in Council, that the military authorities have ordered a Kachin-Chin Burma battalion, consisting of two companies Kachins, one company Chins and one company Karens, to be held in readiness to proceed from Maymyo to the Malabar coast for service in the Mapilla country if required by the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command.

2. The battalion will, if required, move at field service strength and will embark at Rangoon as early as possible.

LIX

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. D. 2343 Pol., dated the 9th October 1921.

LIX—LX. Schammad's representations to the Viceroy.

Mapilla rebellion. The following is the substance of a representation made to His Excellency and the Home Member by Muhammad Schammad, Member of the Legislative Assembly, who is a Mapilla from Kanara. Begins:—While not denying that the Khilāfat agitation was a contributory cause of the rising he alleges that the real cause of the discontent was agrarian, due to oppression of Hindu landlords chiefly Nayars and Nambudris. He complained that it was not generally realized that the proportion of Mapillas who had taken part in the rising was very small compared with the total population of Mapillas and that the rebellion was really confined to the Ernad and Walavanad taluks and that loyal Mapillas were much discouraged by the general belief throughout India that the rebellion was a movement in which all Mapillas were taking part. This feeling is aggravated by the fact that instances have occurred of loyal Mapillas being treated as rebels by the Police and Military who are often unable to discriminate between one Mapilla and another. He is convinced that if an offer of pardon or lenient treatment were made to all who submitted to authority by a given date many who were now absconding would readily submit.—Ends. If Local Government think that the foregoing representation is well-founded, Government of India would be glad if they would consider the desirability, first of publishing an authoritative statement removing the misconception that the rebellion is a rising of all Mapillas and pointing out that the rebels represent only a small section of the whole community, most of whom remain loyal, and many of whom have assisted Government, and secondly, of proclaiming an indemnity or lenient treatment for all absconders other than those accused of crimes of violence who may submit to authority by a specific date. If latter suggestion is considered feasible by Local Government, they will doubtless consult Government of India regarding the precise terms of such a proclamation.

LX

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 153, dated the 10th October 1921.

Your telegram No. D. 2343, Political, of October 9th. Mapilla rebellion. Governor in Council considers that there is no foundation for the representations of Muhammad Schammad. His Excellency in Council is not aware that anything has occurred that could reasonably be understood to suggest that active rebellion exists outside Martial Law area or indeed that any such impression does exist. In greater part of Martial Law area whole Mapilla population is actively hostile, constituting themselves into armed bands to attack and plunder defenceless inhabitants, to ambush troops and, wherever they think they can do so with impunity, to inflict reprisals on those who assist authority. It is difficult to understand how persons so engaged can appropriately be described as absconders. Instances of assistance on the part of Mapillas have been individual and isolated. Elsewhere attitude of Mapilla population, though not actively hostile, has given and still gives room for anxiety. Save in one case in Ponnani taluk, Governor in Council is not aware of loyal Mapillas having dissociated themselves publicly from the behaviour of their co-religionists, nor is he aware of any reason to suppose that agrarian discontent was even a contributory cause of the rising, though it has no doubt helped to determine its course. The Governor in Council still awaits a public disclaimer from leaders of the Mapilla community who may privately share the sentiments professed by Muhammad Schammad. His Excellency is not aware of any instance of a loyal Mapilla having been treated as a rebel by the Police or Military. As regards the question of indemnity or offer of lenient treatment, the Governor in Council would point out that this would be entirely premature so long as the present state of open and declared hostility exists. No non-Muhammadan could live in the area without imminent risk of loss of life and property were military measures now to cease, and to proffer negotiations at this stage would certainly be regarded by the Hindus as a betrayal of their interests and by the Mapillas as an admission of defeat.

LXI

Telegram—from the Government of India, No. 883, dated the 15th October 1921.

ABSTRACT.—Sending Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance—1921.

(See Section F (i) LXXIV.)

LXII

Telegram—to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M 159, dated the 24th October 1921.

Continuation of my telegram of 14th October, No. M. 156. Regarding need for additional troops Governor in Council supports request of General Officer Commanding, Madras District, in his * telegram of the 21st instant addressed to Southern Command, Poona, and repeated to Chief of General Staff, Simla. Governor in Council has since His Excellency the Governor's visit to Malabar last month held the view that troops in Malabar were insufficient—vide my telegram of 14th September, †No. M.-101. Governor in Council wishes to point out that already 350 Special Police have been recruited to take up posts directly any area is cleared by the Military. It was not proposed or intended that the Special Police recently raised should take part in quelling the rebellion. They were intended for maintenance of order once the Military had killed, captured or effectively broken up the rebel bands that still hold the field. Local Government are in touch with Military Commander and will increase the number of Special Police if necessary the moment they are satisfied that any areas are cleared and ready for occupation by the Police.

LXII—LXIII. Second Reinforcemens (See B (i) LXXXIV—LXXXVI.)

* B (i) LXXXIV. † No. XL.

Post copies dated 24th October 1921 to—

District Magistrate, Calicut.
Special Civil Officer, Malappuram.
General Officer Commanding, Wellington, with covering letter.

LXIII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 967 Pol., dated the 26th October 1921.

In compliance with the request made in the General Officer Commanding's telegram of October 21st, the Military authorities have ordered the despatch of the following two Battalions. (1) 2/9th Gurkhas.
(2) 1/39th Garhwalis.

[Reference your Telegram No. M. 159 of October 24th.]

LXIV

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, dated Delhi, the 4th November 1921, No. 1015 Pol.

Following telegram received from Secretary of State :—*Begins*—Question in Parliament, 14th November next—Malabar. Can you give any safe estimate number of forcible conversions of Hindus by Mapillas reported on —*Ends.* Kindly furnish information early.

LXIV—LXV. Forcible conversions. (See B (ii) LXV—LXVII.)

[Repeated to District Magistrate, Calicut, for report in consultation with Special Civil Officer.]

LXV

Telegram—from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, No. M. 170, dated the 11th November 1921.

Your telegram 1015, Political, 4th (instant). Forcible conversions of Hindus by Mapillas. District Magistrate, Malabar, reports trustworthy information received relating to one hundred and eighty conversions but figure excludes conversions in some of worst areas from which details will not be available till rebellion crushed. Both District Magistrate and Special Commissioner state number must be considerably greater and estimate about five hundred, but this must be regarded simply as expression of opinion. District Magistrate adds many Hindus murdered for refusing conversion. Madras Government have deliberately and for obvious reasons refrained from making any official record of conversions in the interests of those converted.

LXVI

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 1014 Pol., dated the 4th November 1921.

LXVI—LXIX. Sir W. Vincent's suggestions and replies.

Mapilla disorders.—The following suggestions amongst others to which it is not necessary to refer in this telegram have been made by Home Member as a result of his recent tour in Malabar.

The Government of India will be glad to have the views of Madras Government on them at the earliest opportunity.

(1) It has been suggested that Madras Government should raise Battalion Military Police armed with modern rifles consisting of 600 or 800 men to assist in dealing with Mapilla situation. The Battalion would be available in other areas outside Mapilla country in case of disturbance but for present might be employed for the pacification of area in Malabar from which bodies of rebels have been driven by Military and also to follow up and deal with gangs of dacoits. It is understood however that, with the additional 350 men for whom the issue of magazine rifles was sanctioned on the 29th October, the Madras Government will have available 700 Military Police and this suggestion may be considered accordingly by them to have been met already.

(2) Amongst offences triable by summary General Court Martial it has been suggested section 396 should be included. The Government of India would be glad to receive views of Local Government on this proposal and the Local Government might at the same time consider if any other offence should be made so triable.

(3) Sir W. Vincent thinks that one of the difficulties in the way of pacification of disturbed area is the prevalence of dacoity, and he suggests that dacoities committed by Mapillas are really part of offence of waging war against the King in that the arms and supplies and other articles thus secured are used for the purpose of carrying on and promoting hostilities against Government. He considers therefore that cases of dacoity committed by Mapillas in the Martial Law area should be triable by Summary General Court Martial and that it should be within the power of Court to award a death sentence for this offence on the ground that it is in fact aiding and abetting waging war against the King. The Government of India would be glad to have the views of Local Government on this proposal and particularly as to limitation in the way of safeguard which should be imposed upon the exercise of such powers. It is obviously not desirable that all dacoity cases committed in the area should be so tried or that every one convicted of dacoity should be sentenced to death.

(4) It has been suggested that speedy recognition of work of civil officers who have rendered services of exceptional merit would be very useful. Amongst others Sir W. Vincent has mentioned in particular the names of Messrs. Hitchcock and Clive Tottenham. No doubt Local Government will know of other officers including civil officers in the Police and Indian officers whose services equally deserve recognition, and if proposal commends itself to the Local Government, the Government of India would be glad to have their recommendations without delay.

Note.—This has been dealt with in a separate file and recommendations have been sent by us for the Police Medal and by His Excellency for the others.

(5) It has been suggested it might be possible to register male Mapillas residing in particular disturbed areas and require them to remain within a fixed distance, say one mile, of their house at all times and to report themselves to military or police stations at frequent intervals, such persons being exempted from all military penalty. They would, however, remain liable to punishment by Tribunal, Summary Courts or other constituted Courts of Justice for offences committed. The treatment would indeed in some ways be similar to that prescribed for members of criminal tribes. Do you think this plan would be of advantage?

(6) The local Government will doubtless take exceptional care to strengthen establishment of supervising police officers of the grade of Deputy Superintendent and Inspector and also to weed out police officers employed in area who are suspected of oppression or extortion. The experience of the Government of India is that dishonest police officers of the lower grades seize upon the opportunity afforded by

the dislocation of the ordinary machinery and the absence of proper control, which must occur at times of disorder such as prevail in Malabar, to make money by improper means and that such conduct causes the greatest inconvenience and discredit when normal conditions are restored and the facts are ascertained.

(7) The question of abrogation of Martial Law in any area which can now be administered by civil authorities with (if necessary) military assistance should at once be considered. This suggestion is made in particular with reference to Wynad and Kurumbranad taluks and parts of Calicut and Ponnani.

(8) The Government of India would be glad to know what steps are being taken to enable those who have lost all their property in the rising to start life again as also to ensure that refugees from the disturbed area have been afforded necessary shelter and maintenance. The Government of India have reason to know that this question is engaging the careful attention of the Madras Government, but would be glad to have some detailed information on the point.

(9) The Madras Government might consider the question whether owing to large increase in the number of convicted prisoners who have to be confined in jails by reason of this rising, it is necessary to reopen the question of closing Andamans to persons sentenced by court martial to transportation.

The Local Government will doubtless consult the military authorities on many of the points specified above. Orders to reinforce military forces in Malabar have already been issued and the Government of India would like to know if any further additions are in opinion of Madras Government necessary. The question of giving further powers to presiding magistrates (vide your telegram of October 31st) will be dealt with as soon as your views on suggestion No. 3 above, which will necessitate legislation, are received.

Similar proposals have been made in a note by Home Member with this modification that he suggested that enhanced powers should be restricted to magistrates specially empowered in this behalf by the Local Government and who have exercised powers as first-class magistrates for two years.

Your views on this and other points are invited.

[*Note.*—Paragraphs 5 to 9 and extracts of last paragraph sent to Special Commissioner for remarks in consultation with District Magistrate and Special Civil Officer with memorandum, dated 5th November 1921.]

LXVII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 167, dated the 5th November 1921.

Your No. 1014, Political, dated 4th November 1921. Mapilla rebellion—Several of these suggestions have already been examined or are under examination. Conclusions finally reached by Local Government are as follows :—

Suggestion 1.—Madras Government have already sanctioned force 700 special armed police intended primarily for use in areas cleared by military.

Suggestion 2.—This Government consider it is unnecessary to specify offence under section 396, as triable by Summary General Court Martial. In practice all cases falling under section 396 would be tried under section 302 read with 149. They have at present no suggestion to make for the inclusion of any other offence.

Suggestion 3.—The local Government are of opinion that the question whether any particular case of dacoity falls under section 121 is one of fact to be dealt with on evidence available and not a matter of legislative definition. The Military Deputy Judge Advocate-General concurs in this view and this Government therefore deprecate any addition to or amendment of the Ordinance in this respect.

Further reply will follow to remainder of telegram.

LXVIII

Demi-official—from A. R. KNAPP, Esq., C.B.E., I.C.S., Special Commissioner, No. G.-10, dated the 18th November 1921.

Your confidential memorandum of the 5th of November 1921, forwarding extracts from a telegram from the Government of India, Home Department.

2. The 'submission' of several amsams in the affected area had already begun before the Government of India's suggestion in paragraph 5 was received. This has somewhat changed the position and so far as can be seen at present makes any formal system of registration unnecessary. The persons who submit have hitherto been allowed to go back to their amsams on condition that those who among them are wanted by the Police will be surrendered. Such surrenders have actually taken place in at least one amsam—Anakayam—and I think it will be well to wait and see how the present system works before considering any more formal arrangements.

3. With reference to paragraph 6, I have made inquiries and can find no evidence that subordinate Police officers are taking special advantage of the present opportunity to resort to oppression or extortion. Our superior Police staff is much larger than usual. We have three Superintendents working in South Malabar instead of one and a large number of Assistant Superintendents and, though they are partially engaged in connexion with the Military operations, they are in an excellent position to hear of and deal with any cases of general Police misconduct. Any police officer who was suspected of oppression or extortion would of course be removed. I do not think that any increase in the number of supervising Police officers is called for at present in this connexion. The present staff is quite adequate.

4. *Paragragh* 7.—As regards the abrogation of Martial Law I have consulted the local officers and fear that it is impossible at present to recommend such a measure. In the areas where military operations are not actually in progress the Civil administration is proceeding in the ordinary way and is in the hands of Civil officers: the Martial Law powers are kept in reserve for use in cases of necessity. Such necessity may at any moment arise. It is quite possible, for example, that rebels will seek to take refuge in Kurumbranad, Wynad or the unaffected portions of Calicut or Ponnani and the provisions of the Martial Law regulations against harbouring rebels would then have to be put into operation. Again the power to deal with persons spreading false news or persons furnishing supplies to the rebels may at any moment be needed in these areas adjoining the military operations. So far as I can see at present Martial Law ought to be maintained in these areas until the active bands of rebels are disposed of.

5. In paragraph 8 of their telegram the Government of India refer to the case of refugees and ask what steps are being taken to enable those who have lost all their property in the rising to start life again. The care of the refugees, as the Government are aware, is at present in the hands of a non-official Committee. I have got into close touch with that Committee at their own request and am now engaged in helping them to place their organization on a sounder basis. So far shelter and maintenance have been found for all refugees. The main difficulty at present is the shortness of funds but this, I hope, will very shortly be relieved by the arrangements which are now being pushed forward for finding work for those who are able to work.

6. As regards starting in life again those who have lost all their property, it is, I am afraid, impossible at present to make much progress with this as most of the refugees have not been able to go back to their homes and cannot say therefore in what condition their property is. Government have already decided that they can admit no legal liability to compensate the sufferers from public funds but that the provisions of the Loans Act may be freely used and this, so far as I can now see, will sufficiently provide for most of the cases. A difficulty however arises from the peculiar Malabar tenures as the great majority of the persons who will need assistance will not be pattadars but sub-tenants under a jenmi. Having no actual fixity of tenure there may be difficulty in their providing the necessary security for loans. I am exploring this matter and have some hope that I may be able to induce the jemnis to become jointly responsible for the loans given to their tenants. If this attempt succeeds it will, apart from meeting the present difficulty, tend to engender a better feeling between jenmis and tenants than has hitherto existed.

7. As regards the disposal of the prisoners I have not yet been able to get full particulars regarding Bellary, but shall take the opportunity of my next visit to Madras to see all the papers and also those connected with the closing of the Andamans.

8. The question of enhanced powers to Special Magistrates has already been disposed of. There remains the enquiry whether further military forces are necessary. On this I do not at present feel competent to give any opinion. My view is that such a proposal must come from the Military. I know that General Burnett Stuart will be in Malabar again next week. The present combined operations will then have been finished and he will no doubt discuss with Colonel Humphreys and Evans the future plan of campaign. In replying to the Government of India on this point I would suggest that Government should not commit themselves to saying that more troops are not needed but should intimate that an opinion on the point must be postponed until it has been possible to get the military appreciation of the results of the present drive.

Mr. Knapp's reply to the memorandum is for orders. He was asked to consult the District Magistrate and the Special Civil Officer before replying and presumably he has done so.

G. R. F. Tottenham—21-11-21.

In reply to paragraphs 5, 6, 7 and 8 of the Government of India's telegram we might send them by letter paragraphs 2 to 6 of Mr. Knapp's letter and express general concurrence therein. In reply to the question about the Andamans, we might promise a further report and so also about the strength of the troops in the latter case assigning the reason that the results of the drives in progress must be awaited.

N. E. Marjoribanks—22-11-21.

L. D[avidson]—23-11-21.

W[illingdon]—26-11-21.

LXIX

Letter—to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Fort St. George, the 28th November 1921, No. M. 194.

[Mapilla Rebellion—Home Department telegram No. 1014-Pol., dated 4th November 1921.]

In reply to suggestions Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8 in the above telegram, I am directed to enclose herewith extracts from a report by the Special Commissioner on the subject, and to say that this Government agree generally with the views expressed therein.

As regards the ninth suggestion concerning the use of the Andaman islands for Mapilla prisoners, a further report will follow in due course.

As regards the strength of the troops in Malabar, I am to say that the result of the present military drives must be awaited before coming to any decision in the matter.

LXX

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 6th November 1921, No. 1030 Pol.

LXX—LXXII. Extension of rebellion to Wynad. Sufficiency of troops.

The Government of India have seen statement in the Press that planters in Southern India are greatly dissatisfied with the way in which the Mapilla rebellion is spreading to the outlying areas near Calicut, and that it is feared that the trouble will spread to North Malabar.

They would like to be informed urgently what the facts are, whether their apprehensions are considered to have any the foundation, and whether the Madras Government consider any steps over and above those suggested in my telegram of the 4th are required.

LXXI

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 7th November 1921, No. 1032 Pol.

Continuation telegram of 6th. Last sentence, in replying please intimate in particular whether Government consider number of troops sufficient.

LXXII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 9th November 1921, No. M. 169.

Your telegram of November 6th, No. 1030

Towards the end of October there were signs of the rebellion spreading westwards into Calicut taluk. Chief rebel leaders visited Arikkod which is on south of Beypore river adjoining Calicut taluk and preached the spread of Khilāfat Raj with considerable success. The message was carried across the river and soon small bands started looting, converting and collecting arms. Alarm naturally spread to Calicut and the planting district was affected chiefly owing to the refusal of carts to use the road from Calicut which is the main line of communication to the Wynad. Trouble has not spread north or west of the Calicut-Wynad road, and it seems probable that most of the Mapillas who joined the rebellion in this area passively acquiesced in Khilāfat Raj. The numbers of fighters are probably not large but the country is densely wooded and they are therefore difficult to deal with. A company of the Special Police was sent to deal with them at end of October and has since been joined by two more companies. The embodiment of light motor patrols to guard the main road has also been sanctioned, and a scheme has now been settled for dealing with the whole area by a series of drives which will take 12 days and in which the bulk of the military forces in Malabar will be employed. Spread of the rebellion further north is not likely, but result of present operations must be awaited before considering whether any further measures or additional troops are necessary. This with reference to your telegram of November 7th, No. 1032.

LXXIII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 15th November 1921, No. 1133-Pol.

LXXIII—LXXV. Nariman's visit to Malabar.

Government of India have reason to believe that the situation in Malabar is not correctly appreciated by public in Bombay Presidency and in particular that there is considerable scepticism regarding forcible conversions by Mapillas. Government of India accordingly propose, if Madras Government see no objection, to ask Mr. G. K. Nariman, a well-known Parsi journalist of Bombay, to visit Malabar for a short tour of about a fortnight with the object of removing misapprehension and scepticism by means of letters to Bombay Press. Nariman is well known to and in close touch with Central Bureau of Information who regard him as thoroughly trustworthy and competent. Government of India hope that Local Government and military authorities will not object to his visiting martial law area and will grant him all reasonable facilities. Please reply clear the line as it important that visit should take place as early as possible.

[*Note.*—General Officer Commanding, Special Commissioner and Special Civil Officer consulted in telegram No. M. 179, dated 16th November 1921.]

LXXIV

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th November 1921, No. M. 180.

Your telegram No. 1133 Pol, dated 15th November 1921. Neither Local Government nor military authorities have any objection to Nariman's proposed visit to Malabar.

LXXV

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 21st November 1921, No. 1120 Pol.

Reference correspondence ending your wire M-180, November 17th. Mr. G. K. Nariman intends to start for Malabar shortly. But has not informed Government of India exact date. Please inform Knapp and military authority.

NOTE.—Repeated to General Officer Commanding, Special Commissioner, Special Civil Officer and District Magistrate.

LXXVI

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 6th December 1921, No. 1355 Pol.

Asking with reference to our weekly situation reports* for the weeks ending 14th and 28th November whether we can report for the information of the Secretary of State figures showing the extent to which submissions have been made and accepted. LXXVI—LXXVII. Surrenders—Numbers of.

* D (ii), III and V.

LXXVII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 10th December 1921, No. M. 207.

Your telegram 1355-Pol., 6th instant. Rebel surrenders. Special Civil Officer, Malabar, reports up to and including 7th instant about 15,000 names of persons surrendering have been recorded from about fifty amsams. Others have petitioned and will be dealt with in turn. Figures include surrenders of every degree of complicity from passive sympathy to active fighting but gang leaders and gangs as such have not yet surrendered. Recording the surrender does not necessarily mean that no proceedings will be taken against individual concerned. See B (ii), LXXVII.

LXXVIII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 6th December 1921, No. M. 204.

Your telegram of November 4th, No. 1014-Pol., and continuation of my letter † No. 194 M. of November 27th. Mapilla rebellion. Numbers of troops. No further troops required.

At conference held with General Officer Commanding at Madras on 3rd December it was agreed that, provided the existing units were kept fully up to strength the numbers of troops now in Malabar were sufficient for the object in view, namely, to deal with such of the rebels as are still defiant, to prevent the rebellion spreading, and to enable the peaceful elements of the population to reassert themselves.

† LXIX.

LXXIX

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 23rd January 1921.

Petition for mercy. Ali Mussaliar and others. My letter No. 558, dated 24th December 1921. Request early orders this case. Delay has given rise to rumour that Ali Mussaliar is going to be reprieved and is having very bad effect. Apart from facts brought out in trial there can be no doubt that Ali Mussaliar was responsible for spreading lie that Mambram mosque had been damaged which lit blaze in East Ernad and Walavanad. Moreover other important leaders and murderers have already been tried by Court Martial and shot and comparison between treatment in two sets of cases gives room for most undesirable criticism. Ali Mussaliar—Delay in execution.

NOTE.—After the beginning of December correspondence with the Government of India dealt chiefly with the withdrawal of Martial Law. [See section F (ii)]. Other correspondence with Government of India is contained in separate office files (see—Appendix V).

SECTION D (ii)—WEEKLY SITUATION TELEGRAMS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

I

From the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 6th November 1921, No. 1029 Pol.

The Government of India would be glad if the Local Government would telegraph clear the line on Monday of each week a general appreciation of the situation in Malabar suitable for communication to the Secretary of State and for publication.

II

To the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 9th November 1921, No. M. 170.

Your telegram of November 6th, No. 1029 Pol.

Malabar situation—Week ending 7th November.

The spread of the Mapilla rebellion from the area hitherto mainly affected to the Calicut taluk has caused considerable anxiety, but there are reasons to believe that the call to arms in those parts has not met with very general response. A number of rebel bands have, however, done considerable damage. They have also been engaged in looting and forcibly converting Hindus and collecting arms. A party of the special armed police who were sent to deal with the situation in Calicut taluk were ambushed at the end of October, and accounted for 26 rebels, but of their own number six were wounded including Mr. Colebrooke who had just been appointed to command the company, and one killed. Mr. Colebrooke's wounds are not serious. Active steps are being taken to deal thoroughly with the situation and it is not expected that the trouble will spread further north. It is however most important that order should be restored here before dealing with the interior of the Ernad and Walavanad taluks, both for military reasons and also to safeguard the planting area which lies further to the north in the taluk of Wynad, and the lines of communication thereto on which the planters depend for their transport. At Kondotti in Ernad a band attacked the local Mapillas who are Shiahs and met with resistance, but succeeded in destroying the Sub-Registrar's office and the Police station and in damaging the tomb of the local Tangal or Mapilla religious leader (Shiah). Elsewhere in the affected area the military have been busy and have met with local successes, but in one case a party of rebels who surrendered some time ago have again taken the field, and in another case some coolies who assisted the Gurkhas in getting their transport across a river were subsequently attacked and 15 of them were captured and murdered by the rebels. In the most seriously affected areas therefore there seems to be no alternative to dealing with the rebels in detail and this is bound to be a long and difficult business. There are signs however in some parts of an increasing desire on the part of the rebels to surrender and on 7th November it was reported that nearly 1,000 from different places in neighbourhood of Malappuram had signified their submission while overtures had been received from other quarters. It remains to be seen how far their professions are genuine and in any case the problem of how to deal with them is a difficult one, and this together with the problem of the treatment of refugees who are now very numerous is engaging the attention of the local authorities. The reinforcements asked for towards the end of October have arrived. The Local Government have also sanctioned the increase of the force of special armed police which was formed at the beginning of October to double its original strength and it will eventually be about 700 strong. Work has been started in Malabar under the new Indian Territorial Force Act and the number of applications from Hindus for enrolment is reported to be very satisfactory.

III

To the Government of India, Home Department, No. M 178, dated the 14th November 1921.

Mapilla rebellion. Situation week ending 14th November. Military operations have been mainly confined to a combined drive of the area north and east of Calicut in which four battalions are taking part. These operations will continue until the 20th and the results so far have not yet been reported. Elsewhere there has been spasmodic rebel activity, and there are indications that the leaders are doing their best to spur their followers on to greater activity. In the country round Malappuram an increasing number of Mapillas have signified their desire to submit, and the Government have approved the issue of an order stating that no further action will be taken against those of them who have been concerned in a subordinate capacity only in offences committed before 27th August against the State or Government property unaccompanied by the use of criminal force subject to their good behaviour and their active co-operation with the Government in arresting and handing over important rebels and criminals. It is hoped that this will have the desired effect but it is too early yet to judge of the results.

IV

To the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 187, dated the 21st November 1921.

Mapilla rebellion. Situation week ending November 21st. There has been considerable military activity during the week. The drive of the country north of the Beypore river and then south of the river to the Feroke-Kondotti-Edavanna road was carried out successfully. On several occasions the troops met with determined resistance from resolute bands of Mapillas, and the total number of casualties inflicted during the drive was 233 killed, 54 captured and 31 guns. We also sustained casualties including one Gurkha officer killed and one British officer wounded. The moral effect of these operations has been good, and though it cannot be said that the area has been entirely cleared of rebels, it is reasonable to expect that there will be no active resistance here for some time to come. The rebels however in the eastern area took the opportunity during the absence of the bulk of the troops taking part in the drive to make an early morning surprise attack in force on a Gurkha post at Pandikkad on the 14th. About 60 Mapillas succeeded in penetrating the post before the men were properly awake and severe fighting ensued which ended in at least 234 Mapillas being killed. These bodies were burnt the same day. One British officer—Captain Averell—and three other ranks were killed. Thirty-four other ranks were wounded. As forecasted in the last weekly telegram one result of the drive seems to have been to spur the rebels on to desperate efforts. A large concentration of Mapillas under all the best known leaders is reported to have taken place near Chembrasseri and it would probably be most satisfactory from military point of view if these could be induced to give battle. Petitions offering submission continue to be received from the country round Malappuram and also from the neighbourhood of Kondotti. Altogether considerable progress has been made in dealing with the rebellion during the last week. A press communiqué is issuing to-day regarding the deplorable incident of the death of Mapilla prisoners in the train on their way to Bellary jail. Full inquiries are being made in the matter and the result will be reported as soon as possible.

V

To the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 196, dated the 28th November 1921. Repeated to General Officer Commanding, Madras district.*

Mapilla rebellion. Situation week ending November 28th. Military operations in force continued during the week in the interior of Ernad first up to the Kalikavu-Pandikkad line and then through the Chembrasseri country to the Velliancheri area. The large rebel concentration reported in last week's telegram did not however materialize and the enemy seem to have broken up and taken to the hills or to have escaped through the line. The troops inflicted a few casualties but on the whole the result of these drives was disappointing and it will probably be more satisfactory to revert to the old tactics of allotting different areas to different

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* All future weekly telegrams were repeated to General Officer Commanding.

battalions to deal with at leisure. Surrenders continue from the Kottakkal area where real progress has been made and also from round Mannarghat and in the Calicut taluk. Too much importance must not however be attached to these surrenders. The rebellion is the work of gangs of rebels who enlist temporary active support from local criminals and otherwise only half-hearted support from the average Mapilla. It is the latter who are surrendering and the gangs and the criminals remain to be dealt with and will have to be exterminated or decisively defeated before the rebellion can be ended. Several raids have been carried out by the rebels and spasmodic murders and lootings continue to be reported. These may not affect the main issues to any great extent but naturally cause alarm and prevent the restoration of public confidence.

A public inquiry under the chairmanship of Mr. Knapp, the Special Commissioner for Malabar, holds its first sitting to-day into the Mapilla prisoners' train catastrophe. Mr. Knapp is being assisted by three non-officials and their report is awaited. The Madras Government have already taken the opportunity to contradict certain mis-statements which have appeared in the press regarding this most deplorable incident.

VI

From the General Officer Commanding, to the Chief of the General Staff, Simla, No. S. 250/570/G. 3, dated the 28th November 1921. Repeated to Chief Secretary, Madras.*

Your 12071/1 M.O. 1 of the 24th November. Situation in Malabar. Rebel concentrations have been broken up and confidence induced as a result of the drive through the north of the Ernad and Walluvanad, though rebel leaders are still at large. Small parties of rebels have been missed in the jungle by the drive and the dispersed bands mostly fled into the foot hills to the north-east with the probable intention of working back whence they came. Except for the Vengara gang and the gang north-west of Arikkod the country west of the line Perintalmanna-Pandikkad-Nilambur is now practically clear. Submissions continue. Troops and Special Police are now being disposed in areas in order to cover the whole country. They are being organized so that rebel supplies can be collected and bands reappearing hunted down. This will take time, but the end is appreciably nearer, and, as the hitherto panic-stricken population regain confidence, the settlement will be accelerated. Four Companies of Special Armed Police are now functioning and two more are in process of organization. Although the rebels are evidently cowed and avoid battle, acts of retaliation, dacoity and desperate exploits by fanatical bands are still to be expected; and I do not consider any relaxation of Martial Law or military pressure is yet possible.

VII

From the Government of India, Home Department, No. 1323 Pol., dated the 1st December 1921.

Your last weekly situation telegram contained the following sentence:—

"Troops inflicted a few casualties but on the whole the result of these drives was disappointing and it will probably be more satisfactory to revert to the tactics of allotting different areas to different battalions to deal with at leisure."

On the other hand the General Officer Commanding's telegram of the same date to the Chief of the General Staff says:—

"The drive conducted through the northern part of the Ernad and Walluvanad taluks has broken up the concentration of rebels and has inspired confidence, though the leaders have not yet been accounted for."

And a subsequent passage runs:—

"I am now allocating troops and police by areas so that the whole country may be covered and so that there may be an organization for taking possession of rebel supplies and for hunting down any bands that may re-appear. This process must take time, but the finish is appreciably nearer."

The discrepancy between these two accounts makes it difficult for the Government of India to form a correct estimate of the situation and suggests that there may be some lack of liaison between the Civil and Military authorities. It is suggested

* The General Officer Commanding's weekly telegrams were all repeated to the Government of Madras after this.

that a conference should be held at an early date between the officers concerned and General Burnett Stuart with the object of preventing similar discrepancies in future appreciations.

VIII

To the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 203, dated the 6th December 1921.

[Your telegram of December 1st, No. 1323, Pol.]

Government of Madras have discussed Malabar situation with General Officer Commanding at conference at Madras on December 3rd and find that civil appreciation for week ending November 28th was based on misconception of object of military drive which, it is now understood, was not intended to force encounter with rebels but to disperse them, to restore confidence and to prepare for reversion to area system which has now been organized. At the same time Madras Government would point out difficulty of civil officer arriving independently at just appreciation of situation in area under military control and would suggest that appreciation sent weekly by General Officer Commanding would cover all requirements.

IX

To the Government of India, Home Department, No. 202 M., dated the 6th December 1921.

Malabar situation week ending December 5th. Definite areas have now been allotted to the different battalions so as to cover whole affected area. Some minor engagements with rebels have taken place and surrenders continue from many parts of the area hitherto chiefly affected while there are signs that chief rebel leaders are becoming dissatisfied with the progress of affairs. Near Melattur a large body of Mapillas have surrendered and handed in 250 swords, and Arikkod which a few weeks ago was an important rebel centre, is now displaying numbers of white flags. The chief gangs still remain to be dealt with but it seems probable that these will decrease in size as time goes on. The main desideratum at present apart from the capture of the leaders is to restore confidence in the non-rebel population and to induce them to assist in the apprehension of offenders and the restoration of normal conditions. The present military dispositions are designed with this object and will, it is hoped, have the desired effect.

The civil population shows little enterprise.

X

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/586/G. 3, dated the 5th December 1921.
[Weekly appreciation of situation in Malabar.]

The situation is steadily improving. Rebels are surrendering freely and a considerable number of weapons have been handed in.

I attribute the above to the effect of the recent drive which has broken up the rebel bands and has rendered possible the employment of the troops in smaller and hence more numerous and mobile columns.

The active rebel bands are being relentlessly hunted both by day and by raids carried out at night.

These active bands are not considered to be numerous, but as they are scattered over the whole area and avoid conflict with the troops are difficult to destroy.

The rebel morale and prestige is apparently declining and surrenders are becoming infectious.

XI

To the Government of India, Home Department, No. 208 M., dated the 13th December 1921.

Mapilla Rebellion—Situation week ending December 12th. The Kachins, the Gurkhas, the Suffolks and the Special Police have all had successful encounters with the rebels during the last few days and have killed about 200 besides taking some prisoners and a number of weapons including firearms. In the Suffolks engagement the enemy attacked in a desperate fashion and 81 were killed. The principal leaders with a diminishing number of followers still remain to be dealt

with, but their position is becoming desperate and there are increasing signs that the rebellion is collapsing so far at least as active resistance is concerned. The fighting gangs are penned in to the hills behind Mannarghat, the road from Kalikavu to Nilambur, the road from Nilambur to Edakkara and in the south-east of the Calicut taluk.

Surrenders continue and though the number of arms handed in is not very great, there can be no doubt that the moral effect is considerable. The total number of names now recorded comes to about 27,500.

XII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/607/G. 3, dated the 12th December 1921.

About 200 fighting rebels disposed of during past week. Surrenders still continue. Operations in progress against two bands hidden in Eastern Hills. Bands north of Beypore river and south of Kondotti also being dealt with. Except for bands of looters rest of area quiet. Expect to open Nilambur-Nadghani road this week.

XIII

From the Government of India, Home Department, No. 1417 Pol., dated the 13th December 1921.

[Your telegram of December 7th, Malabar.]

The Government of India consider that the weekly situation report from the Local Government is of great importance and should continue to be sent but suggest that it should be prepared by civil officers on the spot in consultation with the military, and where that is impossible that it should be confined to an appreciation of the general situation and should not attempt to criticise military operations.

XIV

Demi-official—to F. B. Evans, Esq., I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, No. M. 213, dated the 16th December 1921.

For some time now at the request of the Government of India we have been sending them every Monday a weekly appreciation of the general situation in Malabar by telegram, suitable for communication to the Secretary of State and the press. These telegrams are based on your daily reports, as you may have noticed. The General sends a similar telegram on the military situation every Monday, and about a fortnight ago the Government of India commented on an apparent discrepancy between the two as regards the result of the military drives. After the conference with the General on 3rd December we explained to the Government of India that the discrepancy was due to a misconception of the objects of the drives, and suggested that the weekly telegram from the General would meet all requirements and that it was difficult for a civil officer to arrive at a just appreciation of the situation in an area under military control. In reply the Government of India have sent us a telegram to the effect that they consider our weekly report is of great importance and suggesting that it should in future be prepared by civil officers on the spot in consultation with the military, and that if this is not possible it should be confined to an appreciation of the general situation and should not attempt to criticise military operations. I am accordingly to request that you will send in future every Monday morning a telegraphic summary of the general situation on these lines suitable for communication to the Government of India. You will no doubt be able to consult Humphreys before sending your report, but it is of course a civil appreciation that is wanted.

Note.—From this point weekly telegrams were received from Mr. Evans and sent on to the Government of India after scrutiny by the Madras Government.

XV

To the Government of India, Home Department, No. 214-M., dated the 19th December 1921.

Malabar situation week ending 18th. Main fighting gangs remain in hill areas stated last week but have dwindled further and still more scattered. Difficulty getting at them not diminished but their food supplies still further restricted. Raid

to Pandalur probably for food and arms. The gang apparently returned Nilambur area and since moved west-north of Beypore river. Some chance still of Chembrasseri Tangal and Sithi Koya Tangal surrendering. Operations Tirurangadi area have left only very small groups armed rebels. Dacoities continue Kaipakkancheri and Tirur areas. Surrenders have continued all parts and rather larger proportion of arms brought in. Conditions in surrendered amsams improving and some indications of Hindus and Mapillas combining resist lootings and help capture individuals but restoration public confidence slow till all known leaders accounted for and that may still take time owing nature of country where they now are.

XVI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/639/G.-3, dated the 19th December 1921.

Weekly appreciation Malabar situation. Two main bands estimated at 700 under the principal leaders and about seven scattered dacoity bands now comprise practically the whole of the active rebels. The former are in the hills in the vicinity of Mannarghat and the latter in the north-east portion of the Martial Law area. These bands are all fugitive and are all being closely hunted. A steady return to peace conditions is apparent in the remainder of the area though the Hindus are slow in returning through fear of dacoities.

Rebels are still submitting and arms being handed in. Owing to the general nervousness and possibility of revival of resistance as long as the two main rebel gangs are in being as a fighting force, I do not consider any reduction of force or military control advisable until they are accounted for.

I cannot estimate the time this will take, but I consider it to be a matter of a few weeks only.

The rebel casualties for the week are as follows:—

80 killed.
Nil wounded.
109 captured.
4,500 surrendered.

XVII

To the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 26th December 1921.

Malabar situation week ending 25th. Chembrasseri Tangal and Sithi Koya have surrendered and majority their gangs come in or accounted for. Remnants joined other fighting gangs chief of which under Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, Moideen Haji and Konnara Tangal remain in hills in Nilambur and Arikkod areas and north of river. These being worn down by military and police but still elusive, and still capable concentrating considerable numbers. In West Ernad police operations have still further reduced rebels and dacoits. Many important arrests made during week. Surrenders have been made in numbers nearly all amsams and more guns brought in. Normal conditions extending in whole area but landlords slow to give lead in exhibition confidence. Most amsams fit refugees return and desirable all grounds return not delayed.

XVIII

From the General Officer Commanding, Madras District, No. B.M. 954, dated the 24th December 1921.

Appreciation of the situation in Malabar for the week ending 24th December. Good progress has been made as regards the capture or elimination of rebel leaders and others wanted. Only two leaders of importance with diminishing following still at large. These not expected to last long and when they are captured the rebellion as such will be over. The chief requirements now are the return of refugees and resettlement. Casualties—58 killed, 65 wounded, 20 captured, 1,225 surrendered. (These figures are uncertain as the telegram is mutilated.)

XIX

To the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 2nd January 1922.

Summary for week ending 1st January 1922. The situation has remained on the whole as described last week. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji whose gang is now reduced to about 80 all tired and hungry has been on Pandalur hill (Malabar) and just escaped capture on the 30th. Karath Moideen Kutti Haji and the Konnara Tangal are still north of the Beypore river in the neighbourhood of Pannikkod. There have been a considerable number of surrenders and arrests of dangerous criminals and rebels; leaders are being tried by court-martial, but large numbers of prisoners still remain to be tried. Conditions generally continue to show steady improvement; refugees are beginning to return in larger numbers.

XX

To the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 10th January 1922.

Malabar summary week ending 8th. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji with 21 men, 10 rifles and other arms captured by police on 6th. Capture result of constant military pressure. Remnants of his gang still well armed remain out in one or two parties in East Ernad. In West Ernad gangs under Konnara Tangal, Karath Moideen Kutti Haji and Abdu have shown considerable activity. First moved together in force about 500 towards Tirurangadi and gained some adherents. Later split again and returned north and east. Are being chased by troops in Kondotti-Arikkod areas. Other armed rebels in small parties north Beypore river. A few sporadic murders and lootings. Further important arrests individuals. Rebel activity in West Ernad revived alarm. Otherwise progress return normal condition continues. Trade spreading and harvest progressing satisfactorily fair proportion martial area.

XXI

From the General Officer Commanding, dated the 9th January 1922.

Weekly Malabar situation. Principal event has been capture of chief rebel leader Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji with remnant of his band. Konnara Tangal's band estimated 400 to 600 has apparently divided into two. One party moving towards Beypore river and other east towards Pandalur.

All troops now combined in hunting these parties which include apparently all remaining active rebels. The revival of Konnara Tangal may delay settlement as campaign must continue till he is eliminated. Otherwise pacification of area continues satisfactorily.

Ninth Field Company, S. and M. return, Bangalore, section 8th Armoured Car Company have been ordered to Madras on their way to peace station in response to urgent call by Government for more troops during Royal visit. Rebel casualties: killed 39, wounded 10, captured 8, surrendered 670.

XXII

To the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th January 1922.

Malabar summary week ending 15th. Military operations principally in Arikkod area and north of Beypore river where Konnara Tangal and Avoker Mussaliar still out with appreciable following. Gangs of Kutti and Abdu have largely dispersed and small groups and individual have been killed or captured or surrendered. Two important sub-leaders of Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and one of Abdu's captured by police and several important arrests made of murderers. In Wandur area small party rebels killed in Hindu temple after fanatical fight in old traditional style. In Tirurangadi area a band composed mostly remnants old gang murdered three Hindus. Is being pursued by police. Some assistance to police from local Mapillas there and elsewhere. Return of Hindus continues gradually except south-west Calicut and parts Arikkod and Tirurangadi areas.

XXIII

From the General Officer Commanding, dated the 16th January 1922.

Malabar weekly appreciation from General Officer Commanding. Now that Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji has been removed the only rebel bands of importance left are Konara Tangal's and Karath Moideen Kutti Haji's north of Arikkod. Both being dealt with and are diminishing in numbers owing to losses and surrenders. Casualties: killed 46, wounded 50, captured 38, surrendered 126.

XXIV

To the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 23rd January 1922.

Malabar summary week ending 22nd. Fighting gangs still out in small groups north of Beypore river. Raided Puthupadi beginning week murdering three Hindus. Garhwalis and police operating. Detrition continues steadily. Elsewhere many surrenders and arrests and few armed rebels remain out. Situation requires return of janmis to their homes more than talk about reconstruction. One battalion Gurkhas has left.

XXV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/715/G-3, dated the 23rd January 1922.

Weekly appreciation Malabar. The band of Moideen Kutti Haji has practically been dispersed. Konnara Tangal with reduced following still evades capture in difficult hill country north of Arikkod. Several minor leaders have been captured this week. Constant efforts are being made to capture the above and Avoker Mussaliar. Task difficult owing to small numbers of bands and their rapid and erratic movements. Until these are eliminated military precautions cannot be relaxed though the release of troops is continuing as arranged. Hunting of rebels is now being done chiefly by the Special Police backed by troops. Settlement of country continues but wealthy Hindus are slow in returning. Rebel casualties: killed 22, wounded 5, captured 24, surrendered 750.

XXVI

To the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 30th January 1922.

Malabar summary week ending 29th. Fighting gangs under Avoker Mussaliar and Konnara Tangal still elusive in hills in south-west Calicut taluk.

Some stragglers and outposts killed and captured by troops and police. Abdu Haji and small party killed in Hindu temple near Pukkottur. Karath Moideen Kutti Haji captured same area. Other leaders Koyamu and Mukri Ayamad hiding practically alone. Chin battalion has left. Restoration of normal conditions still delayed by reluctance of janmis to return. Most important criminals arrested in bulk of area.

Minor arrests delayed by congestion in jails.

XXVII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/727/G-3, dated the 30th January 1922.

Malabar weekly appreciation. There is no change in general situation since last week, but two important leaders have been disposed of. South of Beypore river area is quiet with exception of few scattered rebels who still evade capture. Rebel casualties: killed 7, wounded 2, captured 13, surrendered 29.

XXVIII

To the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 6th February 1922.

Malabar summary week ending 6th. Situation generally same as last week. Small fighting gangs under Konnara Tangal and Avoker Mussaliar still in hills south-east Calicut taluk. Koyamu Haji captured with assistance local Mapillas. Party of four rebels with service rifle killed by troops after fight in Hindu house. Few armed rebels now left south of Beypore river. Hindus still lack confidence in many amsams.

XXIX

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/737/G.-3, dated the 6th February 1922.

Malabar weekly appreciation. Organized rebellion as such is now over and Madras Government has been approached with a view to removal of Martial Law. Isolated rebels still evading capture but numbers being gradually reduced. Number of rebel casualties: killed 18, captured 12, wounded and surrendered, nil.

XXX

To the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 13th February 1922.

Malabar summary week ending 12th. Situation generally much the same as last week. Ten armed rebels killed in Hindu temple in Melattur area and five in Tirurangadi area. Konnara Tangal and Avoker Mussaliar still in S.E. Calicut taluk, former reported very fanatical. Restoration of normal conditions progressing slowly.

XXXI

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/745/G.-3, dated the 13th February 1922.

Weekly situation reported for Malabar. The military situation is unchanged. Another small rebel band has been disposed of. A few rebels still remain at large. I am releasing the 2/9th Gurkhas, but wish to retain the 1/39th Garhwalis for the present chiefly to induce confidence among refugees who will not return if the force is further reduced. Rebel casualties: killed 14, captured 1, wounded nil, surrendered nil.

XXXII

To the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 20th February 1922.

Malabar summary week ending 19th. The Konnara Tangal and Avoker Mussaliar are still in hills in S.E. Calicut taluk but with decreasing following. Many rebels have been arrested in that area and a few killed. South of Beypore river nothing important has occurred. The 2/9th Gurkhas left on Saturday. With decline of martial activity has grown vociferation in Calicut and elsewhere with much exaggeration about distress. In Ernad, which has suffered most, recent sales of markets and liquor shops attracted good competition and fetched good prices. There is heavy road traffic in arecanuts, ginger, coconuts, timber and even paddy. Agricultural operations are in fair progress in many amsams and new tea shops are to be seen everywhere. Prices are not unduly high. The continued absence of the janmis is the great handicap to better progress in reconstruction.

XXXIII

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S./250/754/G.-3, dated the 20th February 1922.

Malabar weekly appreciation. Military situation unchanged. Konnara Tangal believed in vicinity Kuttancheri. 2/9th Gurkhas left for Dehra Dun 18th. Rebel casualties: killed 5, wounded 3, captured or surrendered nil.

XXXIV

From the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/761/G.-3, dated the 27th February 1922.

Malabar weekly situation report. There is nothing of military importance to report. Martial Law Ordinance expired on the 25th and Headquarters Malabar Force being dissolved. No rebel casualties have been reported.

XXXV

To the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 28th February 1922.

Malabar summary week ending 26th. Armed gangs still out in hills S.E. Calicut taluk. Number decreasing. Some murders of Hindus reported on Saturday. A few armed rebels still at large in Tirurangadi and Nilambur areas but Ernad and North Ponnani generally quiet and settling down. Walluvanad for the most part normal. Many criminals still to be tried and to be arrested. Economic conditions fair. Ploughing and sowing in progress in most amsams. Recent sales of tolls in Ernad and Walluvanad fetched 10 per cent above last year's prices. Martial Law ceased 25th.

SECTION E—DEMI-OFFICIAL INFORMATION.

(a) *Reports from the Inspector-General of Police.*

I

Dated Podanur, the 22nd August 1921.

Colonel Humphreys who is to command the troops came here between 9 and 10 and we had a discussion. The line is certainly open to Shoranur and probably to Pattambi. The column is coming in four trains, the first of which should be here about 10 p.m. and the others at about four hour intervals. Colonel Humphreys intends to reach Shoranur at daybreak and advance along the line as far as possible. There is at present no definite news from the neighbourhood of Pattambi except to damage having been done to an important bridge near Pallipuram. The rate of advance will depend upon damage done to railway. At present there is no special news from any part of the district. I wired early to Calicut but have had no reply up to now—1-30 p.m. I have sent off a short cipher wire to you. The column is a strong one.

II

Dated Shoranur, the 23rd August 1921.

We came here with first troop train by 9-30 a.m. having left Podanur about 4-20 a.m.

Nothing has occurred at Palghat. Line is open to just beyond Pattambi. Extent of damage just beyond seems slight. We shall probably proceed as far as possible.

The Sub-Magistrate's cutcherry at Tirur and Munsif's Court there have been looted. Also police station and some other police stations, but no news of anyone having been hurt.

The Mapillas seem to have dispersed.

There is no news from elsewhere except that Malappuram is all right. In this train are Col. Radcliffè, Officer Commanding, Dorsets, in command, and Dorsets and Transport.

Nothing has happened at Shoranur or Pattambi, but some Mapillas looted some amsam adhigari's records and took two guns from them near by.

No confirmation of rumour of looting Manjeri treasury.

III

Dated Pattambi, the 24th August 1921.

We came to Pattambi yesterday about 1 p.m. I think the line is open for 2 or 3 miles ahead and a bridge is being repaired. We shall advance this afternoon probably up to the big bridge near Pallipuram. I believe it is not badly damaged—apparently they have got up to mile 399 from Calicut side, I mean the line from Calicut up to there seems opened up, but the message was obscure. I hope Martial Law will be introduced soon. The present half and half system is far from satisfactory, and from Shoranur westwards no Civil Courts seem working. It looks as if the Mapillas will break up and elude the military and that possibly it will take a long time to re-establish the civil power.

As soon as we arrived here we heard that the looting of some Brahman houses at a distance of about 2 miles was going on and I went out with the troops. Of course the looters had gone. They extorted money and did no violence. They were about 25. I made an immediate investigation and was given the names of about 17 local Mapillas. After 11 p.m. parties of military with police officers went out to make arrests — about 9 arrests were made but probably several will be released as wrong. I am sending the prisoners and a prisoner arrested by permanent-way people damaging a bridge, to the Palghat Deputy Magistrate, who is at Shoranur. He is to send them to Palghat or Coimbatore. Until Martial Law is proclaimed some steps should be taken to ensure prisoners being received at Coimbatore—preferably Central Jail—where we send in. Please look into this. I expect a good deal of looting of Nambudris and rich landlords is going on. A man has just come in from Pallipuram ahead with such a story.

If Martial Law is introduced will you kindly issue orders as to where convicted prisoners are to go. I suppose Coimbatore for the present.

At Tirur two Sergeants of the Leinsters and the European manager of tile-works are prisoners. It is said that they are to be forcibly converted The Khilāfat Committee are said to be preventing their being killed. The treasury at Perintalmanna is said to have been looted and Rs. 8,000 taken.

Excuse my letters. I have a corner of a railway carriage and little opportunity for writ'ng. The General is expected here to-day.

IV

Dated Pattambi, the 25th August 1921.

We do not leave this for Kuttipuram till to-morrow owing to slowness of repair of Railway line. General Burnett Stuart was here yesterday.

There seems a good deal of looting of Hindus by Mapillas going on. I have had a wire from Colonel Humphreys saying that unrest is reported from Palghat and he wants me to look after it. I have sent Furness to take charge there and to take 50 Reserve from Coimbatore if necessary. I have sent for Assistant Superintendent of Police Bishop to help in case Military split up into parties and I have warned Gasson. There is no useful news from Calicut. I am trying to get more news from them with a view to our own actions.

Not being in touch with the local authorities puts us at a great disadvantage in dealing with local centres which we reach.

Unless the Mapillas deliberately oppose our advance we cannot make plans for getting at them until we have reliable local knowledge.

SECTION E.—DEMI-OFFICIAL INFORMATION.

(b) *Reports from the District Magistrate, Malabar.*

I

Dated the 13th September 1921.

I enclose my appeals to the Press of Madras, if you think they are all right will you please send them on and ask Lamb to arrange to accept subscriptions. I have omitted the *Hindu*

ENCLOSURE

Distress in Ernad and Walluvanad.

AN APPEAL FOR HELP.

SIR,—I have received information from many sources that in the Ernad and Walluvanad taluks, as a result of wholesale looting of Hindus by Mapilla rebels, scarcity is beginning to be felt; private food stores have been dissipated by loot, economic and industrial life is at a stand-still, and much of the standing crop ruined or abandoned. It is more than doubtful whether any serious efforts will be made in many villages to grow a second crop.

In Calicut we have realized that help is required now, and some gentlemen of the head-quarters town have already undertaken to supply food-stuffs, which I have arranged to distribute in one or two centres. But as more complete information is received, it is certain that much more aid will be required than local efforts in Calicut can supply. The need is urgent, for the military and civil authorities must devote all their energy to the restoring of order and rebuilding the fabric of civil administration. Government aid will, perhaps, be necessary later on. I address this appeal to the public for help to tide over the immediate distress, and I know I shall not appeal in vain. The administration of such funds as are forthcoming will be entrusted to a committee of non-official gentlemen working hand in hand with the district officers, and I am taking steps to form such a committee.

Donations may be paid to the Imperial Bank of India, Madras, for credit of the Malabar Relief Fund.

II

Demi-official—to E. F. THOMAS, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 16th September 1921, No. 108-A.

I am to say that your relief appeal is being sent to the papers to-day. At Lamb's suggestion the final paragraph was altered as follows: "Donations may be paid to the Imperial Bank of India, Madras, for credit of the Malabar Relief Fund"; and Lamb says that he will arrange for all remittances to be made at par.

Also write to Mr. Lamb, Imperial Bank, and ask him kindly to send to the Press in Madras periodically a list of subscribers and subscriptions as it is understood the Madras papers have agreed to publish these lists free of charge.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—21-9-21.

Demi-official No. M. 122, accordingly.

G. R. F. TOTTENHAM—21-9-21.

Reply received to the effect that the only subscription so far received is one of Rs. 1,000 from His Excellency but that lists will be sent to the press from time to time.

III

No. 367, dated the 15th September 1921.

It occurs to me that the Government of India perhaps may not realize the extent of the outbreak regarding it as a disturbance in part only of one district, seeing that districts in Madras run much larger than in other Provinces with which they are more familiar.

The following figures may therefore be of convincing interest:—

Excluding Wynad and Kurumbranad where at present Martial Law is not in function, and Calicut taluk where it is more or less dormant, the area most directly affected is—

	SQ. MLS.
Ernad	966
Walluvanad	882
Ponnani	426
Total	2,274

The area liable to be affected, viz., Calicut taluk, is 379 square miles: the whole area under Martial Law administration is thus 2,653 square miles, probably the size of two average districts of the United Provinces.

The population according to the census of 1911 which is very little less than the figures for this year's census is shown in the accompanying table rounded to the nearest thousand :—

Ernad	393,000
Walluvanad	374,000
Ponnani	529,000
Calicut	271,000
Total	1,567,000

the Mapilla population affected is—

Ernad	223,000
Walluvanad	119,000
Ponnani	222,000
Calicut	82,000
Total	646,000

In Ernad alone do the Mapillas outnumber the Hindus and in both Ernad and Walluvanad loyal Mapillas are in nearly as bad a plight as the Hindus.

IV

No. 402, dated the 17th September 1921.

The Mapilla both in and out of the disturbed area is still far from being chastened. Hitchcock tells me that he has had a report from the Sub-Inspector of Cherpulcheri who has returned to his station. This place was looted but nothing more than looting and wrecking of the public offices took place ; there was I mean no collection of rebels who have remained in the field and are prepared to fight it out. He reports that his position is very unpleasant and that the local Mapillas are in a truculent mood, though the place has, I think, had a visit from the troops. Austin reports small bodies of rebels about Pukkottur some armed with guns and swords. The road from Calicut to Malappuram and Manjeri is not safe on this account. This from a place where the rebels have had a severe lesson.

Worse than this is an occurrence at Cannanore which throws some light on the psychology of the Mapilla. Kunhi Tangal of Malappuram who was convicted of possession of a war knife and would have been put on trial for waging war, as it was he who blessed the Pukkottur rebels before they went out to die, died in Cannanore Jail on the 14th. Snow, the Jail Superintendent, with incredible stupidity as it seems to me, handed the body over to the Cannanore Mapillas. They took the body in a great procession to the jamath mosque and with the permission of the Bibi Raja buried it there with great ceremony. The incident shows that the quiescent Mapilla though he may not rebel actively, and those of Cannanore will not, still regards the rebels as heroes and men to be honoured. I have asked the Inspector-General of Prisons to enquire why this body was allowed to be buried in this public manner, and have called on the Bibi to explain. Government ought I think to take a serious view of her act.

Evans, I see, reports that the women and children are scouting for the rebels and express a wish to die. You may be interested to learn that it is true that a woman was killed in the forefront of the Pukkottur battle. She was dressed as a man. My authority is Captain Sullivan, M.C., R.A.M.C., whose attention was called to the body by one of the men; he then verified the sex of the body. Looting still goes on in parts.

V

Dated the 19th September 1921.

Hughes arrived here yesterday. We discussed the location of his Court and have come to the conclusion that the best place for it is Calicut. I hope it will begin to work on Friday next. Edgington will be here and Hughes has told Narayana Ayyar he expects him to arrive in time. I see that Evans has replied to your suggestion to go slow with disposal of cases, and takes the point that I should have made that it is arrests that are filling our jails. I see also that he has taken action to clear Tirur. Contributions are coming in locally to my relief fund and I have practically settled the personnel of the committee which will run it.

See J. IX & E (e) XVI.

I am afraid Austin will not be able to conduct the enquiries into the circumstances surrounding Rowley's death. The soldier witnesses are probably at Calicut and the Police witnesses or some of them also. I propose to put Fraser * on to work on the enquiry at this end and ask Austin to question the witnesses who may be at Malappuram as some of the men present belonged to the Special Force. I have sent for Kini who is the Deputy Collector at Cochin, as he seems to have made rather a fool of himself over the rebellion in his part of the district, and I may have to ask for his transfer. There is little doubt that he has worked hand in hand with the local Khilafat party, so much so as to let us down.

See S.F. 170. L.

* Must be Austin. L.D.

The news that a column has got into touch with the rebels and dispersed them marks a step forward in the direction of getting the district settled down. Crombie is going out with a column in Walluvanad.

I have just seen a translation of the inscription on a flag we captured from the mob from Tanur on the 20th August which opened the rebellion. The inscription is in Arabic and runs " Khilāfat. Allah is great. Old and weak, young and strong, those who walk, those who ride, rich and poor, armed and unarmed, hale and hearty, halt and infirm, let every-one, counting this but nought, in godlike guise set forth to battle." If this flag was ready as it was, to be unfurled on the 20th it is pretty clear that Khilāfat was ready for rebellion sometime before that.

VI

Dated the 22nd September 1921.

I see that Evans has told you that the latest policy of the rebels is to inaugurate guerilla warfare and not to meet the troops. This agrees with what the Local Fund Assistant Engineer has reported to me on arrival from Nilambur where he stayed long after everyone else left, and with their latest conduct of operations. This means that the suppression of the rebellion will be a long and tedious process and will involve the temporary occupation of a number of places and, I should say the using of many more troops. Indeed it seems to me that this war is only just beginning.

Regarding Rajagopala Achari I agree that he ought not to be allowed to hand out relief as coming from the Congress. People have short memories and would soon imbibe the belief which will be inculcated as soon as the agitator gets a free hand, that Government left the people to starve and Gandhi saved them. My impression is that public opinion here approves my order forbidding Kesava Menon and Company from leaving Calicut without my permission. I am told there is a movement being started to get an independent enquiry into the causes of the outbreak and the measures taken to quell it but this is not getting much support locally. The agitator's stock is at a big discount now and I don't want anything done to inflate it. The enquiry as to the circumstances surrounding Rowley's and Johnstone's deaths is nearly complete; it has been made by Tottenham as the men present were mostly Reserve men who are now in Calicut. I was wrong in saying that the police present were S.F. men. I will get the deponents to swear to their statements and send them on in a day or so with a report. There is practically nothing to write about from Calicut as the whole interest is in the military operations and therefore I have not troubled you with a daily letter. I hope that arrangements are well in hand for housing prisoners for we have on our lists nearly 5,000 names of men wanted for criminal offences big and small and we are making arrests daily.

VII

Dated the 25th September 1921.

I wish to offer a few remarks on Evans' daily * report, dated 24th. I agree generally with him that the destruction of the gangs he mentions on page 1 is an essential preliminary to the restoration of law and order and of confidence. But he is misinformed when he says that in Tirurangadi and the neighbouring amsams there has been little rebel activity since Ali Musaliar's capture. There are bands more or less organized in Vengara which touches Tirurangadi on the east, Chelari and Tenjipalam on the north, while only two days ago there was a serious dacoity in Athavanad in the mana of the high priest of all the Nambudris within a mile and a half of Edakkulam railway station. These bands are doing more than talk. Looting of Hindus, dacoity and forcible conversion are still going on unchecked in the amsams I first named by armed Mapillas who carry warknives and other weapons. I don't suppose that they would face the troops. Much the same state of affairs is reported from amsams in the triangle Kondotti-Arikkod-Manjeri though things are probably not so bad there. I have really very little information about this area. Negotiation is out of the question, it would be justly regarded as a betrayal by the Hindus and as a sign of weakness by the Mapillas.

* E (e) XXI.

I am completely in agreement with what Evans says on the subject of Martial Law. I am in close touch with the people who count in Calicut and I can assure you that they do not want it to be taken away, they are rather inclined to criticise us for not being more drastic in the devestated area; they see that it is necessary in Calicut and as it is being administered at present they do not find it irksome. In any case the pronouncement of the High Court that a Court working under the Martial Law Ordinance can only function in the Martial Law area involves the continuance of Martial Law so long as the special tribunal has work to do.

We must get a copy of this from Public Prosecutor.
L.D.

[Dealt with separately.]

I hope there will not be any delay in sanctioning the Auxiliary Police we have asked for; they will be required to keep the country side in order and they should be of the greatest use in rounding up rebels working with the troops. It seems perfectly clear that the British soldier

cannot catch and destroy the infinitely more mobile Mapilla and the latter's policy not to make a stand but to ambush and run away besides costing many valuable lives is going to prolong this miserable business. Evans remarks in a former letter to you that Simla has offered a battalion of Chin men accustomed to jungle fighting. In my humble opinion that is just what is wanted, men who can take on the Mapilla at his own game and beat him. I have had reports that the rebel leaders were much terrified when they heard a rumour that Gurkha troops were coming and the Hindus were correspondingly elated. I am convinced it would be cheaper in the long-run to employ enough men to finish the job quickly.

The special tribunal has finished its first case, the disposal was not so expeditious as I had hoped, and if it is not possible to get a quicker despatch, it will, I fear, be necessary to recommend some amendments of the procedure. I shall of course not do so without consulting Hughes. It seems ridiculous that rebels taken prisoner in an engagement in which British soldiers have been killed may not be dealt with on the spot in a summary manner, as for example the men taken by Major Weldon when he was ambushed.

VIII

Dated the 4th October 1921.

The effect of the recent successful ambushes of which we have had news has been to uplift the Mapilla a good deal. And the sooner the additional troops arrive the better. At Edakkulam, the next station to our base at Tirur, an armed band attacked the Christians of the place quite close to the Tile Works and killed or wounded four. While on the other side of Tirur a party of friendlies assisting our police to make arrests was attacked and a couple killed. The troops went to Tanur and, as a jemadar was in charge, lost a great chance to teach the Tanur Mapilla, who is not out in the field only because he is too far from the main body, a much-needed, lesson. The jemadar thought he was only to fire if he was attacked and therefore let a band of about forty men escape from the mosque and thus evade arrest. There is a report so far unconfirmed, but which Hitchcock and Elliot who was recently on column believe to be true, that a Hindu who supplied the troops with milk in Tuvvur was caught after the troops left by Chembrasseri Tangal and flayed alive. I have not given this to the press pending confirmation, but there can be no doubt that the Hindu and the friendly Mapilla of Eastern Ernad and Walluvanad is going through hell. The Suffolks report having connected with the Mannarghat rebels and having killed about fifty, but there is reason to doubt whether the enemy casualties run into double figures. I am sending you a request for sanction under section 10 of the Mapilla Act in respect of four amsams and I hope that I may receive early orders.

IX

Dated the 19th October 1921.

I don't know whether Evans will be writing about the events in Arikkod amsam, Ernad, on the borders of Calicut taluk and in the adjoining amsams of Calicut.

Last Saturday about twenty rebels came to Arikkod on shandy day and called out the local men in the name of Islam. They do not seem to have made much demur but formed a mob, went to the house of the adhigari, a Nambudiri, looted his house, took his guns and murdered him and his kolkarans and probably a non-official named Appu Menon. The same procedure was probably adopted in Pannikod and Mavur amsams, but I have no definite report from any body of those amsams. Of Kanniparamba amsam I have heard from the adhigari who came in yesterday. From him and others I learnt that not more than a score or so of Ernad men (probably from Arikkod) came over. When they called out the local Mapillas the latter came with some readiness and started looting. I have not heard that they did any murder; the local men were considerate enough to tell their Hindu landlords they had better go and they went. Kanniparamba is about eleven miles from Calicut and the resultant panic in Calicut was very great. It seems to me that the enforced halt in the operations has encouraged the Mapilla everywhere, so much so that the smallest nucleus of real rebels is enough to start the local population on the warpath almost anywhere. The new police force has gone out to try to locate the Kanniparamba band. As I write news comes in of another lot in Chathamangalam amsam of Calicut. One curious feature of the Arikkod murders is that two Kanara Brahmans were seized and confined for some time but later let go as they did not belong to the district.

Enclosure

The following statements of Govindan Embrandiri of Kasaragode and Vazhampetta Illath Narayanan Nambudiri are published for information :—

Govindan Embrandiri states :—

I went to Attapurath Nambudiri's (Adhighari of Arikkod Amsam) Illam on the day his house was looted in the beginning of Chingam last. I was in the said Illam till 12 noon on the 15th October. I am not employed in the Attapurath Illam. Attapurath Nambudiri advised me not to wander about in this rebellious time and asked me to stay in the Illam. Last

Saturday at noon Attapurath Nambudiri, myself, Vazhampatt Narayanan Nambudiri, the sandhikaran of Attapurath temple, and the said Narayanan Nambudiri, were taking meals. Then one Kumaran Nayar living at the gate of the Illam came and said: "The rioters have reached the shandy. Appu Menon has been caught and tied. You may escape yourself at once." On hearing that we ran to the forest close to the temple and hid ourselves in different places. About 50 Mapillas came to our hiding place and seized both of us. We can identify some of them. Some Mapillas said "Sons of dogs! Walk on." Our hands were tied from behind with ropes. We are taken to the front portico of Attapurath Illam and seated on the steps. One Mapilla asked "Where is Attapurath Nambudiri." We do not know that Mapilla. He had a gun, a sword and a dagger in his hands. He held the gun at our neck and said "Speak the truth or else you will be shot." I said "We do not know the Nambudiri. We came here only for midday meal." In the meanwhile Attapurath Nambudiri was brought by some Mapillas. One of the Mapillas who brought the Nambudiri said pointing to us "do not trouble them." The gun aimed at us was then removed. The Nambudiri was taken to the Nadumittam inside the Illam. We heard the noise of beating the Nambudiri. We cannot see the Nambudiri from the portico. The Nambudiri was crying out loudly. The Mapillas asked the Nambudiri "Where is the money? Where are the jewels? Where are the two breech-loading guns? Where is the muzzle-loading gun and the ammunition, etc.?" Nambudiri replied that the guns were with Kolkaran Krishnan. Kolkaran Krishnan and Velu had also been tied near the Nadumittam. Then the Mapillas told Krishnan "You told us that the gun was not with you." He was then beaten. Krishnan said "I have kept the guns in the garden and I shall get them." He was then taken to the garden and they came back with the guns. As they reached the portico Krishnan was beaten four times with the stock of the gun. Blood was seen at Krishnan's nose and mouth. Krishnan was then taken to the Nambudiri. Then they asked the Nambudiri for the key. He said "The key is with the Vazhampatt Nambudiri." The Nambudiri then called and asked me to fetch Vazhampatta from the forest. Then I was taken to the forest by two Mapillas. I called out Vazhampatt Nambudiri. He did not answer. I was then taken back to the Illam. Afterwards I heard the noise of breaking open the doors of the Illam. Then the papers and other samans were thrown into the front yard from the upstairs. The papers were collected in one place and burnt after pouring kerosene-oil. A table had been left near us. A net bag containing money was brought by the rebels and kept on it. I don't know what other things they got. Again the Nambudiri was beaten. They said "You will be cut to pieces. Tell us at once where you have kept money." Nambudiri replied "I do not know. My son has kept it and he is not here." Some Mapillas then suggested "Nothing more need be done. We shall go." The Nambudiri, Krishnan and Velu were brought outside. We were asked to walk on. All of us numbering five were taken to the river. When we reached the river some of the Mapillas took both of us to the road and asked us to stand there. While we were standing one Mapilla told some other Mapillas to go and come after getting them bathed. Half a naliga later we heard a cry "Ayyo." When the Mapillas returned to the road the Mapillas at the road asked "Is it not over"? Some Mapillas replied "Nothing left." When they returned from the river the Nambudiri, Krishnan and Velu were not found. Both of us were then taken to a shop in the bazaar and locked in it. It was 5 p.m. then. When we got into the shop our hands were untied. A little later Appu Menon was brought to our room. His hands were also untied. We were locked in the shop and about thirty Mapillas were watching us from outside. On the night of Saturday Appu Menon was taken out by the Mapillas. Then I asked them where he was being taken. They said that he is wanted to show us Urangattiri Menon. Afterwards we did not see Appu Menon. At about 11 a.m. the next day one Mapilla came and told us "You have not taken food since yesterday. You will not take our food. We are satisfied that you are strangers," and added "You should not leave this without taking your food." The Mapillas gave us rice, salt, chillies, pappadam and coconut oil. We cooked and took our meals on the river side. After food we were taken back and locked in the same shop. I requested the Mapilla who locked up to release us as we were to go away after meals. He went and consulted others and released us. When released he warned us as below:—

"You belong to Mangalore, you must go back to your place at once. Don't stay in Calicut. We are coming to Calicut. You should not tell these occurrences to any one." We consented to it and came away. We reached Calicut this morning at 10 a.m.

Narayanan Nambudiri states:—

I went to Attupurath Illam ten days before the occurrence. My paternal uncle Narayanan Nambudiri is the Sandhikaran of the Illam temple. I went there to assist him. I have nothing to add to the above statement. I and Embrandiri were together all the time.

X

Dated the 21st October 1921.

Many thanks for your letter of the 19th. I got it only after Knapp and Sir William Vincent had arrived. He did not discuss the causes of the rebellion with me but it is true he took a great interest in a number of more or less starved looking prisoners waiting their trial outside the court. It turns out that they were charged with burning a toddy shop and dacoiting

the owner thereof, so agrarian discontent cannot be inferred therefrom. What he did talk most about was the issue of a proclamation, he would not accept my view that such a step was premature so long as the bands in the field were still in possession of the initiative. Nor would he accept my view that the Mapilla considers at present that he is winning the war. A strong deputation should run him to earth at Tirur and give him the benefit of the Hindu point of view. After all why go out of the way to injure your friends, who incidentally are the most vocal politically, to help your enemies? The ordinance improves with each edition; the day the latest edition arrived a rebel most opportunely was captured, after committing murder, with the others of his band and I want to inaugurate the new courts on him. The Gurkha has tasted blood with his kukri, I do not know details.

Sir W. Vincent's main reason for refusing to accept the view that the Mapilla thinks he is winning all right is that we have killed many more Mapillas than he has soldiers; in vain did I point out that the Mapilla does not count casualties as of any moment, he mostly denies that there have been many; e.g., according to his intelligence, Tirurangadi provided in all only nine and the ordinary rebel has to believe what his Tangals tell him, while on the other hand our casualties are multiplied according to taste or the requirements of the case.

XI

Dated the 23rd October 1921.

This letter is in supplement of Evans' daily letter; I don't write daily as there is usually nothing to write about. Last evening about 4 p.m. Bulkley informed me that the Sub-Inspector of Kunnamangalam, 12 miles from Calicut on the Wynad road, where there is a Deputy Tahsildar's office, had bolted in with news that the place was being attacked. This was certain to make Calicut panic, so I took out in motor lorries about fifty men of the new Police to deal with the rebels. When we got within three miles of the place I learned that the news was false and that no attack was expected, though there were, as I already knew, looters, local men, about four miles east on the other side of the river. So I came back, but Bulkley with Fraser, hoping for the worst, went on. They returned about half past nine p.m. having seen nothing. The new force is shaping well, the men are keen and will march well as soon as they get used to their boots. They have already done a 35-mile expedition, out and back through Calicut, looking for non-existent rebels, the rumour of whom sent Calicut into a really bad panic. * Abdur Rahiman is being dealt with for spreading false reports likely to cause uneasiness.

* See S.F. 327-A

XII

Demi-official (extract)—from E. F. Thomas, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 2nd November 1921.

I enclose a formal application for long leave. I discussed the matter of my leave with Knapp and ascertained that you were aware of the probability of my applying for leave and that there would be no objection raised. I do not feel that I do much good here as practically everything is focussed at military headquarters and also, I regret to have to confess it, I am getting a bit jumpy.

* * * * * *

[*Note.*—Mr. Thomas was granted leave for one year on 22nd November 1921 and left Calicut on 21st November 1921 (afternoon) being succeeded by Mr. T. H. Hill, I.C.S.]

SECTION E.—DEMI-OFFICIAL INFORMATION.

(c) *Miscellaneous D.Os. from Messrs. C. W. E. Cotton, I.C.S., Director of Industries, S. Cox, C.I.E., Chief Conservator of Forests, etc.*

I

Demi-official—from C. W. E. COTTON, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Director of Industries, No. P.B. 756, dated Madras, the 25th August 1921.

For the information of Government I write to tell you that Rao Sahib C. Karunakara Menon, a vakil practising at Angadipuram, reached Madras yesterday morning. He reports that on the night of the 21st a crowd of Mapillas burnt the toddy shop at Angadipuram and soon after midday on the 22nd looted the treasury and burnt all the taluk office records but the building itself was apparently not destroyed. Karunakara Menon says that all the currency notes and court-fee stamps were burnt and that the amount of cash found in the treasury was not very large. The mob then proceeded to burn all the records of the Munsif's Court, Sub-Registrar's office and the Post office, the officials being helpless as the Police station had previously been cleared of its rifles. The same evening some of the more important houses in the neighbourhood were looted, jewels, cash and paddy being carried away, but so far as Karunakara Menon is aware, no force was used to the inmates. Karunakara Menon apprehending personal violence to himself left Angadipuram about 4 a.m. on the 23rd and succeeded in reaching the railway at Shoranur in time to catch the mail train to Madras. On his way he saw several small aggregations of Mapillas who were looting "kalams" (farm-houses) and had obtained considerable quantities of paddy therefrom. No carts were available *en route* and the main ferries were not working. At Cherpulcheri Karunakara Menon met a constable who had been despatched by Austin from Malappuram to send a telegram to Government from Shoranur, the line at Malappuram having been cut, and was trying to make his way back. The constable reported that he had left Austin at the Barracks with a few British troops and some men of the special reserve and that Malappuram itself was quiet. At Kottakurichi there was a considerable gathering of Mapillas who were met by special messengers inviting them to go to Ottapalam and wreck the offices there but as, when Karunakara Menon reached there later in the afternoon in the mail train there was no evidence of any damage having been done, it may be assumed that the passing of the troop specials had caused an abandonment of these plans. The offices are quite close to and visible from the line. At Shoranur Karunakara Menon learnt that the railway was intact up to about two miles beyond Pattambi station. Beyond that the Pallipuram railway bridge had been set fire to and considerably damaged. One of the features of the disturbances is the wholesale destruction of toddy shops and arrack shops throughout the affected area. All the smaller police stations in Walluvanad are reported to have been raided and the rifles taken and all the wealthier jenmis who have arms had also been made to give them up. Batty, the Divisional Officer, Palghat, was in charge at Shoranur.

If any of the above is of sufficient interest for inclusion in a communiqué, Karunakara Menon asks that his name should not be disclosed.

II

Memorandum from the Chief Conservator, dated 16th September 1921.

August 21st, 1921.—News was brought to the District Forest Officer's bungalow that 150 Mapillas were at the Nilambur Kovilagam and were killing and looting.

August 22nd, 1921.—Chandy with his wife and the forest people disguised themselves and fled to Nedungayam where they spent the night in the forest.

August 23rd, 1921.—In the morning Chandy and company returned to Nedungayam where the maistris of a prominent Mapilla of the name of Koya Mamu Mussaliar arrived and promised to do what they could for them. In the evening a gang of about 500 Mapillas arrived at Chanda Kundu Mukku about three miles from Nedungayam with the intention, it was said, of massacring all the Government officials and of obtaining the cash from the range officer's cash boxes which were known to contain two or three thousand rupees.

August 24th, 1921.—Chandy and company remained at Nedungayam and met the Mapilla gang in the early morning headed by a Haji who promised that if the money and Chandy's gun were handed over to them, and the Government records were destroyed, no harm would be done to the station buildings, always provided that

all concerned adopted Muhammadanism. This was agreed to. The forest party was then escorted back to Chanda Kundu Mukku and lodged in some huts on the river bank under guard. Some disturbance arose by the arrival of a Mapilla fanatic by name Arivi Kutti Mussaliar who was inclined to proceed to extremities. In the meantime the whole of the forest station was burnt down.

But after discussion amongst the leaders, the party was left unmolested during the night. They were about 40 in number and included Kunhirayan, the Mapilla ranger at Nedungayam and some other Mapilla subordinates. During the night the leaders seemed to have gone away.

August 25th, 1921.—During the morning two letters were received from Koya Mamu Mussaliar instructing the Mapillas that forcible conversion was not permitted by the Koran and that the forest party should proceed to Mombat.

During the course of the day, Athan Kutti, the Mapilla bamboo contractor of Nilambur arrived with the intention of assisting the forest people; but stated that he himself was not sufficiently influential to do much for them, and that the assistance of one Chekku, then erroneously believed to have been the murderer of Mr. Eaton, must be obtained.

Chekku subsequently arrived; and the whole party went to Athan Kutti's house on the old Amarapalayam road a few miles away and stayed there for the night, as it was considered dangerous to proceed to Mombat with so many gangs of fanatical Mapillas roaming the country.

August 26th, 1921.—In the morning Koya Mamu Mussaliar himself arrived with carts to remove the party to Mombat. In the meantime rumours were heard that the military were reaching Nilambur; so the whole party set off to Nilambur with about 20 of Chekku's Mapillas as a protection. On arrival at Nilambur the party stopped at the District Forest office. But no food of any kind could be obtained, and as there were no news of the military, the party proceeded to Mombat during the night. Many Mapillas were seen on the road, but none of them were armed and no obstruction was given. The general idea seems to have been that the military were close at hand.

August 26th to 29th, 1921.—The whole party remained in the house of the brother of Koya Mamu Mussaliar or in the village during these three days and were unmolested. Some of the loot was returned by the Mapillas, including a forester's gun and a gold ring found in Chandy's bungalow at Nilambur. The general impression was that the rebellion was over and that matters were quieting down. Chandy sent money to the mahouts at Nedungayam to buy food for the elephants.

On the 29th evening, however, news arrived that a large body of fanatics was advancing on Mombat from Wandur to kill the forest officials and the Mapillas including Koya Mamu Mussaliar who had befriended them.

Scouts sent out returned saying that the gang was approaching.

30th August 1921.—The whole forest party with some of the Mapillas went down to the river in the early morning and obtained three boats, sinking all the rest to prevent pursuit. They reached Arikkod 15 miles below on the river by noon and there obtained some food and fresh boatmen. At 4 p.m. they arrived at Valakkad and as the place was quiet, they slept there for some hours and arrived by boat at Kalai on Wednesday morning.

Since then Chandy and the forest party have been at Calicut.

Chandy's subsequent information of the Mapilla doings at Nilambur and Nedungayam is as follows:—

All forest buildings which in the first instance were looted have since been burnt down. This includes the whole of the buildings at Nilambur and Nedungayam and all the serambis and store-sheds in the two ranges. So far as is known by the refugees from Nilambur, who arrived at Calicut a couple of days ago, not a single forest building has been spared. The larger buildings were burnt with the aid of petrol. All forest stores and records have been destroyed. It is stated that fifty Government buffaloes were killed and eaten by the Mapillas. Of the elephants two

are known to have escaped to Gudalur. Of the 23 remaining nothing is definitely known, but it is stated that they were killed for the reason that they were the property of the Government. This is however only a rumour.

Chandy states that all the Mapilla forest subordinates without exception were loyal. I may mention that there are about 250,000 cubic feet of Government teak lying either on the river banks or in rafts between the coast and Nilambur, the safety of which cannot at present be looked to. The value of the timber is about three lakhs.

Chandy has been allowed to proceed to Travancore for a week or ten days. He is at present without money or clothes except what he is wearing. The range staff will remain at Calicut for the present and Tireman will see what can be done for them. There is no authentic information regarding the Mannarghat range except that the Range office has been gutted and the records destroyed. The ranger is at Palghat.

III

Demi-official—from the Hon'ble Mr. A. R. Knapp, C.B.E., I.C.S., dated Calicut, the 20th October 1921.

We are just leaving (6 a.m.) for Tirur and Malappuram.

Vincent has interviewed Evans and Thomas and Deputy Superintendent Amu. He is, I think, more than ever convinced that the policy of a "proclamation" which the Government of India proposed and to which, he says, the Viceroy attaches great importance, is right and necessary. Evans and Thomas are both still strongly against it, but Burnett Stuart, I think, favours something of the kind.

We shall be in Madras on Saturday. I suggest that it would be a good thing if I could discuss the matter either with His Excellency and Davidson or in Council that morning and that either Vincent should be invited to be present then or that we should have a conference with him later in the day. We ought to know beyond doubt what line he is going to propose at Simla.

IV

Demi-official—from the Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., Member, Executive Council, Madras, to the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent, K.C.S.I., Home Member, Government of India, dated the 25th October 1921.

A few lines with reference to our conversation on the 17th instant to ask you kindly to cause any available information to be sent to me regarding the raising of military police battalions in Behar, the United Provinces or any other province where such forces have recently been sanctioned. What would be of most help would be the case put up by the Local Government together with the sanction orders of the Government of India or the Secretary of State.

I have not seen Knapp since I returned to Madras this morning, but Marjoribanks tells me that you had quite an interesting time of it in Malabar and that General Burnett Stuart found your visit of great help to him. Now that you have seen for yourself something of what is going on in the district you will, I am sure, be better able to understand future developments: and incidentally perhaps to appreciate why some weeks since we down here took such exception to the introduction of regular appeals from the decision of the Special Tribunal with the attendant delays. Personally, I feel sure that a large factor in prolonging the resistance of the rebels has been the lapse of time in inflicting punishment upon those of the ring-leaders who have been captured. It is indeed matter for regret that the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance No. 4 of 1921 was not issued at the very outset.

SECTION E—DEMI-OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

(*d*) *Reports from the District Magistrate, Nilgiris.*

I

Dated the 27th August 1921.

I have had various rumours of bands of Mapillas advancing on this district from Malabar, but so far nothing has happened. Furness was down in Gudalur before he left, and I have just been down myself only getting back last night. I believe the Nadghani road (leading direct to Nilambur) is blocked just outside this district.

I have placed 45 of my Ooty police with rifles, in charge of an Inspector, in Gudalur; the remainder of the taluk police who are mostly unarmed I have concentrated on the Malabar border with instructions to patrol all avenues of approach from Malabar. There are several telegraph offices in the area and I have asked the Telegraph people to open a new one at Devala, so we should be able to get early news in Ooty of anything happening.

I have warned all planters, and I believe all the women and children have now left. I saw several of the planters yesterday including Nicholls. Some of the estates employ large numbers of Mapillas, one as many as 800; Nicholls himself has a good many. They say that they believe they can hold their own men as long as they are not tampered with from the plains, but if even one Mapilla comes up from the plains they fear trouble. I am going down this morning to see the General at Wellington with Col. Ward and Nicholls to see if we can get a couple of Lewis guns for the planters in Gudalur; several of them have handled Lewis guns during the war.

I saw Brown and Colebrook last night; they know nothing of Eaton; Brown thought he had gone to Calicut. I am giving Brown and Colebrook 150 rupees each as an advance to be recovered later; they need the money to buy clothes and I have left it to the Treasury Deputy Collector to find out from which head of account it is to be paid.

I am of course handicapped by the want of a District Superintendent of Police. I have placed the Senior Inspector Walton in charge. I shall also miss Gawne very much; however I hope to be able to carry on. If only there was no such thing as cipher telegrams: they are the very devil.

Filson telephoned to that Government consider that a District Superintendent of Police should be posted at once to the Nilgiris, whether Furness or another.
N.E.M.—29-8-21.

II

Dated the 27th August 1921.

In continuation of my letter of this morning, I took down several of the Gudalur planters to Wellington and we saw the General. He has agreed to send down to Gudalur a detachment of forty men with two Lewis guns. They are to remain in Gudalur and form a rallying post for that area. They go to-day.

The Fourth Tirumalpad of Nilambur came to me this morning wanting relief sent down to Nilambur via the Nadghani ghat to save any members of his family that are left. I took him down with me to Wellington and the General saw him and told him that he can send no assistance from this side at present, but that he will do what he can from the Malabar side.

III

Dated the 29th August 1921.

I spent yesterday in Gudalur and got back here last night. I found the Leinsters planted at the travellers' bungalow, quite comfortable. I have made all arrangements for them that they wanted, and opened a beer canteen at the bungalow so they should be all right.

I got reports from all over the taluk except the Auchterlony valley; I expect to hear from the Auchterlony valley this morning; everywhere things were quiet. I met several planters including Nicholls and Sir Fairless Barber. Barber had just come from Pandalur from the Mango Range estate where they employ 700 Mapillas; for so far they are quite quiet. Barber also had had wires from Manantoddy and Meppadi side saying all was quiet there so far. I have instructed my Police Inspector at Pandalur to push on past Cherambadi towards Meppadi, see if the road is all right and assist any planters who may want to send their wives up to Ootacamund. I don't know anything about the Meppadi people as they belong to Malabar but of course I will give them every assistance in my power.

There are a good many planters' wives in Ootacamund; the men have all gone back to their estates. Her Excellency has very kindly arranged that they should have all the accommodation that is available at Willingdon House and I have told them that I am prepared to advance them any money that they may need.

Mrs. Eaton whose husband was killed is also at Willingdon House. She has been told that her husband has been killed but the papers have been kept from her. She has asked me to find out exactly what happened and let her know; she says she will be happier then as at present she keeps imagining things. So as soon as you get authentic details, will you let me know ?

I forgot to mention that two constables who were sent out on patrol in plain clothes down the Nadghani ghaut on the 25th have not returned. We believe they have been captured by the Nilambur people.

IV

Dated the 30th August 1921.

By the time I received your wire * yesterday regarding extension of Martial Law to the Nilgiri-Wynad the General had left Wellington for Calicut. He is expected back to-morrow and I hope to see him on Thursday and shall then report further. For so far there have been no disturbances in the area. If it were a question of *declaring* Martial Law there would, I think, be no justification, but the presence of so many Mapillas on the estates, the proximity of this area to the area already proclaimed, the danger of bands of Mapillas from the disturbed area coming into this district may render it *advisable* to include the Nilgiri-Wynad in the Martial Law area. It might also make it easier for the Military authorities to administer the whole area.

It seems to me that the question of *extending* the area of Martial Law is different from that of *declaring* it originally.

* B (ii) XXXVI.

V

Dated the 1st September 1921.

I visited Gudalur and Devarshola yesterday and saw some of the planters. There has been no trouble anywhere so far. I find it impossible to get any definite news of what is happening in the plains just below Gudalur taluk. The two constables we sent out have not returned; we hear they were captured by the Mapillas.

The planters think it very likely that when they are being pushed back on the plains bands of Mapillas will find their way up to Gudalur. Nicholls tells me that in the Devarshola bazaar the talk is 'Our Gandhi Swaraj has come, Gandhi is bringing down our Raja; everyone else must go.' One of Nicholls' contractors was killed in the battle at Malappuram; they had the news in Devarshola bazaar almost at once.

I have managed to wangle a Lewis gun from Morin for the Devarshola people; it should arrive to-day and will be greatly appreciated. I have placed two hired motors at the disposal of the police inspectors in Gudalur, one for Gudalur and the other for Pandalur and Cherambady; I thought they were necessary.

VI

Dated the 23rd September 1921.

There has not been any excitement in this district over the arrest of Muhammad Ali. The only thing that people have been thinking of here has been the Mapillas. We have still got the Leinsters down in Gudalur taluk; they have been pushed on from Gudalur to Nadghani so as to command the top of the Ghat. On Saturday night last I got a message from Pandalur that they feared an attack; I went down there on Sunday and saw all the planters, and when I came back went down to Wellington and saw the General; he had no more troops to spare, and all he could do was to order the Leinsters to patrol the road from Nadghani to Pandalur every day. I have put a motor lorry at their disposal for the purpose. Furness with 45 police is also at Pandalur. I was down there again on Wednesday. For so far everything has been quiet. As soon as the Nilambur lot have been accounted for, there should be no more trouble in this district.

I shall be sending you a bill for motor transport soon, rather a large one I am afraid; Rs. 3,000 or so; I hope you won't mind.

VII

Dated the 15th December 1921.

Information just received Pandalur raided last night. Three police killed including Inspector, five wounded. Furness missing. Wellington sending platoon Suffolks. Coningham and myself leaving now for Gudalur.

VIII

Dated the 15th December 1921.

Furness reported safe. Other reports confirmed.

IX

Dated the 15th December 1921.

Consider Martial Law area should be extended to Nilgiris-Wynad.

X

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Nilgiris, No. M-211, dated the 15th December 1921.

Your telegram to-day—Wynad Martial Law. Further information as to nature and extent of Mapilla activities in Wynad required before addressing Government of India.

XI

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Nilgiris, dated the 16th December 1921.

Information goes to show that large bodies of rebels concealed in jungle bordering Nilgiri-Wynad. Kunhamad Haji reported there recently. Pandalur raid narrowly escaped being much more serious. Rebels are being pressed towards Wynad from below. Those best qualified to judge consider further raid highly probable; military operations will therefore probably be necessary in Nilgiri-Wynad. Extension Martial Law therefore highly desirable.

XII

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Nilgiris, No. M-214, dated the 18th December 1921.

Your telegram 16th. Government not prepared to recommend extension Martial Law area Nilgiri-Wynad unless military authorities concur in demand. Please consult Madist and also send fuller account of events with clear indication of exact advantages derivable from extension.

XIII

From the District Magistrate, dated the 17th December 1921.

I returned from Pandalur last night. The raid there might easily have been a very serious one; as it was, it was bad enough. All round the Pandalur bazaar which was raided there are European bungalows; to get to the bazaar they must have passed some of these bungalows within a few hundred yards; if they had attacked these bungalows instead of the bazaar I do not see how anything could have saved the occupants. There were several ladies in the locality; I have advised the men to send them away for the present.

The Suffolks are in position at Nadghani where I saw them yesterday.

The poor Police Inspector who was killed was badly hacked about; I had his body sent to Gudalur on a motor lorry and ordered that all the police and every one else in Gudalur should attend the funeral. His wife and children are at Gudalur and I have directed the Tahsildar to do everything for them that they want. They are Brahmans from Salem.

Coningham is making an inquiry into the circumstances that attended the raid, action of the police, etc. Furness while going to join his men ran into the Mapillas, fled and was pursued for miles having a very narrow escape.

I replied to your telegram yesterday about Martial Law. As far as we know there are large numbers of Mapillas in the thick jungly slopes on the borders of this district who may make a raid at any one of several points at any time. They are being squeezed up from below, and are presumably getting desperate, and are not the surrendering kind. If military operations are necessary, as may occur at any moment, it is I think highly advisable that they should occur in a Martial Law area. All sorts of alarming rumours fly about which it is advisable to have powers to control.

Colonel Ward who is at present in military charge of the area and myself are going down to Wellington this morning to see the General; we are going to put before him the advisability of operating from this side so as to stop the rebels who may be driven our way.

XIV

From the District Magistrate, dated the 17th December 1921.

Colonel Ward and I went down this morning to Wellington and saw the General. Colonel Humphreys was there from Malabar. The General has consented to send one company of Chins from Eddakara up the Nadghani Ghat to Nadghani and thence by road to Pandalur. Orders have already issued for the move. The police at Pandalur will then move on to Cherambadi which is also a danger point.

This is very satisfactory from our point of view, but the General says it can only be a temporary solution, as he cannot leave the Chins there long. So we have to consider what we will do when the troops are removed. The danger of these Mapilla raids may last for months to come. To give any adequate protection to the district we would require at least a company of armed police such as are at present being recruited for Malabar. Little or no recruitment could be done in this district. I understand that the General has himself written to you on this subject.

XV

From the District Magistrate, dated the 19th December 1921.

Your telegram of yesterday asking me to consult the military authorities regarding extension of Martial Law to the Nilgiri-Wynad, and to send fuller account of the events with clear indication of the exact advantages to be obtained from the extension.

I saw the General yesterday and he promised to think the matter over and let me have his answer to-day.

Coningham has prepared a full account of the events for submission to the Inspector-General with which I agree. It is I believe under despatch.

The raid occurred about half past two on the morning of the 14th. Furness had the previous day transferred the Nilgiri police to Nadghani and the newly imported men to Pandalur. The military authorities had asked us to reconnoitre the Nadghani Ghat road and Furness wanted to have the men he knew for this purpose. As a matter of fact they did do very useful reconnoitring work on the 13th, for which I was asked by the General to thank Furness.

Of the forty new men ten had been sent to Cherambadi and another five, on other duties, leaving only twenty-five men under the sergeant who had come from Trichinopoly with them. They were in a building in the Pandalur bazaar which was used as a club. The circle Inspector of Police was sleeping in the post-office about 200 yards distant. Furness was spending the night at a bungalow about half a mile away.

The raiders seem to have first gone to the post-office. The postmaster saw them first and warned the police inspector who rushed out and was immediately cut down and killed apparently under the belief that he was the postmaster. The postmaster was hiding inside behind an almirah; he was not touched nor was the money in the post office, amounting I believe to more than Rs. 5,000 interfered with.

The raiders seem to have then gone to the club where the police were. The Sergeant in charge says that a sentry was posted with orders to patrol round the building every 15 minutes. No alarm was raised and the police were taken completely by surprise, and after firing off their rifles seem to have scattered in all directions, hiding in the jungle until the next morning.

In the same building with the police were a lot of survey people, with their records and instruments.

When the police fled the Mapillas set fire to the building. The casualties were one police Inspector and two constables killed, and four constables wounded; one survey clerk killed and one deputy surveyor and two survey peons burned to death. Two police rifles were taken and 100 rounds of ammunition and some police kit was either taken or burned. All the survey instruments including four theodolites were taken and all the records that were there, including the records of the recently completed Auchterlony valley, which will have to be done over again, were all destroyed.

Furness as soon as he heard the firing started to join his men, was met on the way by the Mapillas who pursued him with swords for a long distance until he finally managed to evade them in the jungle; he had a very narrow escape.

There are several planters' bungalows all round Pandalur; these the raiders could easily have entered; they must have passed them on their way to Pandalur. The planters collected in one bungalow as soon as they heard the firing and started firing a Lewis gun (S.P.M.R. gun) to frighten the raiders off. Whether this was the cause or not at any rate the planters were not attacked.

One of the rebel leaders was recognized by name Kunhi Merkayar; he was apparently well known in Pandalur. The rebel casualties we do not know; there were blood stains to show that some had been carried off, and since, I believe, one dead Mapilla has been found in the jungle, but this is not confirmed yet. Major Fraser went down to Gudalur and attended to the wounded himself; he tells me that he extracted some 303 bullets. This fact, I understand from the military authorities, would point to the gang being Kunhi Ahmed Haji's own bodyguard, as the few 303 rifles known to be with the Mapillas are supposed to be with them.

The Chins have now arrived and are in position at Pandalur.

I have since heard from General Burnett Stuart regarding the advisability of extending Martial Law to the Nilgiri-Wynad. He does not think it is necessary. One reason is that the troops will be operating towards the Malabar border, that is down the slopes, and therefore the actual fighting would probably take place inside the present Martial Law area; another reason is that he has at present no Military officer to put in charge.

In these circumstances the proposal may be dropped for the present.

Note.—In G.O. No. 58, Judicial, dated 17th January 1922, a special armed police force of 1 Subadar, 2 Jamadars, 5 Havildars, and 50 Constables was sanctioned for one year for the protection of the Nilgiri-Wynad area.

SECTION E.—DEMI-OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

(e) *Reports from Mr. F. B. Evans, I.C.S., Special Civil Officer.*

I

Dated Coimbatore, the 25th August 1921.

Your clear-the-line wire* just received. I have seen Humphreys to-day and join him at rail-head to-morrow morning. He leaves Podanur at midnight. Loveband was ordered to go to Trichinopoly from September 1st for survey training; but as the others of his party from Mangalore and Calicut won't be able to join, and as he will be useful to Gawne, I am telling him to stand fast for the present. My kit is mostly still out in camp; and there are several things that I want him to do for me. I presume that I am chief civil authority pending touch with Thomas.

* B (ii) XIII.

II

To F. B. Evans, Esq., Special Civil Officer, Malabar, No. M-83, dated the 1st September 1921.

Now that the Military are in complete charge of the Martial Law area, it cannot be expected that they should find time to send detailed reports daily of the progress of events there, nor can such reports be expected from the ordinary civil authorities whose functions are temporarily in abeyance. Under the Martial Law instructions a Civil officer is expected to accompany each military party. I am to say that Government desire that you should arrange—if you have not already done so—to obtain daily reports from such officers and to send me daily a consolidated report, adding to the information thus obtained your own personal observations and comments. Please also draw up and send, as soon as possible, in consultation with the military authorities, and also so far as Tirurangadi is concerned, with Thomas, a detailed and connected account of the fighting at Tirurangadi on the 20th (including retirement to Calicut on the 21st) and at Pukkottur, with particulars of the casualties inflicted on the rebels so far as can be estimated. These reports are intended primarily for the information of Government and will, if necessary, be edited before publication.

III

Dated Camp Malappuram, the 5th September 1921.

Your No. M. 83, dated 1st September 1921 (received 4th September 1921 night).
Daily reports.

I have so far accompanied Colonel Humphreys everywhere. He sends a copy of his daily situation report, consolidating the military reports, direct to you every night by telegram and I can add little. Am I to wire daily or to write demi-official? There is not yet a wire to Malappuram.

2. As to the Pukkottur battle, Colonel Humphreys has ordered Captain McEnroy to prepare a detailed report for the military headquarters and I can only repeat that when I get it, adding such information about casualties as is got from the adhigaris. So far report has come in from one amsam of about 80 names of persons known to have been killed. The total may be about 300 (latest figure 296).

3. As regards the affairs at Tirurangadi and thence to Calicut on 20th and 21st I will write a report when I get back to Calicut and meet Thomas—probably in a week. Thomas has, I understand, already reported the main facts. Colonel Humphreys and I are at Malappuram settling the plan of campaign for Ernad and Walluvanad (interior). I have practically no kit or office.

4. A note of events up to date follows.

IV

Dated Tirur, the 6th September 1921.

Herewith the note or diary that ought to have accompanied my letter of yesterday. There is no further news at present, and I don't expect anything of value. I venture to think that daily reports from me will be of little use; but you can judge from this note as a sample.

Also I think that my job here is about finished, or will be by the end of the week. Regular communication between Calicut and Malappuram may now be said to be established via Tirur; the wire was completed this afternoon; and I think that in a few days it should be both possible and safe to motor without escort from Calicut to Malappuram. By the end of the week Col. Humphrey's headquarters will probably be Calicut. I do not think that then there will be anything for me to do that could not as well be done by Thomas. He has not now got too much to do, and it is important that there should be one central direction. I have tried to avoid interfering in the administration, and have tried to pass on everything to Calicut; but it has not always been possible and there have been some conflicting instructions, and a good deal of duplicating of reports.

Also I think Thomas would rather I went. Though I have been extremely uncomfortable ever since I left Coimbatore (Humphreys doesn't seem to care about bandobust) it has been very interesting and I think I have been some use; but I shan't be much use after next week so far as I can see, and though I should like to stay on as an observer, I suppose I ought to get to Coimbatore. I will write again about this more definitely when I get to Calicut the day after to-morrow.

ENCLOSURE

Malabar disturbances—Note on operations from 26th August 1921 to 6th September 1921.

I arrived at Shoranur and joined Col. Humphreys on 26th August 1921.

All the troops were there except a few at the next station, Pattambi (then railhead).

27th August 1921.

A column under Col. Radcliffe moved to Kuttipuram by rail. Col. Humphreys and I got on to Calicut that night, walking 3 or 4 miles and picking up a patrol train at Tirur. The line was repaired throughout, for light slow traffic, that night. The damage showed that a very large number of people must have taken part in the destruction; for half a mile together you would find every pot sleeper broken and every key removed; and it is known that women and children helped. Damage to bridges was not very serious.

28th August 1921.

Col. Radcliffe's Column proceeded via Kolattur to Malappuram; the object was to relieve Malappuram and then join the second column, Major Hope's, at Tirurangadi on 30th August 1921. Information was that rebels under Ali Musaliar were congregating there in numbers variously reported up to 3,000. The Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Elliott and Mr. Amu accompanied the column.

Major Hope's Column reached Kuttipuram by train, and marched to Tirur via Pudiangadi. Mr. Sayers accompanied it. It arrived at Tirur without incident.

Colonel Humphreys and I had a conference in Calicut with Mr. Thomas and Captain Cochran of H.M.S. *Comus*; and returned to Tirur with Mr. Hitchcock.

29th August 1921.

Colonel Radcliffe's Column reached Malappuram without opposition and found that Capt. McEnroy had already arrived from Calicut, and relieved Mr. Austin. Mr. Austin and the police in Malappuram had been more or less besieged, but no very vigorous efforts had been made against them. The rumour is that Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji who apparently arranged the ambush that caught Capt. McEnroy had said that he would prevent any relief getting into Malappuram. Col. Radcliffe proceeded to Tirurangadi, and halted that night on the east of the river, east of Tirurangadi.

Major Hope's Column marched from Tirur in the afternoon, and halted for the night about 5 miles south-east of Tirurangadi.

30th August 1921.

Col. Radcliffe's Column advanced to Tirurangadi in the early morning. They found the village deserted; but a crowd had assembled in the jamath mosque. The Inspector-General called on them to surrender, parleying through Mr. Amu; but they refused. They said they were innocent refugees, and had no arms. The

mosque was surrounded. Then we came up with Major Hope's Column. It was decided to sit round the mosque and wait. Col. Radcliffe's Column was sent back to Malappuram, and Major Hope's Column took over the task of guarding the mosque. Col. Humphreys and I with the Inspector-General of Police and Mr. Hitchcock proceeded with an escort to Parappanangadi, and trained to Calicut. Mr. Elliott and Mr. Amu were left with Major Hope. The General, Madras district, had arrived in Calicut.

31*st August* 1921.

At about 9 o'clock a drum was beaten in the mosque at Tirurangadi, and soon after fire was opened from the mosque on the troops surrounding it. The fire was returned. Soon after some rebels rushed out from one door and then from another, while the firing continued. Some got away, and 24 in all were killed, some in the mosque ; but no soldiers entered the mosque. The rest numbering 38 in all surrendered, including Ali Mussaliar. The British casualties were three killed and five wounded. Sixteen firearms were taken in the mosque, including twelve police rifles and smoothbores, and a number of swords and knives The wounded and the prisoners were brought into Tirur, and the rest of Major Hope's Column proceeded as arranged to Malappuram. Col. Humphreys and I returned to Tirur with Mr. Hitchcock.

1*st September* 1921.

The Tirurangadi prisoners arrived at Tirur ; brief evidence was taken and they were remanded. They will be tried probably for waging war and murder. Mr. Thomas is arranging in consultation with the Public Prosecutor. The Martial Law Ordinance requires that such cases shall be tried by the ordinary courts.

Meanwhile a large number of arrests had been made in and around Tirur of persons who had been seen assisting in the looting of the public offices at Tirur on 21st August 1921. Most of these arrests were made without much difficulty. I think it may be said that the general impression was that the rebellion had failed and they must take their punishment. Similar arrests have been made in the surrounding amsams (including Tanur which was one of the centres of trouble on 21st August 1921), in the last four days. Most of these men have been tried summarily under the ordinance, the ringleaders only being reserved for the sessions court. It may seem rather absurd that members of an armed mob that sacked a Government office and took police guns should get off with two years' imprisonment, the maximum that a summary court can give ; ordinarily they would get ten years or so for dacoity, and I think that when the inhabitants of Tirur saw the military arrive they all probably expected to be shot. (They are practically all Mapillas and probably all 'assisted' at the capture of the office.) But summary procedure seemed inevitable ; we had about 200 prisoners on the night of 1st September 1921 ; and it may be argued that the larger the mob the less the guilt of the individual.

Up to 6th September 1921, about 350 persons have been summarily convicted—and most given two years.

N.E.M.

Col. Radcliffe's Column rested at Malappuram. Major Hope joined him that night. Col. Humphreys, Mr. Hitchcock and I stayed at Tirur.

2*nd September* 1921.

A column under Col. Herbert started from Malappuram for Manjeri, Pandikkad and other places in the interior of Ernad. The principal object was to try and meet one of the bigger armed gangs that were said to be raiding Ernad ; one probably led by V. Kunhamad Haji with those who had escaped from Pukkottur and from Tirurangadi and another possibly led by Pulath Chek who probably murdered Mr. Eaton. Mr. Elliott accompanied this column.

Major Skinner with his Pioneers went to Tanur and arrested some sixty men. Most of them were tried summarily next day at Tirur for offences committed on 21st August 1921.

Col. Humphreys and I went into Calicut and back.

3rd September 1921.

Col. Herbert's Column reached Pandikkad without meeting with any gang. V. Kunhamad Haji had gone to Anakkayam with about fifty men apparently to murder the retired Police Inspecter Chekkutti.

Col. Humphreys, Mr. Hitchcock and I went to Malappuram by motor-bus, leaving Major Skinner at Tirur to go to Ponnāni that night with his men. In Ponnāni there has been a good deal of looting of Hindu houses round about, but the officials have held their own, and most of the Ponnāni Mapillas have been loyal; but it has been necessary to get them to guard the treasury, and the situation has been delicate. There have also been rumours that after the Tirurangadi surrender the story was being spread that the Mambram mosque had been destroyed, and there was a chance of such a story being more readily believed in the remoter parts of the Ponnāni taluk; a communiqué was published but the difficulty is of course to circulate anything at present. Latest news from Ponnāni itself is satisfactory; some fifty looters of illams have been arrested.

4th September 1921.

Col. Herbert's Column reached Wandur without incident; their information was generally that the bigger gangs were breaking up, but it is almost impossible to get reliable information at present. In former Mapilla 'outbreaks' there have always been a fairly large number of Mapillas ready to assist the authorities; now, in Ernad at least, there is hardly one though I think the position in this respect may be expected to improve gradually.

Col. Humphreys, Mr. Hitchcock and I went with a small party to search a house where there was said to be part of the loot from the Manjēri treasury, but had no luck. We also went to see a Nayar family, retired Salt Inspector, who had been forcibly 'converted' to Islam. They are afraid to revert at once and it is hardly possible to promise protection now to all such cases (though I believe that the number of them has been exaggerated). But it is, I think, most important that all such converts should be got to revert as soon as possible.

5th September 1921.

Col. Herbert's Column visited Nilambur and then Edavanna, again failing to get into touch with any gang.

Major Hope left Malappuram with a column to march through Angādipuram and up to Mannarghat. According to reports they may find an armed gang ready to fight at Mannarghat; but I doubt it. The Mannarghat Elaya Nayar who was a leader in the looting of arms, etc., there has since been arrested in Palghat. Otherwise the main object of this column is to show the flag through Walluvanad, find out definitely about damage to communications, etc., after which it should be possible to begin to re-establish civil government. Mr. Amu has gone with this column; and they should probably be able to make some arrests.

We went to visit the Mankada Kovilagam where Mr. Krishna Varma Raja has provided an asylum for some 2,000 refugee Nayars and Nambudiris of the neighbourhood. He had been given a police guard for the last few days, and was very loath to part with it. But every policeman is wanted now to make arrests and get information and it is impossible to provide guards for individual houses. Amongst the refugees at the Kovilagam were of course many able-bodied 'martial' Nayars; but not one was prepared to put up any resistance to a Mapilla. It will also be difficult to get evidence against the local looters of the illams as most of the Nambudiris ran away to the Kovilagam as soon as there was the first sign of trouble.

6th September 1921.

Col. Herbert's Column returns to Malappuram to-day. It will probably bring no news of importance. After a rest (the men's boots have all gone to pieces) it will probably be sent to occupy two or three fixed posts in Ernad, from which attempts will be made primarily by the police to arrest small gangs. But all will of course

See B.I. depend on information received. I consider it extremely difficult for British troops to round up small gangs of rebels in such a country as Ernad; it is more work for police and I should recommend immediate strengthening of the special police and arming with magazine rifles. But this does not mean that the troops are not wanted. They will be wanted in at least the present strength for a considerable time to occupy central posts.

(Thomas is writing separately about this.)

On the whole I consider the situation satisfactory in Ponnāni and in most of Walluvanad; as soon as the troops have marched through west it ought to be possible to begin to re-establish ordinary courts, and then it means dealing with a long series of serious dacoities; but I do not anticipate any more armed opposition in these taluks. Nor in Calicut. The interior of Ernad is different, and there may still be fighting; it will be the best thing if there is.

(This is more a diary than a considered report.)

V

Dated Tirur, the 7th September 1921.

From reports just in from the Ernad and Walluvanad Columns there is little to add to what I wrote yesterday.

2. The Walluvanad Column got to Nattakkal yesterday and left for Mannarghat this morning. The latest rumour is that 50 to 100 Khilāfat Mapillas of Mannarghat armed with country guns and swords are going to resist; but I doubt it. The column has met with no opposition so far. At Angādipuram four of the local leaders who looted the offices and captured the police guns (and afterwards saved them from being captured by the Melattur gang) showed where the arms were hidden. Fifteen police rifles and smooth bores, ten bayonets and three swords were recovered; and the discoverers were arrested. Most of the other persons said to be concerned in the Angādipuram looting had run away.

3. The Ernad Column has returned to Malappuram and will rest for two or three days. They seem to have been nearly in touch with Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji's gang both at Pandikkad and at Wandur; but he probably thought them too strong, or according to one theory wants to wait till Muharram is over. The neighbourhoods of Nilambur, Edavanna and Mambat were quiet, and it looks now as though there will only be one gang to fight, if any, in the Pandikkad-Tuvvur country, possibly numbering four or five hundred; and they will probably take their own time. At present they seem to be scattered, but within call.

4. We visited Ponnani this morning by motor boat, and found all quiet. About sixty arrests have been made in the surrounding amsams of persons who looted private houses and toddy shops. Ponnani itself was threatened by outside Mapillas from Tirur side on the 21st, but the Ponnani Mapillas kept them off. There was a fairly large Khilāfat party in Ponnani, but the antis carried the day.

5. The special tribunal will be a good thing, though they need surely not have allowed an appeal from it. It will be difficult to decide where it is to sit. For some time the police inspectors and sub-inspectors who will be necessary witnesses in the special tribunal cases will really be more urgently wanted with the troops and special force making arrests, and therefore some place like Malappuram seems best. Otherwise a place on the railway would be best as most of the remanded prisoners will be in the Coimbatore jail.

The military are not pleased about the special tribunal. Their attitude is that rebels who have killed British soldiers ought to be tried by proper court-martial in the field; and I personally agree both on principle and because it would be the best thing for Malabar. Martial Law under the present ordinance is a strange hybrid.

V-A

Demi-official—from F. B. Evans, Esq., I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, Malabar, dated the 8th September 1921.

Your demi-official No. M. 83,* dated 1st September, I have seen Thomas and read his report,† dated 25th August 1921. It deals fully with the happenings at Tirurangadi on 20th and 21st and I do not see that I can add anything to it.

Possibly your letter of 1st September was sent to me before you had got Thomas' letter?

* II supra. † A. LXVIII.

VI

Dated the 9th September 1921.

There is little of importance to-day.

2. The Walluvanad Column reached Mannarghat yesterday; but I have not yet received a report from Mr. Amu.

3. The Ernad Column moves out from Malappuram this morning to occupy posts at Manjeri, Pandikkad and Tuvvur, and at Wandur, Edavanna and Nilambur. Mr. Elliott goes with it, and inspectors will be with each party. There is no further reliable information about the big gang with Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, if it still coheres.

4. Pulath Chek, who is said to be responsible for Mr. Eaton's murder, has been arrested in Calicut. Reliable evidence against him is still scanty, though there seems little doubt that for a time at least he led a considerable gang that operated round Karuvarakundu. According to the latest statement of Mr. Chandy, the Nilambur Forest Officer, however, Pulath Chek helped to save his life at Edavanna and Mambad. Mr. Chandy and his family were told that they must become Muhammadans, but the Mapillas were apparently content with a promise that they would consider it; and next day they managed to get away. The part played in all this by Pulath Chek is obscure. Apparently he posed as boss of the rebels in the Nilambur region, and saw no particular point in murdering Mr. Chandy, and apparently now Mr. Chandy wants to speak as much in his favour as possible. The matter must be investigated more fully on the spot. I only refer to it as an illustration of the difficulties of the position. Pulath Chek was said to be going to show fight with a large gang; but he practically gave himself up at Calicut and produced chits from two Nayars who accompanied him to prove his good behaviour!

5. I think an early decision on the general question of fining amsams to recover the value of damage done would be advisable. I know the general objections to such fining both on economic and political grounds, and the practical difficulties of recovery, when the taluk and amsam records are destroyed, will be immense; but I think that fining must be done, and if it were possible to proclaim now that it will be done in due course and that fines will be less if loot is surrendered now, I think there is a chance that a good deal might be brought in. See B (ii) LIV.

VII

Dated the 10th September 1921.

The Walluvanad Column found Mannarghat deserted; they have since moved to Melattur: and should return to Malappuram to-day. They have seventy prisoners.

2. Of the Ernad Column one company, with about thirty Special Force police, left on the 8th for Pandikkad via Manjeri; the bridge at mile six which was slightly damaged before and repaired has now been more seriously damaged, and they may be two days mending it. It may perhaps indicate an intention to stand at Pandikkad by Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji. Another company left for Wandur, which should be reached to-day. Signalling communication is to be established through Ottapara (Pandalur). Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji is said to have visited Nilambur on the seventh and extorted food from the kovilagam. This if true shows how mobile small gangs are. Mr. Bishop has gone with the troops to Wandur, and Inspector Narayana Menon, with Major Welldon who knows the country well, to Pandikkad. Mr. Austin and Mr. Elliott are with Col. Radcliffe at Malappuram.

3. A party of Wallajabads with local police are going to Kaipakkancheri and Kattuparutti to make arrests; it will be a tour of five or six days; armed opposition is not likely.

4. Mr. Hitchcock and I had a talk with a loyal Mussaliar of Ponnani taluk to-day about forcible conversions. He agreed decidedly that it was wrong, but practically admitted that neither he or anyone else had any practical authority over the Ernad Mussaliars who have been doing it. It is proposed to get a letter from Mecca condemning it; but even that will probably not have much real effect.

5. Nayar "leaders" in Calicut are all for the severest punishment of every Mappilla concerned in the rebellion. They hardly realise the difficulties of catching and convicting, nor do they realise how much their failure to create a real public opinion against Khilāfat, etc., and in support of authority has contributed to the present trouble.

VIII

Dated the 11th September 1921.

The Walluvanad Column has returned to Malappuram leaving a half company at Perintalmanna. The Manarghat gang which it was expected might fight or join the Pandikkad people seems to have dispersed, and it will be a long police job tracking individuals.

2. The latest Ernad news is that Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji with about 150 men is at Nilambur and intends to go up and attack the troops at Gudalur. I personally consider this most unlikely. Other reports are to the effect that the rebels will offer battle somewhere about Pandikkad on or after the 12th.

3. Up to date about 400 persons have been convicted summarily; and there are some 100 on remand waiting for the special tribunal, or for further investigation. Most of the persons to be arrested in Walluvanad and the interior of Ernad will be for the special tribunal.

4. There seems a tendency now to exaggerate the quiet, as there was at first to do the opposite; but at least half Ernad is still unsafe and will be until there has been a fight or some 400 or 500 men have been caught.

5. A collection of rebels at Kondotti is the latest report—doubtful.

IX

Dated the 12th September 1921.

Major Welldon's detachment reached its destination, Pandikkad, on the 10th afternoon; the repair of the bridge (which had been broken again after its first repair) did not take as long as was anticipated. No further news is in about Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji's gang.

2. The Wandur detachment also reached its destination and has nothing to report.

3. The report that 1,000 armed men were moving from Melattur to Mannarghat has been repeated, and they are now said to have reached Mannarghat and to be about to march on to Palghat.

4. Another bridge was reported nearly destroyed, i.e., since the Ernad Column first marched through, near Mambad yesterday.

5. Two men wounded in the fight along the railway line on the 20th were arrested yesterday at Chaliyam near Feroke. They are detained in hospital.

6. The total number of summary convictions up to yesterday was 551, all for offences under the Indian Penal Code committed between 20th August 1921 and 23rd August 1921, except one in which the Tangal who is said to have blessed the Pukkottur fighters was convicted for an offence against the Mapilla War-knives Act. He will of course be put up on a more serious charge, waging war or murder, later.

X

Dated the 13th September 1921.

The latest news points to a probability of encounters in Ernad very soon. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji is almost certainly at Nilambur and is likely to stay there and await the troops; but there are still the most discrepant accounts of his numbers. Information that seemed reliable yesterday morning was that he had 1,000 men with 100 guns, now it is that he has 100 men. Another band, led by the Chembrasseri Tangal, is near Melattur. This is the gang that went to Mannarghat the day before yesterday and again burnt the sub-registrar's office and was said to be going to advance on Palghat. They got the wind up badly at Olavakkod, and a patrol train was sent up from here; it returned this morning reporting all quiet. Two other small bands have been reported near Manjeri, and a party was to have gone out yesterday afternoon from Malappuram to try and round up one of them. The detachment at Melattur may have had a chance of engaging the Chembrasseri gang already. Colonel Humphreys and I are going out to Malappuram to discuss plans with Colonel Radcliffe. He has asked for more troops.

XI

Dated the 13th September 1921.

We are just back from Malappuram and I am not likely to have any more information before to-morrow morning.

2. The situation in the war area in Ernad is as follows:—

Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji is making Nilambur his headquarters. He has probably two or three hundred who are prepared to die and anything up to 1,000 "camp followers"; he is posing as king of Nilambur and has threatened to shoot any Mambad Mapilla who comes to Nilambur (Mambad has on the whole been loyal). He burnt all the forest buildings, including the big forest rest-house two or three days ago; and a late report is that he has announced his intention of attacking the detachment which is at Wandur.

The Chembrasseri Tangal's gang is somewhere near Melattur. Major Welldon seems to have got into touch with part of it yesterday, but he has not got any messages through since. Some firing was reported to have been heard yesterday afternoon. The troops with Major Welldon ought to be ample to deal with this gang and the absence of further news indicates I am afraid that the gang has broken up or retreated towards Nilambur.

The Officer Commanding's intention is to advance on to Nilambur as soon as sufficient force can be collected. More men are being got up from Cannanore to garrison Manjeri and Angadipuram, and relieve Dorsets for the advance on Nilambur. But plans may be changed according to what Major Welldon reports.

Small gangs were reported on the 11th at Mongam and Pukkottur, probably moving towards Nilambur to join Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji.

3. Komu Menon, the retired salt inspector who was forcibly converted, sent in to Malappuram yesterday that he was afraid he was going to be murdered and a party was sent out to bring him in. He is being sent to Calicut.

4. The Kottakkal kovilagam are also frightened of an attack on their temple to-night; probably without reason, but I mention it as indicating that confidence is not yet restored even within 8 miles of Tirur which is "G.H.Q.".

5. About 20,000 rupees have been recovered of the Manjeri treasury loot; and a good many arrests have been made at Angadipuram. The offices there were more badly damaged than at Manjeri, the worst damage being done after the original looting on 21st August 1921, when the Melattur gang came and tried to capture the arms from the local Mapillas who had taken them in the first instance, but were not prepared to join in with the Melattur gang.

6. Food supplies in Manjeri seem to be fair. Some rice has been given by Calicut people for the relief of distressed Hindus and has been sent out to Malappuram to-day; but I am not sure that it will be wanted yet.

7. Col. Humphreys is issuing an order prohibiting Gandhi from entering the Martial law area. The intention at present, presuming that he is going to Calicut, is to serve it on him at Tirur where the mails pass and turn him back there. This will I think be the simplest arrangement.

8. Major Welldon hopes to surprise the Chembrasseri Tangal's gang this morning.

9. Some Suffolks have arrived from Wellington but will probably not be sent beyond Tirur.

XII

Dated Tirur, the 14th September 1921.

There is no news in from the Ernad detachments of the Dorsets.

2. The Wallajahbads who have been doing a round in south-west Ernad have arrested some important leaders. They should be back to-morrow.

3. Reports came in last night through Officer Commanding District from Manantoddy and Gudalur that a large body of Mapillas was gathering near Iritti, and that there was a gang about 5 miles south-west of Pandalur (Nilgiri-Wynad). I doubt both, certainly the latter; but such reports only point to the urgency of pressing on for the "battle of Nilambur".

A report just in from Elliott says that the Chembrasseri gang split up yesterday when Major Welldon got in touch with it, and most of them hid in the jungle using women and children as scouts; some long range firing was tried, but with apparently little effect. Some important arrests were made at Karuvarakundu. Kalikavu was deserted; but some shots were fired on the troops as they approached. (It is pretty thick country.) Men are still reported to be collecting in the Pukkottur neighbourhood, and taking vows on the graves of those killed in the battle there. Some are said to be Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji's men on two days' "leave" from Nilambur with passes from "Col." Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji also stopped two coolies from an estate near Gudalur on the Karkur ghat, showed them the graves of some Nilgiri police whom he said he had killed, and gave them safe conduct passes through his territory.

XIII

Dated Tirur, the 15th September 1921.

We are off to Malappuram and back to-morrow morning and I shall probably be too late for the mail unless I write now, 15th evening.

2. There is no further news in from the Dorsets in Ernad; nor from the Wallajahbads. The latter will probably be back here to-morrow.

3. About 175 more Wallajahbads arrived this morning from Cannanore. The Officer Commanding there rather stupidly sent Muhammadans, which he need not have done; but their officers say that they will behave all right. They will probably be used here and at Perintalmanna.

4. The rumour of a gathering at Iritti has not yet been confirmed; a motor patrol was to have gone out from Cannanore to-day. (It found all quiet there.)

5. There are rumours of a gathering again at Tirurangadi, headed by Ossan Kunhalavi and Lavar Kutti, who were probably responsible for Rowley's murder; it is probable, but an attempt will be made to verify further before sending troops to tackle them. Tirurangadi will certainly have to be visited again; but it is not considered an easy place to get to now from the supply point of view.

6. A party of Suffolks is going out to-night to try and arrest a band of 20 or 30 who are said to assemble nightly at Parappanangadi, under a notorious rowdy.

7. Up to date apparently about 850 prisoners (three-fourths of them convicted) have been sent to Coimbatore; and others are coming in fast; 100 are expected in here to-morrow with the Wallajahbads from the amsams between Kottakkal and Kuttipuram.

Later. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji was reported to be at Karuvarakundu to-day.

XIV

Dated Tirur, the 16th September 1921.

We are off to Cannanore to discuss the question of sending a column to Iritti and Nedumpoyil, where a large gang is said to be collecting. I personally doubt it; there has been a good deal of 'wind up' in the last two days in a lot of places, including Calicut. The delay in any definite operations of importance is no doubt the cause; and it is possible that Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, or someone else, has got messages round to the effect that he is 'winning the war'; but it is useless to pay attention to mere unverified reports.

2. In Ernad Major Welldon's Column failed to get at any big gang round Karuvarakundu, but had some skirmishing. Mr. Browne, the planter from Kerala who is accompanying the column, was fired at with Major Welldon from fairly close quarters; the assailant was wounded but got away, leaving some ammunition and a police sword and a bloodstained cloth behind. Women and children are used as scouts (by the enemy), and the women say that they want to die. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji was apparently prevented from joining up with Chembrasseri Tangal at Melattur by the appearance of troops at Kalikavu, and has presumably gone back to Nilambur. The rumour this morning at Malappuram was that he was going to advance to attack the troops at Wandur after the midday prayers; but there will probably be no such luck.

3. The plan for Ernad now is to advance on Nilambur on the 18th or 19th, via Wandur, at the same time trying to press back Chembrasseri Tangal from the Melattur and Karuvarakundu region towards Nilambur. It is fully realized that the enemy can slip round the troops practically whenever they want, and that it is not really possible to surround Nilambur; but I think that an advance on Nilambur is in any case most advisable; it seems to be the most organized 'enemy territory', and a stand there is at least as likely as anywhere.

4. The party that went out last night to Parappanangadi made seven arrests, two important. The band they hoped to find was not there.

5. The road from Calicut to Malappuram via Kondotti is not yet safe; small parties with guns have been reported on it during the last two or three days.

XV

Dated the 18th September 1921.

News from the Ernad front is again conflicting. The advance on Nilambur began yesterday according to plan; but now the rumour is that Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji is a few miles north of Tuvvur, and that Chembrasseri Tangal has several scattered bands between Melattur and Alanallur. It looks as though the latter had not yet made up his mind to fight: he had a chance of tackling a fairly small force two days ago. It is said that he is killing Mapillas in the amsams round Melattur who refuse to join him. There is a recrudescence of looting round Mannarghat.

See E (b) IV. 2. Kunhi Tangal, the inspirer of Pukkottur, died in the Cannanore jail of diabetic gangrene; he was over 70 and was sent to hospital as soon as he was received in the jail. The Bibi allowed him to be buried in the jamath mosque with a fair tamash. Thomas is calling for her explanation. She will no doubt say that she gave him the usual burial of a Tangal; but her agents must have known all about him. I think probably Kunhi Tangal is as well in a Cannanore grave as anywhere, and I don't think his tomb is likely to become a place of pilgrimage; but the Bibi at least lost an excellent opportunity of giving a practical demonstration of the loyalty she professes, and the whole affair indicates how few Mapillas really condemn the rebels, though many no doubt regret the rebellion.

3. The following incident illustrates the difficulties still to be faced in the 'quieter' parts of the Martial Law area. A detachment of native troops and police visited Kaipakkancheri last week to make arrests; they stayed there two or three days, but only succeeded in making a few arrests; most of the men wanted had run away. Yesterday a wire was received from a Mapilla who had helped the police when they were at Kaipakkancheri saying that he was to be murdered (followed shortly after by another saying that he had escaped to the Kottakkal kovilagam). Apart from the merits of this particular case, there is no doubt that a further clearing up will be necessary in many of the amsams that have already been visited once, and the restoration of confidence and of 'law and order' will be a very tedious job. Estimates of the numbers who will have to be tried are on the increase, and I should say that Government should be prepared to have to accommodate 5,000.

Our visit to Cannanore was useful. There was no confirmation, as I expected, of the gathering at Iritti. The report had originated with 'Auxiliary Horse,' Manantoddy, who wired to the General Officer Commanding, Madras district, who repeated to Officer Commanding, Cannanore; and the last proposed to send a column of 300 on a wildgoose chase. This was gently but firmly squashed.

XVI

Dated Tirur, the 19th September 1921.

There was a small fight yesterday near Manjeri. Colonel Radcliffe went out with six motor-buses from Malappuram to Mongam and thence to Manjeri. Between the 26th and 27th miles on the Calicut-Manjeri road a band of 60 or 70 rebels fired on him from both sides of the road. It was a good position for the rebels, fairly thick jungle on both sides of the road and a fairly high hill on one side. A jemadar of the 83rd Wallajahbads was shot in the arm, and a private of the Dorsets slashed across the face. Colonel Radcliffe himself narrowly escaped being wounded. The rebel casualties are put at 12 to 14 killed ; but it was almost impossible to see them and effective fire was very difficult. I have not yet heard whether any of the rebels was identified. Presumably they were Pukkottur and Valluvambram people. There is no further news yet from the other columns in Ernad. Nilambur should be reached to-day.

2. There is a dangerous congestion of prisoners here ; we had over 300 last night and it has been essential to evacuate about 200 to-day to Coimbatore and Cannanore though both Jail Superintendents complain that they have no more room. I think the ordinary jail rules must See also E (b) V. be relaxed temporarily. Even though 'trials and convictions' are slowed down as requested in your * demi-official of the 17th, it is difficult to stop arrests. Tirur is the feeding base for the whole 'army'; there are two platoons of Suffolks, some native troops and many oddments; it is the despatch station for most of Ponnani and Ernad, and there is no jail accommodation at Tirurangadi and little if any at Manjeri or Angadipuram ; at Tirur there are eight cells. It is essential that any surplus over 100 here should be passed on somewhere at once.

* See J IX.

XVII

Dated Tirur, the 20th September 1921.

A party went out from Malappuram yesterday afternoon to try and draw the body of rebels which attacked Colonel Radcliffe on the 18th ; they were reported to be still on the same hill. They were there and fired on the troops ; but it was not possible to draw them or get at them. There were no casualties.

2. On the 18th afternoon Major Welldon got into touch with a big body at Chuliyodmala, a little north-east of Tuvvur ; his fire dispersed them and they seem to have split up, some going north-east and some south-east. The latter met another detachment, and were driven back with considerable loss. It is very difficult in such country to estimate casualties even approximately, but from the latest information it seems that the rebel casualties were about 100. A wounded man, since dead, said that Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji was in the Tuvvur neighbourhood then. As a result of this collision at Chuliyodmala, and as it seemed not improbable that Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji had brought his gang out to join Chembrasseri Tangal, Colonel Herbert was ordered to Kalikavu instead of going on to Nilambur, in the hope that with all the available troops round Kalikavu, Tuvvur and Karuvarakundu it might be possible to surround the rebels. I doubt whether this was a wise change (it was done by Colonel Radcliffe from Malappuram) ; I think it more probable that Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, if he did bring any of his men to Tuvvur, has got back to Nilambur ; but events to-day may show. Colonel Herbert was at Kalikavu yesterday and gunfire was heard from that direction by Major Welldon about noon. No message has come in yet from Colonel Herbert.

3. A company of the Suffolks is going to-day to Ottapalam to march to Cherpulasseri, and thence possibly to Mannarghat. There are a lot of looters to be arrested round Cherpulasseri, more the ordinary criminal than the fanatic ; and the Mannarghat rebels, said to be between two and three hundred strong with a good many guns, were last reported to be moving south.

4. It is extremely difficult to estimate general progress in Ernad. The band that fired on Colonel Radcliffe near Manjeri did not attempt anything in the nature of a rush ; and it may be inferred that they are not yet prepared for the last 'stand' in the old-fashioned way, if they ever will be. The gang that Major Welldon attacked on Chuliyodmala were said to be intending to ambush the detachment that was to move from Pandikkad ; if so, they also were on the offensive. I am afraid it looks as though this active guerilla warfare may go on for a good long time, if the rebels succeed in keeping their men together or in getting recruits. Food difficulties may however help to bring the crisis.

XVIII

Dated Tirur, the 21st September 1921.

There is practically nothing to report. There were no fresh developments yesterday in the Tuvvur-Kalikavu region. A party went out from Malappuram to reconnoitre the bridge south of Melattur on the Melattur-Perintalmanna road and found it badly damaged. A few shots were exchanged.

2. Round Manjeri there are now reported to be about 200 rebels in small parties, mainly for loot.

3. A good many arrests are still being made in south-west Ernad and north-east Ponnani, but many of the persons most wanted are still in hiding. The congestion of prisoners here has been relieved temporarily. I understand that the Special Tribunal will begin to function at Calicut on the 23rd.

XIX

Dated Tirur, the 22nd September 1921.

We went to Malappuram and back yesterday morning; but there was no material news. The two columns were refitting at Pandikkad and Wandur. I am inclined to doubt the chance of a concentration of the enemy at Chuliyodmala; but Colonel. Humphreys is going to wait till to night before deciding about an advance to Nilambur, in the hope of getting some more definite information. Colonel Radcliffe would like more British troops and I believe that it would be the most economical course in the long run, but Colonel Humphreys does not want to ask for more if he can help it.

2. There are still several small bands of rebels in the triangle Malappuram, Manjeri, Mongam; they are said to threaten an attack on Manjeri, but I do not think they will venture on it, more's the pity.

3. The 83rd Wallajahbads did not shape well in the reconnoitre of the Melattur (Ucharakadavu) bridge on the 20th.

4. Apart from its political side the question of allowing relief supplies to be sent out by Rajagopalachari & Co. to the interior of Ernad has its military aspect; I consider it very important to prevent food getting to the rebel bands by all possible means. The application to the military commander has not yet been received If it is it will be rejected; but Colonel Humphreys is against issuing a special order prohibiting Rajagopalachari, etc., from entering the military area, which is what refusal should logically involve. (I should prefer an explicit order.)

5. Information just received from Perintalmanna is to the effect that Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and Chembrasseri Tangal addressed a meeting at Vellinazhi and told the local Mapillas that the troops should not be attacked, that the Mapillas should 'defend their amsams', that they should loot Hindu houses for their food, and that they should send home all boys under 16 and not recruit any more. This agrees with what seems to have been their most recent policy, and means prolonged guerilla warfare.

6. A reconnoitering party from Mambad went up to the bridge two miles south of Nilambur, and reports that the rebel outposts retreated before them. They captured two prisoners.

XX

Dated Tirur, the 23rd September 1921.

We went to the 'front line' yesterday. From here to Malappuram the road may be regarded as safe and I drove my car, with an escort of one rifle. From Malappuram onwards we proceeded in four motor-buses with an escort of 30 to 40 rifles, loaded and bayonets fixed. This is necessary as there is always the chance, if remote, of an ambush such as Colonel Radcliffe met last Sunday. Manjeri was fairly full of refugees, many having come in for relief rice. There are still bands, said to number up to 200 in all and growing, in the country between Pukkottur and Manjeri, with a few guns; they threaten Manjeri and are looting the Hindu houses round about. The attempt to get at them last Monday failed, and further efforts will be made. One of the leaders, Kunhalavi, who was probably responsible for Rowley's murder, was wounded in the Sunday scrap.

2. The column at Pandikkad under Major Welldon was resting. They had just got reliable information of a gathering of about 100 with two carbines and some 15 guns, in the kalam of the Koyilot Variyar at Nemmini at the north-west end of the Pandalur hill. An attempt to tackle this lot is to be made early this morning, but it will be very easy for them to scatter into the jungle on Pandalur. Other information was that Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and Chembrasseri Tangal were together a mile or two north of Tuvvur, and it seems more or less certain that most formidable gangs are now in the neighbourhood of Kalikavu, Tuvvur and Melattur, but whether they are massing or intend to fight is still very doubtful.

3. Colonel Herbert's column was at Wandur, and it was decided that it should go on to Nilambur to-morrow. There is little doubt that Nilambur is still held as a rebel headquarters, though Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji is not there himself, and there may not be many 'fighters.' Messengers who have been sent to try and get in have been stopped by rebel outposts, who demand Rs. 5 for a pass; and there is fairly reliable information of some sort of 'trenches' having been dug on the Vadapuram side of Nilambur. When taken Nilambur will probably be held by Leinsters from Calicut, and Colonel Herbert's column will return for operations in the Kalikavu-Tuvvur region. Many of the Nilambur rebels will almost certainly take to the jungle and will have to be rounded up slowly.

4. The Suffolks reached Cherpulasseri without incident and move towards Mannarghat this morning. At Cherpulasseri there seems a good chance of many of the dacoits giving themselves up to the police. The Mannarghat gang under Kumaramputtur Sithi Koya Tangal are reported to be active.

5. The general situation is not very hopeful. In the back of Ernad and Walluvanad the rebels are still masters; they murder our native scouts and also Mapillas who refuse to join them; they have spies everywhere and their information about our movements is probably very

much better than ours about theirs. The military do not want to lose a man if they can help it and especially do not want to risk any sort of a defeat; but I am afraid that moving about in comparatively large bodies will have no effect if the rebels continue their present tactics. Simla has offered a battalion of Chins from Burma, 'accustomed to jungle warfare.' Colonel Humphreys is not inclined to accept them yet; but I think he should if there are no favourable developments quite soon. He does not know how long they would take to get here. I do not think there are any serious objections to having them from the 'political' point of view.

XXI

Dated Tirur, the 24th September 1921.

The attempt to surprise the rebels in the Nemmini Variyar's kalam yesterday failed. The column was ambushed about a mile out of Pandikkad, and lost two privates of the Dorsets killed, one wounded and one policeman wounded. One rebel was shot, and 15 (or 19, the message is not clear) concerned in the ambush were captured with some guns and swords. The guides taken with the column are thought to have been privy to the ambush and are under arrest.

2. The move to Nilambur begins this morning.

3. The Suffolks moved towards Mannarghat yesterday. Forty-four arrests were made at Cherpulasseri, and more 'looters' there are expected to give themselves up.

4. I have seen a copy of the letter which the General has addressed to the Government on the situation as a whole, and it may be useful if I venture on a few broad remarks. So far as what may be called roughly the interior of Ernad and Walluvanad is concerned, the position is this: there are an unknown number of armed gangs openly waging active war against the British Government; the largest numbers, whether in two or more gangs is not certain, but under the general leadership of Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and Chembrasseri Tangal are in the country of which Kalikavu, Tuvvur, Melattur and Alanallur may be put roughly as the north-east and south boundaries; another gang under Kumaramputtur Sithi Koya Tangal operates round Mannarghat; other gangs possibly under the general leadership of Abdu Haji are in the triangle Malappuram, Manjeri, Mongam; another gang presumably under one of Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji's lieutenants, holds Nilambur; all these gangs are known to be actively hostile, and there are probably others in the Pandalur country and elsewhere. I consider that the destruction of these gangs is an *essential preliminary* not only to any attempt at the restoration of law and order in the tracts which the gangs are now holding under a reign of terror, but also to the restoration of any real confidence in the rest of the martial law area. For instance in Tirurangadi and the neighbouring amsams there has been little rebel activity, since the capture of Ali Mussaliar and company on 31st August 1921; but there are many persons still at large who joined in the affair on 28th August 1921, and many of them have arms; they have begun to come back to their homes and to gather in the mosques and 'talk'. An attempt is being made through an influential Mapilla to get these men to give themselves up on the assurance that they will be tried and not shot; whether they will do so as long as they know that rebel bands elsewhere are fighting not unsuccessfully is doubtful; but my point is that the possibility of successful civil action in the rest of the martial law area depends on the destruction of the actively militant gangs. This is a military operation; I am not prepared to attempt to negotiate with any of the leaders of the militant gangs at present; it would be mere sacrifice of life. I would therefore answer the General's main question by saying that quite apart from the increase of the special police force the destruction or capture of all militant rebel bands by military measures is the first urgent necessity, and that the civil authorities can only help in this by giving information, etc., not by attempting negotiation. See also B (ii) LVII and E (b) VII.

5. As to the question of the cessation of martial law or its piecemeal withdrawal, I would not consider it now. It was never, in my opinion and I think Thomas agrees, necessary in Kurumbranad or Wynad. In Calicut its continuance is advisable if only because the special tribunal is sitting there; the High Court seem to have suggested, in the Mannarghat Elaya Nayar's Habeas corpus application, that special courts can only exercise jurisdiction in the martial law area. I think that this is wrong, but it is not worth risking. The martial law regulations have also been useful in Calicut in bringing to book persons who spread false and poisonous rumours. I do not wish to alarm, but I think it should be recognized that it is *possible* that if the 'peaceful' Mapillas in the 'quiet' parts of the martial law area were led to believe that the military operations were failing, there might be another general blaze up. For these reasons, but more especially because I am satisfied that every respectable man in the martial law area would be strongly opposed to the withdrawal of the law from any part of South Malabar, I would leave things as they are. The suggestion, I presume, comes from Members of the Legislative Assembly; but surely even vis-a-vis them it would be a good thing to be able to show that martial law can be so administered as to be *welcomed* by the vast majority of the inhabitants of the area. I would not hesitate to keep it in force till the special courts have finished their work, though that may be months hence.

6. One further point I may mention, as I am not sure that it is clear. Over the major part of the martial law area the ordinary law is being administered side by side; police stations and other public offices are being opened as soon as it is safe; arrests even for offences connected with the rebellion are being made by the ordinary police, accompanied when necessary by a support of sepoys; and practically the only way in which the martial law obtrudes is that offences connected with the rebellion are tried under the ordinance in the special courts.

7. Colonel Humphreys has seen this letter and agrees generally. He is suggesting further reinforcements. The General comes here on 26th.

XXII

Dated Tirur, the 25th September 1921.

Colonel Herbert's column marching on Nilambur was ambushed yesterday midday at the forty-fourth mile (about 1½ miles out of Nilambur) and lost one killed and seven wounded, including a British officer. He thinks he killed about twenty rebels. He presumably went on to Nilambur and should be joined there to-day by two platoons of Leinsters, arriving by boat from Calicut.

2. A party from Malappuram made a reconnaissance of the rebels west of Manjeri and fired a few shots; but did not get into effective touch.

3. The Suffolks had reached Kumaramputtur, two miles west of Mannarghat on the 23rd afternoon without getting into touch with the Mannarghat gang, though it was said to be going to attack them.

XXIII

Dated Tirur, the 25th September 1921.

Colonel Herbert's column entered Nilambur yesterday afternoon without further fighting. The rebels there are said to number about 200; some have gone north of the river.

A band of looters has threatened the police at Kaipakkancheri, and forced them to quit the police station which was re-occupied about a fortnight ago after the troops had marched through the amsam. A party which went after the gang yesterday in Athavanad amsam failed to get them.

Cherpulasseri prisoners now number 230, and more are coming in and surrendering arms.

XXIV

To F. B. Evans, Esq., I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, Malabar, dated the 26th September 1921, No. M. 135.

Saying that in view of General's visit he might inform him that Government were disposed to agree generally with the views expressed in his demi-official of September 24th.

XXV

Dated the 26th September 1921.

The fight that Colonel Herbert's men had before getting in to Nilambur seems to have been fairly satisfactory, and probably more than 20 rebels were killed. Our wounded were mostly trivial cases. There is no further news from Nilambur.

2. An attempt is to be made either to-day or to-morrow to tackle the gang between Pukkottur and Manjeri. Five important leaders are with them. The Dorsets will operate from Malappuram.

3 The rebels who were in the Nemminikalam are said to have gone back there again.

4. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and Chembrasseri Tangal are still in or near Karuvarakundu. They are reported, probably wrongly, to be going to attack Perintalmanna. Another band of about 50 is reported in Vengur.

5. The Suffolks got to Mannarghat and found that Sithi Koya Tangal's gang had retreated. They go back with more rations to-morrow or the next day. The gang burnt a school and cutcherry at Ariyur near Mannarghat where the troops had intended to stay.

6. As typical of the present situation I may mention reports—

(a) that swords and other weapons are still said to be being made near Pukkottur, and

(b) that Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and Chembrasseri Tangal are said to have called a meeting in the Velliyancheri mosque, which they have ordered all neighbouring Hindus to attend on pain of death. Round Melattur also all people are being warned that they will be killed if they give any information about the rebels' movements.

XXVI

Dated the 27th September 1921.

There is no news of importance from the fronts. The Leinsters arrived all right at Nilambur by river, and will take over from the Dorsets. Colonel Herbert's column will return to Wandur, and will operate from there in conjunction with the Pandikkad column, to keep the rebels in the Tuvvur area busy or at least prevent them as far as possible from moving, pending the bringing up of reinforcements.

2. An attempt is being made this morning to wipe up, or round up, the rebels in the Pukkottur-Manjeri area. The plan has been carefully worked out, and it will be very interesting to see the result. But I think that it is at least an even chance that the rebels get away. Their numbers may probably be put at about 200, and we shall be using about 250 and a gun.

3. The result of yesterday's conference was, as the Government will have seen from the General's* telegram, to impress him with the urgent necessity of more drastic military measures. *B (1) LXXVII. He was influenced largely by the accounts of the recent ambushes, and by the numbers of our casualties this month compared with rebel casualties; and it was generally agreed that in what I may call the militant area the situation was really getting worse. The telegram was drafted after careful consideration with the express object of impressing Simla as strongly as possible, but I think it gives a perfectly fair account of the essentials of the situation. One point, the aggregate number of the militant rebels, was in my opinion exaggerated; but it is far better to over-estimate such a figure than to under-estimate it. To-day's experience may prove whether 250 soldiers are too many or too few to round up 200 rebels; and even if we get the two extra battalions asked for the total number of troops will be considerably less than the total number of militant rebels on the lowest estimate, while it is no exaggeration to say that in such a country as is now in question, to round up a gang successfully you want at least double the number of troops. Everyone who has had practical experience of the country will endorse this; but it is not easy to convince others of it on paper.

4. I would emphasize the fact that whether we get the two additional battalions or not, all the extra police asked for will be no less urgently required. The additional troops are the minimum required for military operations. Apart from working with the troops special police are urgently required for opening posts in such places as Tirurangadi, which though outside what I have called the militant area, cannot be brought under civil administration until the special police are established there.

5. The additional troops will be native troops, one of the battalions probably Chins, as they were already suggested. It would have been better in my opinion from the 'political' point of view to have had British troops; but it is apparently out of the question.

6. The need for military court-martials in the field was emphasized in the military mind by what happened at Nemmini. They have little doubt that their guides were privy to the ambush, though the evidence on this point was not available till they got back to Pandikkad. As things are these men will have to be put up before the special tribunal in Calicut days or weeks after the affair, and there is no doubt that the appreciation of such evidence as there is will be different, and not necessarily juster, by the Calicut tribunal and the High Court from what it would be by a military court sitting at once in Pandikkad. Apart from this there is the practical difficulty of sparing military officers to go into Calicut, or any place where the special tribunal could sit, to give evidence; and also, taking the case of a guilty spy, the question of the moral effect of his being hung a month afterwards in a jail instead of being shot a few days afterwards in the field. I share the hope of the military that the Viceregal sense of 'justice' will not blind the Government to the commonsense fact that field court-martials with full power are a necessary corollary to martial law if it is not to be a farce. The proposal is only that such courts should have jurisdiction to try cases of acts of war committed against His Majesty's forces in the field. All other offences would continue to come before the present summary courts or the special tribunal.

7. Colonel Humphreys has accompanied the General back to Wellington to discuss some further details; and I am going in to Calicut to-day to try and get my ear right. It has been worrying me a lot the last few days.

NOTE.—Mr. EVANS attended the Conference at Ooty on September 29th.

XXVII

Dated Tirur, the 4th October 1921.

Since I wrote last the two principal events have been the attack on the convoy near Nilambur on the 1st, and the Suffolks' engagement near Mannarghat on the same day.

2. The Nilambur convoy had taken rations out from Manjeri to Nilambur and was returning. At the junction of the Nilambur-Wandur and the Nilambur-Mambad roads they found the corpses of two Mapilla constables who had been sent out in the morning from Manjeri, and they were fired on just as they had got out of the bus to collect them. Lieutenant Harvey and a private were killed, and Colonel Herbert and a private wounded, the former

slightly. The attack was made from a house near the road. As the convoy had only a dozen rifles it could not stay to fight. The assailants were probably part of Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji's gang. The murder of constables, etc., indicates his hand, and he was reported to have gone towards Mambad from Melattur with 200 men.

3. The Suffolks sighted a gang, presumably Sithi Koya Tangal's, on a hill in Kumaramputtur amsam; they split up and were engaged on two sides, but at rather long range. There were probably about 50 enemy casualties; the total numbers engaged were probably about 500. The rest of them got away north-west towards Tiruvazhamkunnu, where the Suffolks should have followed them yesterday. This gang of rebels also has been going in for reprisals; last week they burnt the houses of two adhigaris who had been assisting the troops, and murdered one of our messengers.

4. The gang that was in the Malappuram-Manjeri-Mongam triangle, against which the attack on 27th was made, seems to have gathered again at Pullara between Manjeri and Pukkottur. The operation was really a failure: the guns did little execution and only about a dozen were got with rifle fire. Everything goes to show that we shall not destroy these gangs till we can get to close quarters with the bayonet or knife.

5. The situation generally in the Wandur-Pandikkad-Melattur region is as bad as it can be and I see little chance of improvement until the new troops are at work, which will not be for a fortnight at the earliest; murders and lootings are on the increase and practically everyone who will not join the rebels is in refuge, mostly in Manjeri. There is fairly reliable information that Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji 'tried' and beheaded thirty-four Hindus and two Mapillas last week near Melattur.

6. The situation in north-west Ponnani has also changed for the worse; the Kaipakkancheri gang has increased in numbers and has been very active in the triangle Tirur-Kuttipuram-Kottakkal. The day before yesterday it attacked the Codacal tile factory and killed one Christian and wounded three others; last night it attacked the Kattuparutti police station and wounded a constable and three others. This is another police station that will have to be abandoned again temporarily. The gang is not very desperate so far as can be ascertained, but it will take 200 troops with the local police to round it up. Attempts to deal with it by sending out platoons from Tirur for a day have proved futile.

7. Even the Tirur-Malappuram road, which I considered safe, was obstructed by a party of Mapillas yesterday, and the mail runners were stopped. The convoy returning to Malappuram in the afternoon fired at a distant gathering on a hill a little beyond Kottakkal, but probably hit no one.

8. The number of refugees is getting very large. Colonel Humphreys does not want them to be allowed to collect in any place where there are troops, and at present we are sending them into Calicut. The relief committee will want lots of money.

9. Preparations for the new troops are in full swing. We shall move our quarters to Malappuram probably at the end of this week.

10. The tribunal continues to make miserable progress: and prison congestion is worse than ever. Cannot Bellary be opened *at once*?

XXVIII

Dated Tirur, the 5th October 1921.

There is no military news from Malappuram or the interior. The Dorsets, and the Leinsters at Nilambur, are resting. The Suffolks are trying to chase Sithi Koya Tangal's gang in Tiruvazhamkunnu.

2. In the Tirur-Kuttipuram-Kottakkal triangle the Kaipakkancheri gang is still causing a panic. Edakkulam and Kattuparutti, the scenes of their latest exploits, have been practically abandoned and last night the railway staffs at both Edakkulam and Kuttipuram ran in to Tirur. Platoons of the 83rd Wallajahbads are being posted at both stations to-day to restore confidence rather than in any hope of rounding up the gang which must, I am afraid, wait till more troops are available. Tirur has been inundated with refugees during the last two days from the neighbouring amsams; but I am trying to get them to go back.

3. The relief committee is arranging to send refugees from the interior to Calicut, Kavalappara and Palghat.

4. I would repeat that the immediate opening of Bellary for prisoners is essential. Both Malappuram and Tirur are badly overcrowded; they are the two important military centres, and they are the inevitable clearing stations for the majority of both prisoners and refugees. The A.D.M.S. who is here considers immediate evacuation of both prisoners and refugees imperative in the interests of the health of the troops, and pending other accommodation I am forced to send prisoners to Coimbatore; though they are overfull there, I consider it the lesser of two evils.

XXIX

Dated the 6th October 1921.

There is no military news.

2. Colonel Humphreys wants all the present police officers for the 'front line' when the operations with the new forces begin; Hitchcock to be his intelligence officer and to be in general charge of the new military police who are to operate with the battalions; Tottenham to be second in command of the new police and to be with one company; Elliott to be attached to the Burma battalion; and Bishop to stay with the present special police. Tottenham's place in North Malabar can presumably be taken by a Deputy; Hitchcock's place at head-quarters is more difficult to fill; there is a lot of important work to be done in shroffing and collating police reports from all over the area and in preparing cases for the tribunal. Blackstone's name is one that has been suggested. We are going to discuss the matter this morning with the District Inspector-General, and I hope it may be possible for Government to comply with the recommendations that will then be made. It will be desirable to relieve Hitchcock of his District Superintendent of Police's duties as soon as possible so that he can devote attention to incorporating the new police. He will, I think, only be wanted for strictly military duty for the period during which active military operations are going on in the 'military zone'.

XXX

Dated Tirur, the 7th October 1921.

There were no engagements or military movements yesterday.

2. Information during the last few days shows that there is greater rebel activity in the west of Ernad and the north-east of Pennani. At Nilambur small bodies are apparently still in the neighbouring jungles. Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji is reported to be still near Kalikavu. Chembrasseri Tangal is said to be sick or wounded at Velliyancheri, or between it and Melattur. Sithi Koya Tangal's Mannarghat gang is reported to have been seen at Vettattur, three or four miles west of Angadipuram and may have joined up with Chembrasseri Tangal. In the Pandalur country there are said to be two gangs of 100 or so. In Valluvambram (Pukkottur country) there is a body of 300 or 400; and there are indications that this body is getting recruits from Tirurangadi, and perhaps also from Mattattur, near Malappuram. It looks possible that the centre of gravity may shift from the 'interior' more to the Manjeri Perintalamana country; and this may involve a revision of the plans that have been outlined for the next operations; but it is not possible to say yet.

3. A band of 200 or so from the amsams east of Tanur attacked some weavers about 1½ miles south of Tanur railway station last night and killed seven men and wounded four others including two children. It was apparently a deliberate murder. A few of the assailants were identified; but the amsams from which they come are very thick and it is very difficult to see how to get at them or deal with them.

4. Both the Mankada and Kottakkal kovilagams have got the wind up again badly and say that they must abandon their palaces unless they can have guards. Small guards are being sent, as both places are of some importance from the point of view of communications, and their abandonment would also be a bad thing politically.

5. There was a big dacoity last night in Uragamelmuri (on the Malappuram-Tirurangadi road) by a gang mostly apparently from Mattattur.

6. The two Pandalur gangs are now said to have united at Nemmini and to number about 200. The gang at Vettattur is said to number 500.

7. It is obvious that the situation is getting more and more difficult; and will continue to do so until the new battalions come; and even then it must inevitably take a long time to deal with all these scattered bands. A party of dacoits such as attacked the house in Uragamelmuri last night gathers in the night and scatters in the day; the individuals come from country which appears either empty or perfectly normal if a detachment of troops visits it, and the identifications of 200 dacoits in the dark is of course impossible, though the police are managing to get a good many names in some cases; such men will probably not fight. I do not think the application of section 10 of the Mapilla Act would be of any practical use; it is not designed for a rebellion, but for a state of affairs in which the civil Government is still functioning efficiently and can protect the loyal; we are hardly able to do this now, if there are any loyal Mapillas, in these parts.

XXXI

Dated Tirur, the 8th October 1921.

A reconnoitering party from Mambad towards Nilambur was engaged yesterday by the rebels at the junction of the Wandur and Mambad roads, where Colonel Herbert was wounded last week. One Dorset private was wounded in the leg; two rebels were killed. The private was shot by a Mapilla up a tree; he killed his man and when the tree was surrounded another

Mapilla at the foot cut his own throat. The telegraph has been cut and badly damaged near Nilambur. The rebels have got an observation post on Aruvakodmala between Vadapuram and Nilambur from which they can spot convoys coming along both roads to Nilambur.

2. The alarm continues in south-west Ernad and north-east Ponnāni; and we were bombarded most of yesterday by urgent requests for help from most places round Tirur. The platoon at Kuttipuram station was moved in the evening to Tanur, where it seemed to be more really wanted, but the Kuttipuram stationmaster was afraid to stay at his post without it. The Parappanangadi stationmaster also deserted his station. A good deal of the alarm is exaggerated, but there are two foci of gangs at Kaipakkancheri and Tanalur both very troublesome to deal with.

3. Four armoured cars have just arrived but they are heavier than was expected and it will not be easy to make the bridges fit to bear them. Davies is at work. Four wireless stations have also just arrived.

XXXII

Dated Tirur, the 9th October 1921.

We went up to Malappuram yesterday. They are mainly engaged in dumping rations at various places for the new operations. There was no further news from Nilambur; but it is reported that the Pukkottur rebels are likely to join the Nilambur lot. One of the Pandalur gangs is also reported to have crossed over to Payyanad.

2. In the afternoon we went out reconnoitering with two armoured cars towards Edakkulam; the Kaipakkancheri gang with additions was reported to have entered a temple about 1½ miles north-west of Edakkulam station and there was great alarm both at the station and in the neighbourhood. We failed to locate the rebels or get any useful information. A patrol train is being brought out again to restore confidence on line.

3. The tribunal is still going very slow; Ali Mussaliar's case will have involved at least four superior police officers, Inspectors, etc., having been kept in Calicut for a week, though they are very urgently wanted in "the field". Field court martials would remedy this to some extent; a duplication of the tribunal would not be much good, even if one sat in Malappuram and I do not see how room could be found for it there, when Malappuram is the military headquarters.

See also H. VII—XVI.

4. The Colonel's plans will be upset if the question of rifles for the new police is not settled at once.

XXXIII

Dated Tirur, the 10th October 1921.

Nothing happened yesterday We went to Edakkulam to replace a platoon of the 83rd which had displayed "alarm despondency" by three others. The conduct of the Indian officer is being enquired into. There is rather less alarm now along the line, but Hindus are still running away from the amsams in North Ponnani.

2. The disposition of the principal gangs seems to remain much as it was. The Pukkottur lot are in Pulpatta, and according to the latest report have been told by Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji to stay there till the 18th, when it is expected that there will be a general rising of Muhammadans throughout India on account of the Ali brothers' trial. The gossip now is that this gang and others want to dissociate themselves from dacoits and murderers, and to fight and die honestly for Islam. It is a bit late for them to adopt this pious attitude (though they have always been waging war for the Khilāfat cause), but if there is anything in it so much the better.

3. The centres of the principal gangs seem to be now as follows:—Pulpatta, the "Pukkottur" gang; Nilambur, Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, Moidu Haji; Elankur, Variankunnath Moideen Haji; Vengur, Chembrasseri Tangal; and Tiruvazhamkunnu, Sithi Koya Tangal. (This is not exhaustive.)

XXXIV

Dated Tirur, the 11th October 1921.

Yesterday a patrol engaged a rebel outpost on the Pandikkad-Perintalmanna road. Chembrasseri Tangal's gang or some of it was at Mulliyakurissi and was said to be intending an attack on the temple at Angadipuram, but was driven back by the Perintalmanna detachment. The number of rebels round Nilambur was reported to have increased. The wire to Nilambur has been reopened.

2. The Burma battalion arrives here this evening, and will go on to Malappuram on Thursday.

3. Hitchcock is much distressed at the Simla communiqué dated 7th October 1921 which ended up as follows:—"Difficulty is experienced in that when the troops have left any place visited there are at present generally no civil police capable of maintaining the order which has been restored there by the military." He

Official letters on this subject dealt with separately. See G.O. No. 742, Judicial, 14th October 1921.

considers it a gross calumny of the police; and argues rightly that a "visit" by the troops does not "restore order", that police stations have been reopened wherever possible, often at considerable risk, and that the police force is admittedly the special enemy of rebels and has rendered invaluable service to the military at the cost up to date of two Assistant Superintendents of Police, two Inspectors, five head constables, and five constables. He has written a strong letter to the Inspector-General asking to be relieved as incapable, if the official communique is not officially corrected. I entirely sympathize, and endorse everything that he has said in his letter about the work of the police. I do not suppose that the writer of the communique meant to condemn the police as incapable; there is not the slightest justification for such an insinuation in any of the reports that I or Humphreys have sent; but the words literally are a misstatement and a serious reflection on the force, and as they have been taken as such I think it is of great importance that they should be publicly explained at once. I need not dilate on the services of the police; the military officers here would be the first to acknowledge them and the facts in Hitchcock's letter are sufficiently impressive, at least to one who has seen the dead and wounded brought in as I have. But I should like to emphasize the point that a visit, or even an occupation, by the troops does not restore order. A column of the Dorsets visited Nilambur on 5th September 1921, and another column visited Mannarghat on 9th September 1921; in both cases they found no one about and went on elsewhere; in both cases murders and lootings followed, or continued, and both places continued to be most active centres of rebellion. For the last fortnight or more both places have been occupied by not less than two platoons of British troops; but no official or soldier can approach them without a strong escort, a messenger runs a good chance of being murdered, and if a loyal shopman has reopened his shop or a resident has returned he has practically to sleep in 'the fort' and he knows that his life will be worth little if the troops go away before the surrounding gangs have been destroyed. To speak of 'the order which has been restored there by the military' is nonsense and misleading nonsense.

4. Humphreys agrees generally with what I have written, though he thinks Hitchcock is worrying too much over a loose statement. This may be; but if it was necessary for Simla to apologize publicly for sending reinforcements (that is what the communiqué seems to come to), they might at least have avoided offence.

XXXV

Dated Tirur, the 12th October 1921.

There is nothing of importance from Malappuram.

2. An attempt is being made this morning to deal with the Kaipakkancheri gang, but I am not confident of its success.

3. The most urgent question is that of rifles for the new police. The Colonel wants them to be fighting in a week, and so far they have got nothing but socks. The first application for them was made over a month ago and it was then stated that magazine rifles were a *sine qua non*. They are practically all enrolled and being trained hard; but still the most important question hangs fire. They should be a most important factor in 'winning the war', and an essential afterwards, and I anticipate recommending an increase in their numbers.

4. The spread of alarm amongst Hindus throughout practically the whole of Ernad and Walluvanad and a large part of Ponnani continues.

XXXVI

Dated Tirur, the 13th October 1921.

Information from Malappuram indicates that the chief rebel gangs remain more or less in the areas previously reported. The Mattattur gang is said to be operating north of the amsam near the Tirurangadi-Malappuram road. The approach to Nilambur from the south is still held by the rebels. From Wandur it is reported that Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji had a meeting near Kalikavu at which it was decided to attack one of the military posts in order to capture rifles; but I don't expect we shall have such luck. Chembrasseri Tangal is said to be constantly changing his own residence to avoid capture; his gang moves round Melattur.

2. The operation of the 83rd yesterday to round up the Kaipakkancheri gang was not successful; most of the columns saw nothing; some small bands were apparently seen in the afternoon by one of the parties returning and a few casualties were inflicted, but the news in is obscure. The day's results illustrate the difficulties that have to be met; there was fairly reliable information that the gang was at the place on which five small columns converged from five surrounding points within a radius of four to five miles; the news was confirmed unexpectedly by two mail runners on the Malappuram-Tirur road who said they had been beaten on the evening of the 11th and taken to the place and produced before a large gang and released on condition that they would take service under the Khilāfat Raj in a month. The columns proceeded according to plan and met without seeing any enemy, and in the afternoon small bodies of the enemy were apparently close to the place from which one of the columns had started.

3. I see that the Bangalore correspondent of the *Mail* in the issue of the 11th hints that civil orders have hampered the soldiers from shooting. This is not so.

XXXVII

Dated Malappuram, the 14th October 1921.

There was a scrap yesterday at Vadapuram in the old place; a reconnoitering party from Mambad apparently surprised an ambush being prepared. There were no British casualties; whether any rebels were hit is not clear.

2. There was also a scrap about two miles north of Perintalmanna on the Melattur road, just beyond a place where the rebels have put up a flag to mark the limits of their Raj. Two privates of the Dorsets were wounded; 12 rebels are known for certain to have been killed, and there were probably more casualties.

3. Further information about the 83rd's operation on the 12th show that a good many rounds were fired in the afternoon at long range at small bodies on the hills, but it is not likely that there were many casualties. The main Kaipakkancheri gang seems to have broken up and most of them have gone west.

4. There is a feeling that the arrival of the Chins may tend to rouse the rebels to a desperate effort to-day, Friday: and uneasiness is reported both on the Calicut side of Arikkod and between Kondotti and Feroke. There are also reported to be growing gangs on both sides of Tirur-Malappuram road at Mattattur, Kodur and Chappanangadi. The 'Pukkottur' gang at Pulpatta has been coming down to the road towards Kondotti and has desecrated a temple at Morayur; they are said to want to attack Kondotti and then go for Calicut; but this is unlikely.

5. The most satisfactory news is from Mannarghat, where a good many Mapillas from Tenkara and Pottasseri have surrendered swords and knives.

6. Still no kit for the new police and no word about the rifles.

XXXVIII

Dated Malappuram, the 15th October 1921.

About midnight on the 13th, some 60 or 70 rebels, probably of the 'Pukkottur' gang, rushed into Manjeri. Their object is thought to have been to get at a man who was in the hospital wounded. They rushed through the hospital, firing a few shots: the patients all escaped and no one seems to have been seriously hurt. The garrison in the taluk office is a quarter of a mile from the hospital, and was therefore late in getting the alarm, and the rebels got away unscathed. It seems to have been rather a pointless raid; but has naturally had most unfortunate consequences in creating alarm. The Hindu says: "If I am not safe in a place like Manjeri with a British garrison, I must go to Calicut or Palghat"; and there was a big trek coastwards yesterday, which we have been trying to stem so far without much success.

2. A somewhat similar alarm was feared last night. I was woken up in the middle of the night with the news that a gang of 300 was gathered at the foot of the hill up to 'upper' Malappuram. It was apparently true, but they dispersed without doing anything. It has not helped to restore confidence.

3. No other news is in.

XXXIX

Dated Malappuram, the 16th October 1921.

Further information shows that my account yesterday of the raid on Manjeri was not very accurate. It was part of the Pandalur gang; they attacked from the east and seem to have aimed at the Brahman quarter rather than the hospital and they fired a shot or two at the garrison as they passed. The Hindu population at Manjeri is still very alarmed.

2. There is still a large body of rebels fairly close to Perintalmanna on the north; and Amu reports the situation as grave; but the garrison there is being well handled and is taking the offensive.

3. Part of the 'Pukkottur' gang has been down again towards Kondotti, and part towards Pandalur or Vettikkattiri to meet Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji though this latter is, I think, doubtful. The hope of their holding together and standing in Pulpatta seems to be getting less, but we are still banking on it for the next operation; they have been far the most troublesome lot recently and even if only a part is rounded up it ought to have an important effect. There are reports now of a gang of looters at Arikkod and the epidemic may spread into Calicut taluk.

4. The Mattattur gang has done further looting in Uragamelmuri and in Ponmala; both are within fairly easy reach of Malappuram but the gang works in small bodies in the evening, information is generally got late and it is useless to send out small body of British troops for such work. The rounding up of the leaders of such a gang must, I am afraid, wait till a force of armed police can be sent to work in the amsam for three or four weeks. Meanwhile, it is not pleasant to have to say to the looters who come in 'You must wait.'

5. The Burmans have gone on to-day to Manjeri en route for Wandur, which will be their centre with posts at Nilambur, Mambad, Edavanna and Kalikavu. The Gurkhas arrive at Tirur this morning.

6. Much obliged for G.O. No. 742, dated 14th October 1921, which should have a very good effect in bucking up the police.

7. Also for the telegram about appointments for Browne, Colebrook and Galvin ; but I am sorry to say that there seems likely to be further difficulties. Colebrook will accept. Browne apparently wants to get out of the whole affair; he has applied to be demobilized. I believe he has got a new job. Galvin belongs to Pierce Leslie, and they seem to be unwilling to let him go unless he is mobilized with military commissioned rank ; I do not quite understand why. I am going to see Hitchcock to-day and hope to be able to settle matters. I am sorry for the muddle, but it has hardly been my fault. In Browne's case a main consideration has, I believe, been the question of provision for his wife, if he is killed : though I don't suppose that she would fare worse at the hands of the civil authorities in such an eventuality. The points in Galvin's case seems to be that he ought to be given the military rank that he held in the war; but Humphreys doubts whether he could make out a case for this if he is to be attached to the police and I cannot see that the police appointment offered is less 'honourable', though the pay may be a little less than that of captain. (I am not certain what his rank was in the war). I will wire definitely as soon as I can.

XL

Dated the 17th October 1921.

The situation generally seems to be working up to a crisis, owing probably to the arrival of the Chins and Gurkhas.

2. The principal news yesterday was as follows :—

Mannarghat : Sithi Koya Tangal's gang destroyed two bridges on the Perintalmanna road, and resisted an attack of the Suffolks, retiring eventually towards Tiruvazhamkunnu again.

Perintalmanna : There was to have been a meeting at Pattikkad on the 15th night, and the probable spot was shelled from Perintalmanna. It is not known whether there were any casualties, but it is now reported that Chembrasseri Tangal and his party have left Pattikkad for Nemmini and Mudicode (Pandalur).

Pandikkad : The Nellikutt bridge which had been left alone for over a month after being twice damaged, was badly broken on the night of the 15th and a convoy was fired on from the Pandalur side in the same neighbourhood that day. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji seems to have gone back to this part of the district, which is his home, but the attack may also have been by the Pandalur gang. A party went out from Manjeri yesterday to reconnoitre and had a scrap killing two Mapillas. No British casualties.

Nilambur : Some of the rebels entered the town and apparently fired on the garrison from some neighbouring houses. The net result is not clear ; but no casualties were reported.

Arikkod : The gang reported there on the 15th was apparently part of the 'Pukkottur' lot from Vazhamangalam. A report yesterday afternoon from the Sub-Magistrate, Kannamangalam, that there was a dangerous gang in the south of the taluk making for Calicut, may refer to the same crowd.

Manjeri : It seems probable that most of the "Pukkottur" gang are still in much the same place, round about Morayur and Mongam, and it is to be hoped that they will stay there to meet the Gurkhas and the police at zero hour.

Malappuram : Koyamu Haji's party from Pandalur has been between Malappuram and Pukkottur for the last two or three days, and has caused considerable alarm at night. What they are up to is uncertain; possibly they are going to join the "Pukkottur" gang; it was reported before that some of the latter had gone to Pandalur, and this may be the result of a conference.

Mattattur : This gang with local additions has been continuing its depredations in Uragamelmuri, where it is reported this morning, and in Ponmala.

Kaipakkancheri : The 83rd had another day's chase after this lot yesterday with little success ; most of them are probably still in the country between Edakkulam and Kaipakkancheri in small parties. On the way home they fired on a small party of highway robbers ; but did not hit. Soon after a lorry coming from Malappuram met a big crowd, but dispersed it without casualties. A party of Gurkhas was to be sent out from Tirur to deal with the situation ; but the result has not come in. This was all on the Tirur-Malappuram road, generally regarded as safe, but now doubtful. We had passed the place about an hour before in my car en route to Malappuram from Tirur. The Kottakkal Rajas came in to report that the local Mapillas were going to attack him, and 'probably to rise en masse'. All this well illustrates the present temperature.

3. Ali Musaliar's case seems likely to take the tribunal another month; they are constantly asking for additional evidence about points that have been proved already or are trivial.

4. Hitchcock's new police have rifles in addition to socks now; but in the absence of more the chance of their being able to move on the 18th has had to be given up, and plans altered accordingly.

5. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji is to be in Pukkottur to-night, in a house near the Malappuram-Calicut road about four miles from Malappuram, for dinner and presumably for a conference. The chances of a successful surprise of such a gathering are remote.

XLI

Dated the 18th October 1921.

It is now reported that the public offices at Arikkod were burnt on the night of the 15th, when the 'Pukkottur' men went there.

2. In Calicut taluk, an attack on Kunnamangalam is still expected. If it develops it will have to be met by the new police, still in socks only.

3. Chembrasseri Tangal and his party have now apparently retired to Alanallur or Tiruvazhamkunnu, near Sithi Koya Tangal. But there are still small parties of rebels round Pattikkad.

4. Pandikkad-Pandalur news is indefinite. A party of Sappers is at the Nellikkutt bridge, its repair will take some days. Payyanad is now reported 'unhealthy.'

5. Telegraphic communication is interrupted with Edavanna and beyond to Mambad and Nilambur; reason at present unknown.

6. Manjeri expected an attack last night from the west, but it did not come off. No further news at present from the Pukkottur area.

7. The "Mattattur" gang has grown and its depredations are extending west from Uragamelmuri.

8. Kottakkal is still very alarmed.

9. I am afraid that this sort of summary is not much use to Government, but it is useful to me and it is perhaps as good a way as any of describing the situation from day to day. Otherwise I can only say: "the rebels continue to lead the dance; we are preparing for the first blow with the new troops."

XLII

Dated the 19th October 1921.

I met Vincent this morning at Tirur and had a talk. He is coming here to-morrow on his way back from Calicut. He wants to see signs of war, but they are extremely difficult to show. Quite apart from the difficulty of locating a gang of rebels, there is the fact so constantly reiterated by Malabar officials, but so difficult for others to realize that the people live in houses scattered along the fringes of paddy valleys, and a burnt Hindu house is not easy to get at nor very impressive when you see it. It would be easy for Vincent to be driven along most of the roads in the worst area with seeing a rebel or a sign of devastation, except a broken bridge or so.

2. I will send my reply to demi-official No. M. 157* after to-morrow. It will be, I think, (a) that more troops are wanted, if only to make up the numbers that were expected in the two extra battalions, (b) that the strength of the new police force should be doubled, though not necessarily all to be recruited at once, and (c) that I adhere to my view that any proclamation of any sort of general amnesty would be disgraceful as well as useless (the latter seems the most effective argument for Simla).

* See section B (ii), No. LXII.

3. A big body of looters was reported to be about ten miles off Calicut yesterday in the neighbourhood of Kanniparamba, and the new police, in socks, were sent to tackle it. The rumour is that they had a scrap and did some good work, but I have not got anything definite.

4. The Arikkod rebels apparently murdered three Hindus on the 15th or 16th; and there was another bad murder last night at Kattuparutti; the victim, a big Nayar, put up a good fight and killed four Mapillas before he was cut to pieces.

5. The bridge between Wandur and Pandikkad was badly broken again yesterday.

6. The prospects for to-morrow's round up of the "Pukkottur" gang seem fair, though they will probably be found, if at all, in a lot of small bodies. It is a great pity that the police are not ready to accompany the Gurkhas.

7. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji is said to have given out that he will die fighting on Friday. He seems to be still in Nellikutt or Elankur. Chembrasseri Tangal and Sithi Koya Tangal are still in the Tiruvazhamkunnu region. Some of the Kottakkal rebels are said to have joined them. The Mattattur lot are temporarily quiet having looted a lot of food in the last few days.

8. I don't know whether I am right in detecting non-co-operation influence in "amnesty" talk. It should not be forgotten that in parts of Walluvanad a considerable number of big and influential Hindus were at the back of the rebellion at first, and I know that there have been attempts by some of them to back up the absurdity that the rebellion is due to the corruption and oppression of the police, etc., and that its subsequent developments are ordinary "Mapilla fanaticism."

XLIII

Dated the 20th October 1921.

To-day's operation was fairly successful, but illustrates the difficulties of this sort of war and I think impressed Vincent who was out with us part of the day. The general idea was to tackle the "Pukkottur" gang or gangs who were known to be in or round the Morayur and Pulpatta amsams. The Gurkhas were to advance from near Kondotti and the Dorsets from Manjeri. Information last night at Kondotti was that 3 to 500 rebels were about the road between Morayur and Mongam and were going to resist. The Gurkhas were fired on from a hill on the north of the road near Morayur; they succeeded in surrounding a body of 80 to 100 and killing about 50, using the kukri a good deal. Three Gurkhas were wounded. About 15 firearms were recovered from the rebels including some police carbines, and a good many knives. The rebels were using at least one ·303; they have got three altogether. The rest of the troops apparently got nothing but long range firing at small bodies on hills, and probably did little execution, but the main body of the Dorsets was not yet in when we left Manjeri.

Practically two battalions were employed to-day, and they had a long heavy day, and according to their Colonel and Hitchcock, who was with them, the Gurkhas did very well. But the total bag was less than a fifth, at a low estimate, of the fighting rebels in the area which they attempted to tackle, and though I think that the result of this first day should have a great moral effect it certainly cannot be said that this Kondotti-Manjeri area has been anything like cleared or settled. The lesson is I think that the Mapilla gangs have got to be tackled with the knife or bayonet, and consequently that more troops of the Gurkha type are wanted and more special police. I will write separately on these points to-morrow.

XLIV

Dated the 21st October 1921.

[Reply to Demi-official No. M. 157, dated 14th October 1921. See section B (ii) No. LXII.]

Paragraph 3 *of the Government of India's telegram* 850, *Pol., dated* 11*th October* 1921.—General Burnett Stuart is asking for two more battalions of Indian troops. This is after yesterday's experience, when two battalions were hard at work all day and rounded up less than 100 in an area containing about 500 probable fighters, and after a discussion of the whole situation with Sir W. Vincent. I, naturally, support the proposal; it will be most economical in the long run.

2. *Paragraph* 4 *of the telegram.*—I recommend that sanction be given immediately to raise 600 special military police instead of 300. For the present the police are urgently wanted to deal with the western areas, and to take over gradually from the military as they advance further inland; and the military officers think that 600 will be none too many. For the more distant future also I think that that number at least will be required; probably six permanent posts will be necessary for some years, but I would rather not attempt to locate them at present. Details must be worked out with Hitchcock, whom I have not yet had an opportunity of talking to at length. But he agrees that the number should be increased. On one point he is very insistent, and I agree, viz., that this force should be put in all respects on as good a footing as regards pay and allowances as a native infantry regiment; and also that there should be a definite promise of, say, five years' employment at least. It will be impossible to recruit satisfactorily, if it is not to be regarded as a permanent force. At present recruits have joined blindly because Hitchcock has asked them.

XLV

Dated the 22nd October 1921.

There is not much to report and Knapp will no doubt have given you the latest news.

2. We visited the Chins at Wandur yesterday. Their information went to show that the rebels in the Nilambur-Kalikavu area were inclined to retreat in small bodies to the foot hills on the further side of the Nilambur-Parambayil-Kalikavu road. There is plenty of paddy stored in two or three big Hindu kalams there. Some of them were seen camping on the Pullangod estate. It promises to be a long and tedious job for the Chins.

3. Two hundred or so of those who escaped the "drive" on the 20th went south to Uragamelmuri; and may join up with the Vengara-Tirurangadi lot. In any case further operations with troops will be necessary in that area.

XLVI

Dated the 23rd October 1921.

The most serious news, I think, to-day is that the rebels round Arikkod are increasing in strength; latest reports put them at 1,000, and say that they have crossed the river into Urangattiri. They are still supposed to be aiming at Calicut. That is unlikely, but the real nuisance is that Arikkod is outside the area in which it was expected that troops would be required, and is difficult to connect up with other places.

2. The moral effect of the Gurkhas' exploits on the 20th does not seem very pronounced at present. Of the rebels who escaped the operation some went to Arikkod and others to Uragamelmuri, and in both these places there has been increased activity rather than any sign of a desire to submit. There has however been some indication of a restoration of confidence amongst the Hindus in Manjeri.

3. No special activities were reported yesterday. The Gurkhas reached Pandikkad, and may have a bag at Nemmini to-day, with luck. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji is said to be towards Kalikavu. Chembrasseri Tangal has been home to Chembrasseri, but is expected back in the Alanallur district, where the bulk of his gang still are. Elsewhere generally gangs are reported to be increasing both in number and in numbers.

XLVII

Dated the 24th October 1921.

The Arikkod gang is said now to be under the command of Kalivettikuzhiyil Kunhamad, the son of a leading Mapilla there who has been loyal, and has been joined by 65 rebels from Uragamelmuri. The remainder of the Uragamelmuri gang is in the Mattattur-Kottakkal neighbourhood, under the leadership of Moidin Kutti Mussaliar of Uragamelmuri mosque. A picket of the 83rd on the road near Mattattur was attacked by rebels on the 24th morning.

2. Kuttamal Unni Mammu Haji of Wandur, a man of influence hitherto quiet, is said to have joined the rebels there; and may perhaps join up with Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji who is probably round Chatangotapuram. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji's own party is said to have scattered. It was part of it probably that had a scrap with the Chins the day before yesterday, losing five killed.

3. Chembrasseri Tangal and Sithi Koya Tangal are still in the Alanallur region but it is doubtful whether they are going to hang together.

4. There is no further news yet about the Nemmini and Pandalur lot. Parties are still said to be in the Pulpatta and Narukara hills.

5. The damage to bridges will delay the advance of the Gurkhas to Melattur a little, but it is hoped that a party will be able to have a smack at the Chembrasseri Tangal gang in a day or two. The new police are to be sent to Arikkod as soon as possible.

Not a cleared area by any means or even alleged to be so.

N.E.M.—25-10-21.

XLVIII

Dated the 26th October 1921.

We went into Calicut on Monday afternoon and I was not able to catch yesterday's mail. A good many people have been coming in from the amsams near Kanniparamba in Calicut taluk and there was a good deal of alarm locally; but the disturbances have been so far confined to the amsams that border on Arikkod (across the river), and I do not think that there is much fear of their spreading to Calicut if a force goes to Arikkod. It has been arranged for the new police to proceed in that direction via Kondotti to-morrow. Humphreys inspected the police and was pleased with their turn out. They had a good test on Monday night. Information was brought in at about 10-30 p.m. that four badly wanted leaders had come with a few men to Tirurangadi. It was decided to send out the new police to try and effect their arrest. They have no barracks but sleep at home; but two companies nearly complete were entrained by 3 a.m. and were at Tirurangadi before dawn. The chief birds had fled, and only minor arrests were made.

2. The Chins surrounded a kalam near Parambayil and seized about 10,000 lb. of paddy which had been appropriated by the rebels; they inflicted a few casualties, killing one man of some importance in Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji's gang.

3. The Dorsets had a very successful round up of one of the "Pukkottur" parties, at Melmuri on the Malappuram-Calicut road about four miles from here; they managed to get round the back of them apparently unnoticed, and wiped them out, killing 246. These are the people who have been picketting the Malappuram-Calicut road ever since the Pukkottur battle, and they probably included some of the men who escaped the Gurkhas on the 20th and perhaps some of the gang that has been so troublesome recently in Uragamelmuri; it has not yet been possible to ascertain definitely.

4. There is no further news from the Gurkhas.

5. Information about the movements of enemy gangs seems to be improving, and I think it may be said that we are getting a move on; but though the recent efforts of the Gurkhas and the Dorsets are said to have made an impression locally I see little indication generally of any intention to submit, while on the contrary there are signs of determined efforts on the part of the rebel leaders to extend the area of rebellion. But it is perhaps too early to attempt to gauge the effect of the Dorsets' exploit yesterday.

6. Another Gurkha battalion and a battalion of Garhwalis have been warned to move, and may I suppose be expected in about ten days.

XLIX

Dated the 27th October 1921.

We visited Manjeri, Edavanna, Mambad, Nilambur and Wandur yesterday. The interior of this circle seems more or less denuded both of rebels and others. The rebels are apparently in small parties on the fringe, both across the river and beyond Nilambur and the Nilambur-Kalikavu road. It is the Chin area and they are finding it difficult to do anything effective.

2. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji seems to have gone to Arikkod, and his brother and Moidu are also probably there or at Kondotti. They seem to have got a large number of the Arikkod people to join the rebellion, and to have succeeded in rousing the amsams west of Arikkod, south of the river, as well as a number of amsams in the Calicut taluk, Kodyattur, Manasseri, Talakka Chulur, Kanniparamba, etc. The exact situation is not very certain, as it is so difficult to gauge stories sent in even by officials; (there was a panic recently in Ponnani because a Mapilla merchant had sent a body of some 200 harmless coolies to collect a consignment of arecas) but there is no doubt that small parties have been collecting arms from Hindus and looting their houses in all the amsams named; and it seems probable that Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and his lieutenants have succeeded in making many of the leading Mapillas in all the amsams within a five mile radius of Arikkod believe that it is still worth while joining the rebellion. This is the more unexpected because there is every indication that Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji himself has lost most of his following in the Nilambur-Wandur area. Whether there will be anything in the nature of a concentration ready to fight at Arikkod is another doubtful point; I think it is more probable that they will scatter to the hills north-east when troops appear at Arikkod. For the present pending the arrival of reinforcements it has been decided to send one company of armed police up to Kunnamangalam in the Calicut taluk, and two companies from Feroke eastwards towards Arikkod between the Feroke-Kondotti road and the river; a company of Dorsets and one of Chins will go to Kondotti.

3. There is another concentration, not probably large but with a good proportion of guns round about Vengara (Tirurangadi-Malappuram road). This will if possible be dealt with by Dorsets from Malappuram; but may have to wait for the reinforcements.

4. Chembrasseri Tangal and Sithi Koya with their parties are still in the Alanallur neighbourhood, but the main body seems to have moved a little north-west to Velliyancheri. Some of the Kottakkal rebels are said to have joined them; and they are said to have sent to Telakkad (south of Pranakod) to get further recruits. An attempt is to be made to deal with this lot to-day from Melattur (Gurkhas) and Mannarghat (Suffolks).

5. The remainder of the Melmuri people who escaped the Dorset attack on the 25th are now prepared to surrender; arrangements are being made to receive them and shroff them.

6. It is not easy to review the situation as a whole; but I think that still the most important thing is to try and deal with the gangs of which Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and Chembrasseri Tangal are the inspirers. The former now apparently centred on Arikkod is the most difficult, chiefly because Arikkod is difficult to get at from the supply point of view, and it is questionable whether it would be wise to move troops from Wandur to Arikkod. The immobility of troops even Gurkhas and Chins, compared with rebel mobility is still the outstanding trouble. If the two main leaders are caught I think that the rebellion as such may collapse fairly quickly, but order will not be restored till every rebel arm is accounted for as well as all the chief gangs of looters, and troops will be necessary for that for some time.

L

Dated the 28th October 1921.

A small party of the Chins, Karen Company, went out yesterday across the river from Edavanna, and met a party of rebels about two miles out in Urangattiri amsam; they fired on them and the rebels took to a mosque from which they opened fire on the troops; half of them did a rush out more or less in the old fanatical fashion. The Karens lost a jamadar, shot dead, and had two wounded, one with a gun shot wound, the other with a sword. Thirty-six rebels were killed altogether, not a bad bag for a party of twenty. The police sub-inspector who accompanied the troops, Kunhi Kannan, did well and shot the rebel who wounded one of the Karens. Four guns and eighteen swords and knives of sorts were collected from the mosque, but unfortunately the rebels got away with the rifle of the jamadar who was killed.

2. Two companies of Chins moved from Wandur to Edavanna to-day, and proceed to Arikkod to-morrow. There is not much further news from that area; the company of police which moved from Calicut yesterday found the Kunnamangalam-Manasseri road blocked and the ferry held by a rebel picket; they proposed last night to advance towards Manasseri to-day. How far north the trouble is likely to extend it is difficult to guess, but the quick arrival of the police should have a good effect. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji left Arikkod this morning with a small party for Elankur, and another party of two hundred seems to have crossed back towards Pandalur. There are however probably still a large number of rebels in the Arikkod area, and from yesterday's experience it looks as though they are not unlikely to fight.

3. In the Wandur-Kalikavu area the Chins have destroyed two or three rebel grain stores in the last three days and have inflicted about twenty casualties on small parties in ambushes, etc.

4. The Suffolks got to Velliyancheri without getting into touch either with the rebels or with the Gurkhas who were to have proceeded in that direction from Melattur yesterday; no news is in from the Melattur detachment. The Gurkhas in Pandikkad had news of Chembrasseri Tangal's intention to attend the mosque at Chembrasseri to-day, and proposed to take action.

5. The Melmuri people who talked of surrendering yesterday have not yet done so. On the other hand, the Irimbuzhi Mapillas, who have hitherto more or less behaved, are now said to be thinking of 'going out' and some Anakkayam men have only quite recently joined Chembrasseri Tangal. The rising in Calicut taluk is also of course practically a new feature of the last week and a grave one. Rebel patrols more or less control the traffic up the Beypore river from Feroke to Edavanna, and to within a few miles of Feroke bridge the amsams on both sides are overrun by small bands. There will be plenty for the new battalions to do in this western area alone. The Garhwalis are due at Tirur on November 7th.

LI

Dated the 29th October 1921.

Rebel concentration at Arikkod still seems indicated, though there have been some movements to and fro. It was reported last night that a party had been to Kondotti and burnt Government buildings and the Tangal's mosque.

2. The police party got to Manasseri without seeing any gangs; but local disturbances are reported as far up as within two miles of the Tamarasseri police station.

3. A party of the Dorsets visited Uragamelmuri yesterday but failed to do anything.

4. In the Kaipakkancheri area there are still two parties of looters said to be about 100 strong, but without guns. They work in small bodies. A party of police arrested 12 on the 27th.

LII

Dated the 31st October 1921.

I could not write yesterday, as we were away in Calicut and Mannarghat.

2. There was a good deal of alarm in Calicut and Feroke, owing to the report of the rebels being at Kondotti and to reports from the Tamarasseri and Manasseri region. The country east of the Cherupuzha in Calicut taluk is more or less in a state of rebellion; it has been roused by men from Arikkod and there are the usual stories of the declaration of Islam Raj, etc., but the latest reports indicate that the call to arms is not meeting with great response, at least towards Tamarasseri, and that in that part some of the Hindus are resisting the Mapillas. Fraser with his company of Police has not met any large bodies of rebels up to date. The Wynad motor patrol visited Calicut on Saturday and reported that the road between Tamarasseri and Pudupadi was deserted.

3. The party of rebels that visited Kondotti on Friday (Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji was possibly with them) destroyed the Sub-registrar's Office and the Police Station and damaged a jaram of the Tangal's, the Tangal's men killed one rebel and the rebels killed one of the Tangal's men; on the whole it seems that the rebels were more or less successfully driven off by the Kondotti people without getting recruits or guns in any number. There is no news yet from the Chins, who should have reached Arikkod on Saturday. The police who were marching up from Feroke to Cheruvayur, along the country south of the Beypore river, were ambushed near Cheruvayur. Colebrooke and Subadar Sanjiva Menon were hit by the first volley, and one constable was killed and four wounded. The Police killed 23 rebels. It is very bad luck to have lost two officers so soon; we do not know yet whether their wounds are serious. The Kondotti-Arikkod-Manjeri triangle, roughly, seems to be the tract with the most active armed bands at present.

A serious affair. L.D.—3-11-21.

Colebrooke's wounds are not serious. He is in the General Hospital. L.D.—3-11-21.

4. We found Mannarghat deserted. The Hindus all went into Palghat some time ago; the Mapillas have all taken to the jungle. A fortnight or so ago some 50 from Potasseri surrendered their arms : the leaders were arrested and the others told to go home ; they did so, but have now apparently again 'gone out'. This kind of thing makes it look as though there is no alternative to extermination in the bad rebel areas. The company of the Suffolks at Mannarghat have made several attempts to get at Sithi Koya and his gang, but the rebels take to the foot hills and have little difficulty in evading a company. Attempts are now being made to collect or destroy all stores of grain that are being or might be used by the rebels.

Very serious.
L.D.—3-11-21.

5. The Gurkhas took out 36 coolies from Perintalmanna to Melattur to assist in getting their stuff across the river, where the bridge had been broken. On their way back next day the coolies were attacked and 15 of them were captured and murdered. The Dorsets from Perintalmanna carried out an operation in Valambur and Muliyakurissi on the 29th; they failed to round up as many as was expected but killed about 50. Gangs are reported to be at Tazhekkod, Telakkad and Velliyancheri, but it is becoming difficult again to get information in these parts.

6. In the Kottakkal-Kaipakkancheri area some good arrests have been made by the police with the assistance of small parties of the 83rd ; and about a dozen rebels have been shot in the last two or three days.

7. The new battalion of Gurkhas is due on the 8th, and then we hope to begin a more exhanstive treatment of the western rebel area first.

LIII

Dated the 2nd November 1921.

There is little fresh news from the Calicut taluk; but the planters are worrying over the difficulty of getting carts to go up the Vayitri road, and for this reason and owing to the importance of preventing the spread of the rebellion north it has been decided to send the other two companies of police to join Fraser at Kunnamangalam. See B (i) LXXXVII *et seq.*

2. There is also no news from Arikkod or Cheruvayur later than the day before yesterday ; there seem to be a good number of armed bands about there, but Arikkod itself was deserted and the country is all in favour of small bands of rebels.

3. The two companies of Gurkhas that were at Melattur for the last week returned to Perintalmanna yesterday for supplies. They went out nearly every day from Melattur, but hardly succeeded in doing anything. There is not much doubt that what may be called the Chembrasseri Tangal gangs, aggregating probably over 2,000, are scattered about the Chembrasseri, Edappatta, Edatnatkara, etc., amsams, but their policy at present is to run away from any troops and they will probably have to wait till considerably more troops can be collected round their area. It seems more important now to deal with western areas first.

4. The Malappuram Kazi hopes to be able to bring in 1,000, including women and children, from the amsams surrounding Malappuram ; they say they are innocent and don't want to be killed, and plead for the mercy and protection of Government. I think this may be put down as the effect of the Melmuri show on the 25th, when no doubt a certain number of comparatively innocent people were unavoidably killed. Of those who come in those against whom there are specific complaints on record will be arrested, and arrangements will be made if possible to accommodate the rest together somewhere ; but it is difficult to know where to put them or how to look after them. I would not attach too much importance to this surrender, if it does come off ; the example may spread to some extent, but is not likely to spread to armed bands or even to the 'more guilty'. But it is perhaps a consoling feature in a situation that is otherwise about as bad as it could be. The Chins and Gurkhas have only been at work for a fortnight, but the danger zone has extended in that time and it cannot be said that there has been any material improvement in any area. It is not for me to criticize or defend military operations which have been planned to some extent at least in consultation with me ; but I do not see even now what could really have been done to stop the rebellion spreading into Calicut taluk. The Calicut correspondent of the *Mail* complains that 'measures should have been taken' to prevent this ; perhaps he would endorse the following gem from the Mahatma's letter to *Young India* (page 10 of the *Hindu* of the 28th): 'I am sorry to believe, but it is my belief, that the men on the spot do not want to end the trouble.'

5. I was somewhat puzzled by the cipher telegram asking me whether I had received any communication direct from the Government of India about the new police ; I cannot think why it should have been suspected and should be glad to be enlightened.

LIV

Dated the 3rd November 1921.

Calicut taluk is still quiet north and west of the Wynad road, and no fresh developments have been reported in the country on the other side. It has been arranged now to clear it with Gurkhas working from Tamarasseri and the road southwards and eastwards. The Gurkhas

should get there on the 6th. It is bad country, and I am afraid that fighting bands will not find it difficult to get away east up into the hills. Two companies of police will assist. It is very difficult to describe the real state of this tract of country, which has been reported as ' in a state of open rebellion ' or ' entirely in the hands of the rebels '. My own idea of what has happened is something like this: Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and other leaders went, with their bodyguards, to Arikkod and preached the spread of their Khilāfat Raj; they had considerable success, and their message was carried on by Tangals and others across the river, with the result that small bands were formed for the purpose of looting, converting and collecting arms; these bands were probably roughly organized by local leaders, and road blocking and a system of passes on the Nilambur model was started; but it is a jungly country with patches of densely populated gardens, and I think that probably the majority of the Mapillas more or less passively acquiesced in Khilāfat Raj and that the number of fighters is probably comparatively small. If I am right I think that the danger of the situation may be exaggerated; but not the difficulty of dealing with it satisfactorily.

2. The withdrawal of troops from the Wandur-Pandikkad-Melattur area (there are only single companies now at Wandur and Pandikkad) is, I think, bound to have a bad effect to some extent; but I think it is right that these areas should wait till the Calicut and North-West Ernad areas have been dealt with in the circumstances, and if it leads the rebels to attempt attacks on the denuded posts it should be all to the good. I should personally have preferred to leave the Gurkhas at Pandikkad and to wait for the new Gurkha battalion for Calicut; but reasons connected with the departure of the Dorsets on the 19th have induced Humphreys to make his present plans.

3. I have just received the names of about 350 men of Melmuri and Kodur amsams, who want to surrender with their families; they protest innocence and ask to be protected from the troops. Some are wanted for specific offences and will be arrested and tried; the others are all guilty at least of failing to give information (Reg. 6) and probably most of them were on the fringe of the Pukkottur battle, but they will probably be let go home on condition that they allow no outsider into their area, and render active assistance to the police.

4. * G.O. No. 809, Judicial, dated 28th October 1921, does not refer to my letter of the 25th, and I presume that the pay and conditions of service have not yet been settled. The sooner they are settled the better for recruiting.

* See H XIX and XX.

LV

Dated the 4th November 1921.

A scheme has now been settled for dealing with the rebel country in Calicut taluk and in the Arikkod area by a series of drives in which the bulk of the forces including the new battalions will be used. The country north of the Beypore river will be dealt with first, then the tract west of Arikkod, then eastwards. It will be a twelve days' programme. All this area is at the moment the most active.

2. In Walluvanad Sithi Koya is still more or less inactive with his party scattered over Tiruvazhamkunnu and neighbourhood. Similarly Chembrasseri Tangal in the Alanallur-Chembrasseri region.

3. In East Ernad small gangs are apparently still in the foot hills more or less settled down; and the elusive Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji is still reported constantly on the move with his bodyguard.

4. Other fighting gangs mostly small, but armed with firearms are in Vengara, Pandalur, Vazhamangalam and Papinapara. The Dorsets have been after the latter to-day, and are said to have inflicted some 50 casualties; but I have not heard details; in an operation such as they planned it is almost inevitable that a certain number of comparatively innocent people are hit.

5. The refugee problem is growing in dimensions; and the new operations must accentuate it.

LVI

Dated the 5th November 1921.

The Dorset attempt to get the Papinapara gang was not much of a success; the rebels suspected a movement and most of them succeeded in hiding quite close to the valley on which the operation centred. No leaders were killed; the casualties amounted to 28 in all; two guns were captured and a good many knives and some paddy was destroyed. Some of the gang went back to their haunts to-day and shot a Tiyyan there.

2. Some lootings have been reported in Tenjipalam and Kuttipuram and also one in Angadipuram, where it is said that jewels, etc., worth Rs. 50,000 were taken.

3. No military operations have been reported so far to-day. Rebel concentrations are still believed to be at Chembrasseri and in the Pandalur area. No news from Arikkod.

4. Mapillas from Panga and Iringallur now want to surrender and be given protection I discussed the question of a concentration camp for such people with Knapp to-day, but we were not able to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. To start with I propose to keep those from close round Malappuram, who are not willing to go home, at Malappuram. A possibility is

the camp that was opened for Mapilla women at Quilandi, which has apparently hardly been used yet. I presume that Government will be prepared to treat such people as refugees and finance their feeding if necessary. It is also becoming clear I think that Government will have at least to help and finance the feeding of Hindu refugees.

5. Mr. Knapp explained the genesis of the cipher wire to which I referred yesterday. The point about the new police not being used to quell the rebellion was made in the Madras Government's telegram * No. M. 159, dated 24th October 1921, of which a copy was sent me; but we (Hitchcock and I) never intended this. It was not perhaps plainly put in Thomas' original letter, but we always understood that the new police were to be raised at once and used at once for operations in conjunction with the military, as the military commander should think best; they have been so used, as the Government are aware and have already proved their value; it was an emergency measure to use them to fight by themselves along the Beypore river and in Calicut taluk; but it has been fully justified, and I believe that they will prove of very great value in future operations as a supplementary fighting force. I venture to hope that Government will raise no obstacle to their being so used.

There was no such idea at Tirur. That is clear from Thomas' letter.† It developed later.
N.E.M.—7-11-21.

* See section D (i), No. LXII.
† See section H.I.

6. The trend of opinion now seems to be in favour of still more troops. I find it difficult to give an opinion. I do not myself think that very much will be effected by the drive that is to be done in Calicut taluk next week; and I believe that the policy of strong posts, three or four companies, working by sending out parties of a couple of platoons all round prepared to stay out and hunt a small gang for three or four days on end, will be the most successful in the end. For this I am inclined to think that we have about enough troops; but it is obviously better to have too many than too few, and if Humphreys decides to ask for more (he is at present at Wellington seeing the General) I hope Government will support him.

LVII

Dated the 7th November 1921.

Various small reconnaissances have been made in the last two days; otherwise the military have been chiefly occupied in preparations for the big operation in the Calicut taluk. I am afraid that the scheme has not provided adequately for the triangle north of the Kunnamangalam-Manasseri line, where information still tends to show that there is the most rebel activity; but the next two days may show.

2. There has been a recrudescence of looting, etc., in the Tirur-Kottakkal area, and it is reported that yesterday the motor bus was fired on about six miles this side of Tirur, at a place where I was told that I should be held up on my way in to Tirur on Saturday. I am afraid that some promiscuous shooting by the road pickets may have helped to unsettle this area, and I should like to have it taken over by the police; but that is not possible for the present, since the new police are wanted in Calicut taluk. It has also been essential to post a large number of Inspectors, etc., to accompany the new troops.

3. Some four hundred Mapillas paraded here yesterday from Kuttilangadi. This amsam provided a few looters in the Malappuram neighbourhood in the first week of the rebellion, but has since behaved. They were told that persons wanted for specific offences would be arrested in due course (the cases are not all ready and there is temporary congestion in the Malappuram 'prison'), and they were sent home on the understanding that they would keep their area free of rebels and would give information and active assistance to the police. Kuttilangadi is not a place where military operations are likely.

LVIII

Dated the 8th November 1921.

There appears to be a concentration in process of Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji's and Chembrasseri Tangal's gangs in the Tuvvur-Karuvarakundu region; it is possible that they may intend to take the offensive while the bulk of the troops are in the Arikkod-Calicut area. Other comparatively small gangs are in Pandalur, Vazhamangalam and Vengara. In the Kaipakkancheri area bands of looters have again been showing activity.

2. Requests to 'surrender' are being received from other amsams in the Malappuram area. I propose to tell such people that if they behave and assist the police no further action will be taken against those of them who were concerned in a subordinate capacity in offences against the State committed on or before the 26th August. I am not in favour of waiving action on any private complaint: nor at present of offering any immunity for acts committed after the first outburst; August 26th has been taken as the date of the Pukkottur battle and the date when the troops from Bangalore got into the field; it covers practically all the first lootings of Government buildings. The proposed concession is of course not logically defensible; we have already punished a large number of the rank and file for acts against Government property committed on the 21st and 22nd of August; but I do not think it is unreasonable. It will only be offered in response to offers to 'surrender' and in amsams where comparatively good behaviour justifies it or drastic military punishment has already been inflicted. If the Government do not approve I should be obliged for a wire. I enclose a copy of the proposed order.

See also B (ii) LXVIII.

Order.

Many requests have been received in the last few days from Mapillas of amsams round Malappuram offering to surrender themselves to the authority of Government and praying for protection.

The names of all such persons will be recorded, and subject to their good behaviour in future and to their active co-operation with the Government, no further action will be taken against those of them who have been concerned, in a ∧ subordinate capacity only, in offences against the State or Government property / ∧ committed on or before August 26th. This concession is subject to the condition that the persons who surrender themselves inform the authorities if they know that rebels have come into their amsam and assist the police when required to arrest persons

Purely ∧

Unaccompanied by the use of criminal force and /

L.D.

(*a*) who have been concerned in offences against the person or property of individuals,

(*b*) who took a leading part in offences against the State or Government property committed between the 19th and the 26th of August, inclusive, or

(*c*) who have been concerned in offences against the State or Government property committed since the 26th August.

MALAPPURAM, *8th November* 1921. F. B. EVANS.

Mr. Evans' proposal seems judicious. Mr. Knapp may be told to authorize it if he sees no objection.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS—10-11-21.

L. D[AVIDSON]—11-11-21.

His Excellency should see my amendment.

L. D[AVIDSON]—11-11-21.

His Excellency approves the issue of the proposed order.

E. C. SMITH—11-11-21.

Telegram M. 176 to Mr. Evans telling him that Government approved with the alterations noted on the draft.

G. R. F. TOTTENHAM—12-11-21.

LIX

Dated the 10th November 1921.

The two days' operations of the two companies of police in the Tamarasseri-Manasseri-Kunnamangalam triangle (Calicut taluk) did not have any very conclusive result, as I feared. They were opposed by several small parties; but the country is very thick and it was practically impossible to see the enemy; they killed a dozen or so and had two men wounded; Fraser got a pellet just above the eye, only a slight skin wound apparently. This area can in no sense be said to have been cleared. Most of the rebels probably got away east into the hills, and will presumably gather again. It will be two or three weeks' hard work dealing with them. We have not yet got in a full report, but what we have got tends to show that the principle of 'clearing areas' as opposed to that of 'hunting gangs from a centre' is not going to be fruitful and for the present the former is that on which the military are pinning their faith. Of course, the treatment of this triangle was admittedly much more perfunctory than is proposed for the quadrangle to the south of it; two companies of police were given two days to deal with an extent not less than and in every way more difficult than that which is to be dealt with by seven companies of Gurkhas and Garhwalis; but I doubt whether the later operation will be more really successful. The General is, of course, anxious to be able to say "we have cleared such and such an area and handed it over to the police"; but unless the military can say that they have accounted for the bulk of the armed men in the area, to put it at the lowest, they are not entitled to call an area cleared; and if, as is the present intention, Calicut taluk is handed over to the police as soon as the military have completed their drive to the river, I doubt whether it will be a 'cleared area' that will be handed over.

2. The Vengara gang with local additions raided Tenjipalam and Mannur the day before yesterday and yesterday. They murdered a number of Hindus and burnt a number of houses, and created a panic all along the railway from Parappanangadi to Feroke. A company of police from Feroke got ten of them and a few prisoners. The Dorsets are visiting Vengara to-day; (this was arranged before) but I am not confident of their succeeding in rounding up the gang.

3. There is no news in from other areas, except rumours of intended attacks on Nilambur and Edavanna by the rebels.

LX

Dated Malappuram, the 12th November 1921.

The drive south from the Kunnamangalam-Manasseri line began yesterday and the river should be reached to-night. The Gurkhas on the left had a scrap with some snipers as they were getting into position across the river at Tazhekkod and killed seven and took six guns. The only other news to date about the drive is that a lot of Mapillas were seen from Arikkod last night crossing the river southwards, and that considerable firing was heard this morning.

2. There are again various reports about gatherings and intended attacks by Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and Chembrasseri Tangal and their gangs, but nothing very definite except that a large body is on the north-east side of Pandalur. To-day and to-morrow are auspicious days from the Muhammadan point of view and it is probably true as rumoured that Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji is trying to work up his followers to some big thing and finds it difficult to decide what. One story is that he is very annoyed at the 'surrenders' that have been going on round Malappuram and is determined to try and stop them.

3. Overtures have now been received from Mapillas in twenty amsams altogether, and up to date four have been 'paraded'; the bag of important criminals has not been great at present, but I expect an improvement in this respect and I think the 'surrenders' are genuine and a hopeful sign for the future. I did not expect minute criticism on the order of which I sent up a copy on the 8th and as I had received no disapproval I issued it on the 11th. I regret the addition of the words about criminal force (the other addition is superfluous); they are capable of making the whole concession practically void; if a crowd breaks open a door of an office, I suppose it uses criminal force and I can see no reason why that should be treated as more serious than if the crowd threatens a Government servant, for instance; if it is intended only to rule out cases where some person is assaulted they were already ruled out in my draft. I did not intend that the draft should necessarily be a stereotyped order applicable to all parts; it may be advisable to mention other dates, for instance, in the Arikkod area. I presume that I can alter details at my discretion.

'Criminal force' (Indian Penal Code, section 350) only means force used to the person. L.D.—13-11-21.

4. The rebels have been showing increased activity in the last few days in the immediate neighbourhood of garrisons; there have been dacoities and murders close to Perintalmanna, Wandur and Arikkod, for instance, this is probably due to the concentration of the troops in the north. The Tirurangadi-Vengara and the Kaipakkancheri gangs have also been active. The Dorsets attempt to deal with the former yesterday did not succeed; they did not get near the real gang though they killed about 30, mostly harmless people and did a good deal of damage to houses. On the whole I shall not be sorry to see the last of the Dorsets though some of them have done very well.

LXI

Demi-official—to F. B. EVANS, Esq., I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, Malabar, dated Madras, the 15th November 1921.

Your letter of the 12th referring to the amendments made by Government in your order. If you will refer to the telegrams that have passed previously between this Government and the Government of India on the subject of an amnesty (copies were I think sent to you), you will see that there are some people who attach great importance to the wording of such orders. I am to say that, however clear you may be in your mind as to what you intend the order to cover, it is necessary to be careful that other constructions are not put on it afterwards and charges of breach of faith based thereon. Further I am to say that breaking open the door an office would not be using criminal force as the latter has reference to a person as its object—vide section 350, Indian Penal Code.

Your suggestion that other dates might be suitable for other areas, i.e., Arikkod, is not quite understood. How can people who started active violence long after the first excitement come within the pale of your order?

LXII

From Mr. Evans.

Dated Malappuram, the 14th November 1921.

The drive through Calicut taluk from the Kunnamangalam-Manasseri line to the Beypore river finished on Saturday night; apparently little opposition was met except on the extreme left, in Kudiyattur, where the Gurkhas got on to fairly big armed gang and killed 56, suffering themselves 16 casualties, including one British Officer wounded and one Indian Officer killed. Detailed reports are not yet in.

2. Last night the Gurkha post at Pandikkad was heavily attacked; the wire in says that they suffered 30 casualties, but there are no further details. The attackers were probably one of the Chembrasseri Tangal gangs; there were rumours of impending attacks throughout last week, and it was I think to be expected that these gangs should take the opportunity of the bulk of the troops being in the Arikkod area.

3. The Vengara-Tirurangadi gang seems to be growing again; but it is not in the present plans to deal with it in force yet. In my opinion too much is being sacrificed to the projected 'drives.'

4. There are further overtures for surrender from the Kottakkal area. It has been suggested that they should not be accepted unless the surrenderers undertake to bring in the gangs that are in their neighbourhood. I think it would be unreasonable to ask this: the surrenderers are largely people who have been hiding close to their houses as much from fear of the troops as anything else and have at the most been passive rebels; and I am not prepared to demand that they should catch bands which the troops have not been able to catch; all that can reasonably be asked is that they should assist the authorities.

The above missed the post.

I am just back from Pandikkad. The attack was made by a mob of over a thousand, who came from Karuvarakundu reaching Pandikkad at about 5–30; Chembrasseri Tangal is said to have been with them. The Gurkhas camp was in the market, not a good place to defend; the Mapillas broke down the north wall and about 60 of them were inside the camp before the troops were properly awake; all who got into the camp were killed and bombs and Lewis guns did good execution outside; 223 bodies were counted this morning when we were there, and a large number of wounded were seen being carried away. There were a number of comparative boys amongst the dead, and a good many men armed only with sticks; it may be inferred therefore that the actual attackers were regular fanatics. Twelve guns were recovered and a large number of big knives and swords. Besides the mob that rushed the camp there were many snipers on the surrounding hills. The Gurkha casualties included one British officer killed, practically cut to pieces while he was in bed, three Indian other ranks killed and 26 wounded, mostly slightly. A Tiyyan stretcher bearer was killed; and the postmaster, a Tiyyan recently transferred from Shoranur, was cut to pieces while trying to run away from a house opposite the camp, where he was staying with two sub-inspectors. One of the sub-inspectors Ahmad Kutti, son of Chekkutti (murdered in September) was badly wounded. The other sub-inspector stayed in the house, and was not touched. The sub-magistrate ran out and escaped.

It was not a pleasant sight this morning, and naturally there was a good deal of alarm; but I do not think there is much fear of a renewed attack and the net result must be considered satisfactory. The rebels almost certainly knew the strength of the post more or less, and it is possible that they would not have attacked if it had been stronger. If it had been stronger and they had attacked I do not think that our casualties would have been less (some of them as is inevitable in such a case were from our rifles) nor theirs appreciably more. The camp is now being strengthened, and a couple of armoured cars have been stationed there.

It is difficult to guess what will be the effect of this affair. The best thing really would be for such attacks to be repeated; it seems a fair inference from the nature of the attack that the whole of Chembrasseri Tangal's gangs aggregating probably about 3,000 have got to be killed to a man before this 'war' can be said to be over; and I do not think that they are ready to stand and wait to be attacked yet. Amongst the killed was a nephew of Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji's; some others were identified, but none of particular importance. A boy of about twelve was found this morning hiding by a heap of corpses; he described how they had set out from Karuvarakundu last night after taking food and he gave the names of several of the dead from Karuvarakundu. What can be done with such a prisoner? A degenerate type who must be kept out of Malabar presumably at State expense; it is a pity he was not shot in the fight.

Further details of the drive in Calicut show that few rebels were met except on the left of the line, where there was more or less determined resistance from two mosques. The total number killed by the seven companies in the two days' operations was apparently about 100; about 40 guns were captured and a fair number of knives and 10 prisoners; and a large number of houses were burnt. I do not think that the burning of houses is of any use, and the orders issued only permit it as a measure of definite military value. It remains to be seen what is the real result of this sweep through the country north of the Beypore river; I am afraid it cannot be said that the tract has been swept clear of rebels; but the majority may have been driven south and may be met later on; that is the best that can be expected.

LXIII

Dated Malappuram, the 15th November 1921.

The second phase of the drive finished to-day, and I have just returned from visiting the troops along the line Arikkod-Kondotti. The last two days' operations consisted in sweeping the country south of the Beypore river from Vazhayūr as the western limit up to the Arikkod-Kondotti road. There was not much opposition over most of the area; the worst of the rebels

seem to have been driven east, possibly to join up with bigger gangs, but most of the rank and file sought refuge in Kondotti, which is friendly area, or back across the river; this at least is what must be inferred since most of the country was found deserted. It is however a sparsely populated tract on the whole and there is cover in the hills which it would be difficult for the most thorough drive to search. Some small armed parties were seen and fired at, and in two places at least there was active opposition by small but determined parties; at Arur two sepoys were killed and some wounded by about five Mapillas before the latter could be dropped, and in another case there was similarly fanatical resistance from a house. In all the number of Mapillas killed in the two days will probably total up to about 100, and our casualties to about 20 but I cannot give accurate figures, as we did not see all the companies and no written reports are yet in.

2. Colonel Humphreys is quite satisfied with the drive so far, and considers its results better than he expected. I still think it is an extravagant way of using troops, and that more valuable results with less expenditure of time might be attained in the long run by a patient policy of letting battalions hunt from a centre; but I think that so far the drive through the country which it has gone has had a very good moral effect, and I am inclined to think that active rebellion has been quashed by it in that area. It would of course be unsafe to dogmatise on such a point at present; it may be that rebel gangs will appear again behind the drive in a few days; but from what I saw to-day I doubt it. The troops had a difficult task, but from what I could make out they have killed few who did not deserve to be killed, and though there was again excessive house-burning in some parts in my opinion, it was done with an object and has probably had the desired effect. I may mention that we drove with only an escort of two from Malappuram to Kondotti, through the Pukkottur country and some other country that has hitherto been regarded as most dangerous, and we did not get back till after dark. Where Mapillas were to be seen they were full of salaams.

3. There is no important news from eastern areas.

LXIV

Dated the 16th November 1921.

We visited Arikkod and the extreme left of the line to-day. Further reports go to show, I am afraid, that a good many armed rebels escaped the drive on the left and are presumably in the foothills on the north of the Beypore river in the Calicut and Ernad taluks. It was on the left of the line generally that most opposition was met, and the Gurkha three companies there killed in all about 100 and took 24 guns; but the following incident shows how impossible a clean sweep is in such country: the middle company saw a body of 30 to 40 armed rebels on a hill to their left out of effective range but within the area to be covered by them and their neighbours on the left, yet this body was not seen by the company on the left. Arikkod itself was mostly in ruins and here is no one to be found good, bad or indifferent for miles round; women and children and other Mapilla refugees have apparently all crossed the river and taken to the hills.

2. The troops advance east from Arikkod to-morrow, and the north of the river and the country south from Feroke to Edavanna will be free of them for some time if not altogether. The rank and file who have been in hiding will presumably come back gradually, and if they find their houses destroyed as they will in many cases will probably take it as an inevitable punishment. (I may note that more stringent orders against house-burning have now been issued; but it is not easy to keep Gurkhas and Chins in check when they have had a few casualties, and are being sniped at night). The more important question is what the fighters will do. Will they go and join the big bands that are still in East Ernad and Walluvanad, or will they keep to the hills for a time and then come back and stir up trouble again in their amsams, or will they think that it is a good opportunity to come back and settle down as peaceful citizens? It is impossibe to express an opinion of any value at present. One can only trust in the general moral effect of the drive and hope for the best. The armed police available are still busy in the Tamarasseri-Manasseri triangle, and in the Feroke-Kondotti area and recruiting does not seem to be going very fast for the three additional companies. It is, I think, out of the question to attempt to put the ordinary police alone back in Arikkod yet.

3. The Vengara-Tirurangadi gang is reported to have visited Nannambra, near Tanur yesterday and to have killed 40 Mapillas and Hindus; but this is not yet verified. The Dorsets went to Vengara yesterday afternoon and are to stay thereabouts for three or four days; they have not yet reported any effective action.

4. Walluvanad rebels from Aliparamba destroyed a bridge between Perintalmanna and Cherpalcheri yesterday. Dorsets and Gurkhas have been sent to that neighbourhood this afternoon. It is important to prevent any spread of the rebellion south of the Tutha river.

5. Further information from Pandikkad, which we also visited to-day, tends to show that there was a gathering of most of the chief leaders at the attack on Monday, though they did not come to the front. The total bodies burnt was 234, and bazaar talk in Manjeri is that there were 300 wounded. There are no rumours yet as to the impression made on Chembrasseri Tangal, Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, etc.

6. I do not wish to raise any objection to the proposed visit of the Parsi journalist, if as I gather the Government of India think that a journalist is better able to find out the truth than a Government official. I and other officials have reported that there is good reason to believe that there have been large numbers of forcible conversions in certain areas, but that we have only verified comparatively few cases and are not able to verify others. Mr. Nariman will not be able to say more than that in substance, if he is going to be truthful; and he can write up that text as well in Bombay as in Malabar. If he wants to base his articles on unreliable information he can find plenty in the *Madras Mail* day by day. It also seems rather absurd to expect a Parsi after a fortnight's visit to be able to give an appreciation of the situation that will be of much real value. But I realize the present day craze for publicity and propaganda, and I am aware that I am entirely out of sympathy with it.

LXV

Dated the 17th November 1921.

Yesterday was a day of rest for the " drive ". Further information confirms the impression that rebels were able to get away on both side as well as in gaps in the middle, and that the main result so far has been to clear the country of every one, good, bad or indifferent.

2. The Vengara-Tirurangadi gang has again been active; some of them yesterday murdered a Mapilla who has been doing good work for the police near Tanur. There is no news of importance from the Dorsets who are after them.

3. The incursion of Walluvanad rebels into the Cherpulcheri neighbourhood has caused a panic towards Ottapalam, and the despatch of troops yesterday does not seem to have allayed it yet.

4. Further considerable numbers of Mapillas in a wide circle of amsams round Kondotti have petitioned to surrender through the Kondotti Tangal. The Tangal's kariastan will no doubt make a good thing out of it.

LXVI

Dated the 18th November 1921.

The drive ended to-day along the Edavanna-Manjeri road. In the last two days the only operation worth mentioning was between Puliakkod and Tripunnachi, where a party of 20 to 30 in a house put up a fanatical opposition against a company of the Garhwalis; the rebels were only armed with swords, but bombs had to be used to get at them in the house after the first rush out. The total rebel casualties in the two days were about 40; and about 50 prisoners were taken, of whom I think that 30 will probably be let go. The country swept was roughly the rectangle Arikkod-Kondotti-Manjeri-Edavanna and it was mostly found empty except in the south where there have been many surrenders in the last ten days. It was not an easy task to protect the surrenderers (the Gurkha and the Chin not unnaturally think that at least any running Mapilla is a legitimate target); but I am satisfied that none of them suffered. A company of Chins went along through Urangattiri, north of the river, where it had been reported that a band of 300 armed rebels had crossed in front of the previous day's drive; but they found nothing but refugees and surrenderers. It is not possible to be certain yet whether many armed rebels did cross over (I was at Edavanna to-day); and until we do know more definitely it is difficult to put pressure on the many refugees now in Edavanna to return to their homes; but that is of course the first thing to be aimed at now.

2. There is reliable information that Chembrasseri Tangal has sent round a written message to all rebel leaders to concentrate in the Chembrasseri neighbourhood; and Koyamu Haji and Abdul Haji who have been recently in the Uroth Mala area went to Pandalur last night with 300 men apparently en route for Chembrasseri. A concentration in the Tuvvur-Chembrasseri area will fall in excellently with the Colonel's plans and something of the sort was of course the ultimate object of the drive. The Pandikkad attack has probably helped to such a denouement. It is to be hoped that the concentration will persist till the troops are round it. Even assuming a big mob up in Chembrasseri there will remain fair numbers of rebels, probably in small bands, in the foothills from Kalikavu to Nilambur and round Tiruvazhamkunnu; and there will also be the Vengara-Tirurangadi gang still to deal with. This last is probably a bit depleted, but it has shown great activity recently; and unless the Dorsets do something unexpected on their last day it will not be possible to say that the west of the militant area is ready for the police, whatever the result in the ' driven ' area.

3. More petitions to surrender have come in from the Kondotti area. In Nilambur the Mapillas who had been allowed to ' come in ' were attacked by rebels last week, and some of those who had come in joined the attackers; nine of these were caught and have been tried by Court Martial to-day. The other local Mapillas are very anxious to see them shot.

4. A fourth company of armed police (100) has now been completed.

LXVII

Dated the 19th November 1921.

There are rumours that the main body of Chembrasseri Tangal's concentration intend an attack either on Manjeri or Malappuram. It is unlikely, but such rumours have had a way of turning out true, and it is not impossible that the rebels may have decided on a spectacular finish.

2. The main bodies of troops are resting to-day or getting into position for the advance to-morrow through Elankur, etc., to the Pandikkad area.

3. Elsewhere reports tell of 'alarm and despondency'. Marauding bands in Tanalur and Ponmundam are frightening Tanur and Tirur, and the Cherpulcheri area is still panicky though the gang that raided the neighbourhood is back at Tazhekkod. Reports from Calicut taluk yesterday seemed to indicate some progress towards order round Kunnamangalam; but to-day's report is that a gang of 200 burnt the post office and cutcherry at the fourteenth mile on the Wynad road; the police who went after them failed to get into touch with the gang.

LXVIII

Dated the 21st November 1921.

I was not able to write yesterday as I was away at Tirur and Coimbatore, enquiring into the train catastrophe. I do not think there is anything to add about it. The people at Tirur have taken it calmly and sensibly so far as I can gather; the Mapillas who were allowed to bury the bodies seemed grateful. Enquiries will be made when possible about the families of the deceased; but they were from all parts of the militant area. I would not for a moment minimise the horror of the affair (I inspected the van on its return with the 56 bodies), but I hope that it will not be viewed too much out of perspective. I have seen worse sights in this war, and most persons in the war area are fairly well inured to loss of life and suffering. Doctors are of course now getting frightened about overcrowding in jails; we have of course repeatedly violated all jail rules in sub-jails, and apologies for such, and this is unavoidable; we have had no cases of illness. Risks must be taken in war, if anything is to be accomplished, and everyone does not know that the cubic space required for a prisoner, according to the rules, is larger than that provided, e.g., for a constable in Government lines.

NOTE.—The Mapilla Train Tragedy has been dealt with in separate files.

2. The main body of troops has advanced to the Kalikavu-Pandikkad line without coming into collision with any gang. A big body is still said to be in the Chembrasseri country, but I am afraid that it is not unlikely that they will disperse. One body of 100 or so has got back between the line of the advancing troops, and there seems no doubt that a fair number of individuals have left Chembrasseri Tangal's gangs in the last few days and gone home. Also, it seems that Variankunnath Kunhamed Haji and others have avoided the advance by going towards Parambayil, north of the Kalikavu line, and according to one rumour 3,000 and Chembrasseri Tangal himself are with this lot. Other rumours point to Chembrasseri Tangal retreating west. It is impossible to say from day to day. The country traversed in the last two days was found empty and peaceful; in some parts there were comparatively large numbers of Hindus, who had been in their homes for some time without serious molestation; and more peaceful Mapillas were seen in two amsams than was expected, though some of them were probably "tired" rebels. The only actions in the last two days have been the surprise of an ambush by the Chins near Kalikavu, in which 10 rebels were killed and 10 weapons (6 guns) were recovered, and a scrap at Potasseri in which the 83rd killed 8.

3. Surrenders continue, and the rumour is that "bad" rebels against whom there is no specific evidence are beginning to come in. This is probable and does not much matter. In Urangattiri, a band of 50 armed rebels is trying to make up its mind whether to stay out and chance being caught or to surrender; the terms offered are of course not very attractive but rebels generally are beginning to have a hard time.

4. The Tirurangadi gang continues really to dominate the situation in the Tirur area; and there is a daily tale of sporadic murders and outrages from the "West". We are going to Tirurangadi to-morrow.

LXIX

Dated the 22nd November 1921.

There is no military news of importance in. Firing has been heard from the operations in Pandalur and Nemmini, where we may hope that Abdu Haji's gang has been found. The chances of a battle in Tuvvur or Chembrasseri to-morrow still seem fair.

2. There have been more surrenders in the Calicut taluk, and round Edavanna and Mannarghat; but too much must not be made of them. This rebellion, at least in its later stages, has been the work of gangs who have had temporary active support from local criminals and otherwise only half-hearted support from the average Mapilla; it is the latter who is surrendering, and the gangs and criminals remain to be killed or caught. In Calicut taluk for

instance, there are armed rebels aggregating about 300 probably still, and with the news of surrenders at Edavanna comes news that Moidu Haji and his gang has got back through the line of troops, and that there is a concentration of fighters, exaggerated at 1,000, across the river between Edavanna and Arikkod.

3. We went to Tirurangadi this morning reconnoitering; there were a fair number of Mapillas in the houses that we passed, but all without exception hid at the sight of the cars. Some of them no doubt were men wanted for murders and dacoities; the main Vengara-Tirurangadi gang was apparently back at Cherur.

4. I am sorry, but not surprised, to see that the papers, even the *Mail*, are determined to make a sensation of the train catastrophe and start off, as usual, with incorrect facts.

He might have specified them, but we know of the iron wagon.
N E MARJORIBANKS—24-11-21.

LXX

Dated the 23rd November 1921.

The troops advancing through the Chembrasseri area to-day drew an absolute blank; the area driven was roughly the quadrangle Wandur-Kalikavu-Karuvarakundu-Pandikkad. It does not follow that there were no rebels in the area, since there is no doubt that gangs of 100 and more can successfully hide in an area "driven" in this way and can pass through the "line"; it is fairly certain that two gangs have so passed to the North-West and West in the last two days; but the days result shows, I think, that the reported concentration of Chembrasseri Tangal's forces has broken up; and reports from other sources confirm this. The latest rebel orders are apparently, as they were a fortnight ago, to avoid collision with the troops except in small ambushes. The result also I think proves, as I feared that this method of sweeping areas with large bodies of troops working to a programme, is wasteful and ineffective of the desired object—the rounding-up of gangs. The Colonel is going to try one more sweep, of the Velliyancheri-Edatnatkara-Tiruvazhamkunnu area; and then will revert probably to the old plan of giving a battalion a circle to work independently from a fixed centre. I think this should be more satisfactory, but it looks more than ever now that the war will last another three months at least. Possibly 15 battalions instead of five might end it sooner; but I doubt whether another two, which I suppose is about the limit of possibility, would make much difference.

I submit it would be well to arrange another conference with the Military authorities to consider the results of their drives and to decide the answer to be given to the Government of India regarding the employment of more troops.
N. E. MARJORIBANKS—25-11-21.

I agree.
L. D[AVIDSON]—25-11-21.

So do I.
W[ILLINGDON]—28-11-21.

See section B (i) XCII—XCIV.
D (i) LXXVIII.

2. Other news is not more comforting. The gang at Urangattiri has apparently been increased to over 500 by the addition of Moidu Haji's party from Nemmini; Abdul Haji is said to be back at Pukkottur, from which we have had a large number of surrender and which I was inclined to regard as more or less settled; and the Vengara gang is said to have got a lot of recruits including some people of Parappur who came in and surrendered last week.

3. The tale of murders and lootings to-day has been below the average; but the Karimpuzha-Pulappatta country has now got the alarm and 1,000 rebels are just reported (not very reliably) to be going west from the Mannarghat area towards Palghat. It is not improbable that this may be true, except as to numbers; and if it is it will hardly be possible to stop them before there is a panic.

LXXI

Dated the 24th November 1921.

There is nothing to report to-day, except that I am glad to say that it has been settled to revert to the system of giving a battalion an area to deal with at leisure, as soon as to-morrow's operations are over.

Good.
L. D[AVIDSON]—28-11-21.

2. With reference to the demi-official to Hill about his posting I presume, but am not sure, that *it is not intended to alter my position* from what it was when Thomas was here. Unfortunately my correspondence seems to have begun to increase and with that will inevitably arise questions of jurisdiction; and I may have to worry Government for more explicit orders. I will not if I can help it. So far, apart from 'advising' the Military Commander, I have mainly confined myself to personal instructions to Magistrates and other Civil officers when I have visited them at their posts (we visit some post nearly every day), and I am satisfied that this is the best thing to do.

No.
L. D[AVIDSON]—28-11-21.

Yes.
L. D[AVIDSON]—28-11-21.

3. 'Surrenders' continue from the Kottakkal area, and from round Mannarghat. In some cases persons virtually known to have been 'fighting' have come in, but there is no evidence for a court. If they are in earnest it doesn't matter; but the criminal Mapilla is a wily bird.

LXXII

Dated the 25th November 1921.

Few reports are yet in about to-day's operations in the Velliyancheri area; but the news from the Chins in the Karuvarakundu direction seems to show that most of the rebels thereabouts are running off east to the hills in small parties. Another company of Chins reports having killed 17 yesterday round their camp at Kalikavu with one casualty of their own.

2. The attack on Nemmini on the 22nd did not meet with much success; most of the rebels got away up Pandalur.

3. The village at Wandur was attacked last night by rebels, who burnt 48 small houses, killed one Hindu and one Mapilla and wounded one Hindu and one Mapilla. This sort of thing is *most unfortunate*, as Wandur has been loyal as a whole and has been a useful asylum for both Hindu and Mapilla refugees. It is also the sort of thing that it is almost impossible to prevent. The Chin post is at the travellers' bungalow, a quarter of a mile from the part of the village that was attacked; and even if the strength of the post was sufficient to enable the Officer Commanding to send a party out (it is not now but will soon be) a night sortie into the street would be as dangerous to the refugees as to the rebels. To protect the whole village by a ring fence is impossible; and it follows that the only way to stop such an attack is to destroy the gang.

L. D[AVIDSON]—28-11-21.

4. The Mukri's gang from Tazhekkod and Aminikkad are said to be going to raid Pulamanthol, as they raided Cherpulasseri—it is doubtful whether the Perintalmanna garrison will be able to stop them. This sort of raid is not very serious and does not affect the main issues much; but it helps to increase alarm and I am afraid that the "general public" are not improving in the direction of confidence. Palghat and Palghat officials panicked unnecessarily over the raid into Elambulasseri on the 23rd; it proved a minor affair and was dealt with as promptly as possible from Mannarghat.

5. Surrenders continue and it seems that a good proportion of Sithi Koya's gang (Mannarghat) have surrendered, and he himself is said to be coming in. The embarrassing thing is, as I have said before, that it is difficult if not impossible to prove who were members of a particular gang. I am also already receiving hints from those Hindus who have suffered that they do not like any surrenders being allowed; but I do not think that there can be any reasonable objection to the orders approved by Government and as to the man against whom there is no evidence, if he won't fight and be killed it doesn't much matter whether he "surrenders" or merely throws away his sword and goes home as a loyal citizen. In the Malappuram-Kottakkal area I think there is no doubt we have made a real advance towards settlement in the last fortnight.

LXXIII

Dated the 26th November 1921.

The Gurkhas, Chins and Garhwalis closing on the area round Velliyancheri found the country denuded of Mapillas; a good deal of grain in empty Mapilla houses at Velliyancheri and elsewhere was destroyed as it was impossible to take it away. Some Hindus were found in their houses, but not many; they said that they had been looted originally but had not suffered much lately; they anticipated, however, that when the troops had been and gone the Mapillas were likely to make reprisals on them, and many of them were afraid to stay longer. This is an unfortunate result, but difficult to meet. Melattur, which is not far from Velliyancheri, will be an area centre for the Gurkhas, but that does not mean that it will be possible to guarantee protection to the Hindus there. Everything reverts to 'catch the rebels'; and it must be confessed that we have not yet devised a way to do it. Information as to the whereabouts of particular gangs is mostly vague for the moment; there seem to be indications of a tendency for individuals or small groups to desert their leaders.

2. It is three months to-day since I arrived on the scene; and I may attempt a very rough review of general progress to date. In Calicut taluk, where active rebellion hardly blazed up till about a month ago, the Tamarasseri-Manasseri-Kunnamangalam triangle has been restored to some order by the auxiliary police; some Nayars have gone back to their homes and some Mapillas, mainly in the south of the triangle, have surrendered; but there are still one or two moderately big armed bands who haunt one or two known centres and are active in sniping and ambushing, but run to the hills when the troops get near their centres. It will be a tedious job wearing them down. The police are doing well in my opinion, though they do not get much praise from the military. The country in this triangle is exceptionally difficult and the rebels are comparatively well armed. It is as much a military problem as any other.

In the next rectangle south, to the Beypore river, the first part of the 'driven' area, there have been a large number of surrenders and the west of the rectangle may, I think, be considered comparatively quiet. But in the hills to the east, round Panikkod and Trikkalayur, there are reports of the gathering of a big armed gang, and similarly further east in Urangattiri. In the drive, the most important operation in these parts was the fight at the Cheruvadi mosque where probably about 80 fanatics were killed; the gatherings across the river probably contain the survivors and the worst of the Cheruvayur-Muvvur and Arikkod rebels with perhaps Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji's gangs and others who may have responded to Chembrasseri Tangal's call last week and have now left him. On the whole, I do not anticipate any extension of trouble in Calicut, and I would say that some progress has been made to a settlement; but it is still a 'military situation', until the rebels have been cleared out of the foothills.

In Ernad taluk, the triangle Feroke-Kondotti-Arikkod, south of the Beypore river, seems to be fairly quiet; the drive swept the eastern half of the triangle fairly clean, the western half never gave much trouble. I do not think that further military operations will be necessary in this triangle, but it will depend largely on what happens over the river. Also in an area which has been swept by the troops like this it will, I think, take a good time before the 'passive' Mapilla settles down again, even if he is not worried by active rebels, and still longer before the Hindu will be induced to return home. The quadrangle Arikkod-Edavanna-Manjeri-Kondotti is in much the same state as the triangle last mentioned; the middle of this was a very dangerous area in September and October, but I think it is now clear of rebels and there have been a good number of surrenders in it; it, however, contains hills which have been much used as a gang centre, and may be so used again. The Manjeri-Malappuram area, as far west as Uroth Mala, is similarly quiet and should remain so; it includes bad areas such as Pukkottur, but active rebels have been killed or driven into other gangs and are not, I think, likely to come back; other Mapillas have surrendered and are to all appearances very friendly; but few Hindus who left their homes have screwed up courage yet to return.

From Feroke to Tirur along the coast and five or six miles inland the main trouble is the Tirurangadi-Vengara gang, which is now centred on Kunnamangalam; it is led by a few of the most determined rebels and is well armed and it has so far defied, the perhaps not very strenuous efforts of the Dorsets to deal with it from Malappuram. Troops are to be stationed at Tirurangadi next week, and greater efforts are to be made to deal with this gang. Until it is rounded up all the country along the coast from Feroke to Tirur is liable to raids, and it affords a rallying point for bad characters in the neighbouring amsams, and there are many. But for this gang I should say that the coast country from Feroke to Tirur is in a fair state of order and only requires a few more important arrests to make it safe; but most big Hindus have left it and do not consider it anything like safe to return.

The Kottakkal-Kaipakkancheri area still contains some gangs of dacoits, but may be considered an area 'fit for the police' now.

The rest of Ernad is still enemy country with oases at posts occupied by troops, such as Nilambur, Wandur, Pandikkad, etc. Few Hindus are left in it; none are safe except under the walls of a post; some friendly Mapillas are concentrated at the posts, and there are probably a fair number of more or less 'passive' rebels, who live mostly in their houses but hide in the jungle when troops are about; if a gang comes their way some of them probably join up for a bit or at least go and talk to their friends. I imagine that many of them still in a sort of way believe that there is Khilāfat Raj. The gangs move freely over this country and are far better at the game of hide and seek than the troops. I don't think they intend to stand at all; and rumour is that attacks such as that on Pandikkad will not be repeated. Net progress in areas such as this must be admitted to be very small; the 'flag has been shown' and the enemy has been defeated when he attacks and has been considerably worried; but we have not yet shown that we can bring him to book and I cannot say when we are likely to.

Walluvanad from Perintalmanna to Mannarghat, north of the road, is enemy country similar to the last area mentioned.

South of the road to the Tutha river is country liable to trouble from the Tazhekkod-Aminikkad people and still requiring military treatment to some extent. South of the Tutha river may be considered practically normal, but this is largely the home of big Nambudris and big Nayars, who have all left long ago and are not likely to come back till long after martial law is entirely withdrawn.

3. I am afraid that I cannot give a more concise or more easily intelligible summary than the above. Phrases such as 'the rebellion is broken', "such and such an area has been cleared and is fit to be handed over to the civil authorities", etc., are, in my opinion, inappropriate and misleading; and from the nature of the case it is almost impossible to estimate the real progress of military operations from time to time. It can certainly be said that the rebellion as such has been suppressed in Ponnani taluk, in the greater part of Walluvanad except the extreme north, in the western half of Ernad and in all but the hills in the south-east of Calicut taluk, and that order has been restored to a considerable extent though not by any means completely in these areas. More can hardly be said.

LXXIV

Dated Calicut, the 28th November 1921.

I have been in to Tirur for the railway accident enquiry, and come on here to visit the police at Manasseri amongst other things.

2. The Tirurangadi-Vengara gang made a raid on Parappur, an amsam from which there have been a fair number of surrenders, on Sunday afternoon. The Leinsters from Kottakkal inflicted a few casualties. An attack on Kottakkal was reported as being likely in the night, but it did not come off. A company of the Auxiliary Police has been brought to Tirur. The Malappuram-Tirur road is getting much more normal.

3. Gangs are reported not far from Arikkod both to the south-east and the south-west, and I am afraid that my remarks about the Arikkod area in my last letter were rather too optimistic.

4. A considerable number of arrests are being made now from surrenderers (arrests of men wanted for specific dacoities, etc.) and I think that immediate steps should be taken to increase the accommodation at Bellary. I believe that at present there is only accommodation for 2,500 and that the numbers already there are approaching 2,000. I would recommend that the accommodation should be doubled as quickly as possible, and that the whole of Cannanore and at least half of Coimbatore be made available for remand prisoners. The trial of dacoity cases by special magistrates will enable us to get on quicker, but not so quickly as might appear at first sight; in a particular case for instance there may be accused from various amsams a few of whom only may have been arrested, and there is still great difficulty in getting the witnesses together and in getting the police to court. Knapp and I have arranged to bring Crombie to Tirur to have charge of all arrangements there for the transport, etc., of prisoners to central jails, and as soon as he has collected figures Knapp is going to write up about Bellary, etc. I have just been talking to him, *after* I had written most of this paragraph, and it therefore becomes rather superfluous.

LXXV

Dated Malappuram, the 30th November 1921.

Reports yesterday and to-day indicate that several small parties have been moving in the direction of Tirurangadi, and they are said to be going to the Mambram mosque, presumably with the intention of taking the oath that a Mapilla should take there before he goes out to die. Chembrasseri Tangal amongst others is said to have gone, and if true this would seem to mean some special effort in contemplation, as Chembrasseri Tangal has never been so far west before. The Suffolks went out early this morning in the Tirurangadi direction to act in conjunction with police, and they have had some sort of a fight, but no details are in yet.

2. The auxiliary police at Tirur went out yesterday towards Nannambra and met some rebels who fired on them; they killed 8 and brought in 10 prisoners. Another company of police from Ramanatkara got on to a local band and killed 6, one of them a fairly important local leader associated with the Vengara gang.

3. There was a minor attack on Nilambur the night before last and one rebel was killed; and an attack on Malappuram was again threatened last night but again failed to develop.

4. A letter captured by the police at Nannambra and notices found stuck up on mosques in the Calicut taluk, Manasseri area, both indicate that gang leaders are getting annoyed at the numbers of surrenders; the notice on the mosques is signed by the Konnara Tangal (from Ernad near Kumarakkad) and is to the effect that Mapillas who have surrendered knowing that Korans and mosques have been destroyed, are no true sons of Islam, and the Tangal and his people will in future fight against them instead of against the Nasranis. The Konnara Tangal who was mainly responsible for the outburst in the Calicut taluk and the Arikkod area last month, has always emphasized the religious rather than the political side of the rebellion (though I have always maintained that the two sides cannot really be separated); but I do not think there is much fear of this notice inducing the surrenderers to go out again. It must however be admitted that it is very difficult for the military and the police to protect surrenderers from attacks or minor reprisals by the gangs which are still out. So far nothing serious has happened in this direction, and the more we succeed in isolating the gangs under the new area system the less dangerous it will be.

LXXVI

Dated Malappuram, the 1st December 1921.

The Suffolks and the police met various parties between Olakara and Tirurangadi yesterday, and there seems no doubt that a meeting had been arranged by the rebels at Mambram, which these parties were going to attend. The troops dispersed them, killing about 40 in all. What the upshot will be is uncertain; there must have been several hundred rebels in that neighbourhood yesterday.

2. From Melattur the news is that a letter purporting to be from Chembrasseri Tangal and Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji was brought in; its gist was "why do you destroy cattle and kill women and children? let the military all go away and let Gandhi and Muhammad Ali be brought and we will then stop fighting." The Officer Commanding, Melattur, 2/8th Gurkhas, unfortunately sent an argumentative reply instead of a simple demand for unconditional surrender. The letter was written by a clerk and may have been a bogus affair altogether, as it was obviously inspired by Gandhi's letter to the Liberals, which appeared recently in the papers; but I think it possible that it may have come from one in Chembrasseri Tangal's entourage. A few rebels have come in from the neighbourhood of Melattur; and there seems some prospect of more surrenders even from an amsam such as Karuvarakundu, where it is probable that practically everyone has been out fighting at one time or another. Known leaders who surrender will of course be arrested and dealt with under the Mapilla Act, if no specific offence can be proved against them; it is not so easy as it might seem to put up a case of waging war quickly even against such a person as Chembrasseri Tangal (though he can probably be charged with murder). But the real difficulty is the ordinary man who, let us say, comes in and surrenders with a sword. There may be nothing against him but the mere fact of his surrender with a sword; and I do not think that that mere fact would be enough for any court to convict him of waging war; still less if he brought in no weapon. But there will be hundreds of cases, if surrenders spread in east Ernad, in which there is a moral certainty that the surrenderer has been out fighting. I presume that Government would not be prepared to deal with the rank and file under the Mapilla Act; and therefore there is no alternative that I can see to letting such men go free. I do not myself think that this matters much; in many respects this is a real war and they will be prisoners of war and the numbers that will have suffered from the military operations will be considerable; there will also be the general penalty of fines, perhaps. But letters which I have received already show that there will be an outcry both from people who take the line that "the Mapilla will not understand if he is not punished individually" and from the Hindus who still urge that no Mapilla can be allowed to remain in Ernad. I do not think much of the first argument and to the Hindus it ought to be sufficient to undertake to prosecute every individual whom they can prove to have committed a specific offence against them. But protests there will be.

LXXVII

Dated Malappuram, the 2nd December 1921.

The chief news is of large numbers of surrenders at Melattur from Edapatta, Edatnatkara and neighbouring amsams; over 600 men came in and about 250 swords were handed over. It has not yet been possible to shroff the names, but I should say that these men are mostly the hangers-on and the more temporary adherents of Chembrasseri Tangal's gangs. But while I adhere to the view that it is easy to make too much of such surrenders, it is not to be denied that such numbers coming in in such a place is a distinct sign that the rebellion is petering out.

2. A similar inference is to be drawn from Arikkod which we visited to-day; we found that about 1,000 had come back and the place was full of white flags and salaams. I was last there about a fortnight ago just after the drive and passed through and then there was no one to be seen. Here again most of the people who have come in are I believe people who ran across the river in fear of the Chins (I had a notice issued after the Chins had passed through advising people to return); and there is reliable information that there is a gang of some 500 armed men not far off across the river. But the change is that the men who have come in are anxious, and I think really anxious, to help the troops catch the gang.

3. We also went to-day to Ramanatkara via Kondotti and found the road to Calicut very much more peacefully populated than it was a fortnight ago.

LXXVIII

Dated Malappuram, the 3rd December 1921.

We went to Tirurangadi to-day, and found it absolutely deserted; the road from Kottakkal to Tirurangadi and from Tirurangadi to Parappanangadi was also practically empty and the few persons about bolted even at the sight of my car with two rifles. With such people on the road side it is partly fear of troops and partly fear of the rebels; a man who had surrendered on this road was collared the day before yesterday by some rebels and slightly wounded, and if a man who is known to have given information to the troops is caught, he runs a good chance of being murdered. The 83rd are at Tirurangudi, but have got little information yet; apparently the main Tirurangadi-Vengara gang has split up into small parties of 20 and 30, and their movements are difficult to follow. It will be a difficult job even to begin to restore any sort of confidence in Tirurangadi.

2. The Gurkhas got on to a small rebel party at Tuvvur and killed seven and recovered a gun and some knives. Chembrasseri Tangal is said to have a gang of about 500 with him in that area. He is also said to be sounding the Malappuram Tangal to find out what will be done with him if he surrenders. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji is in the Nilambur area and

the only other important gathering seems to be in the Arikkod area mainly on the north of the river. Karadan Moidin, one of the chief Pukkottur blackguards purports to have issued a notice in Calicut taluk drawing the attention of "Muslim" to the destruction of mosques and other iniquities and calling on true "Muslim" to fight against "Mapillas" who have surrendered.

LXXIX

Dated Malappuram, the 4th December 1921.

Surrenders have continued in the last two days from the amsams round Melattur and at Arikkod. The total numbers from the Melattur area amount to about 3,000 and over 1,000 swords have been brought in. Chembrasseri Tangal and Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji are said to be both disheartened, but to be unwilling to surrender because they know that they are both wanted for murders. The rumour is that Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji is going to Mambram to-night and proposes to attack Manjeri to-morrow.

2. A few skirmishes have been reported from the Wandur area. It is probable that more than the 40 previously reported were killed by the Suffolks on the 30th, and the casualties are said to have included 2 or 3 men of importance.

3. I visited the refugees in Malappuram this morning with the object of trying to persuade them to return home. They are still frightened to do so, but I think we must begin to use pressure to make Hindus go back to amsams from which there have been large numbers of surrenders.

LXXX

Dated Malappuram, the 5th December 1921.

There has been no 'kill' in the various hunts of armed gangs; and 'scent' has generally been bad. The rumour about Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji going to Mambram seems to have been false. The local inhabitants of Tirurangadi and Mambram and a few miles round are beginning to come back and propose to surrender; they will probably not include some 50 leaders and known bad men, who with the Vengara 'die-hards' seem still to be near Cherur and the slopes of Uroth Mala but still continue to be most elusive. A special effort is to be made against them by night on the 7th.

2. Surrenders continue in Chembrasseri Tangal's country; and one of his chief lieutenants came in yesterday. My figure of 3,000 yesterday should have been 2,000, but 3,000 will soon be reached, and I am inclined to think that the whole of Chembrasseri Tangal's gangs will soon have come in; there is no reliable information about his own movements or the numbers now with him. The 'swords' that have been brought in include a fair number of ordinary domestic choppers, etc., but there are 600 or 700 regular weapons of offence.

3. We visited Mannarghat amongst other places to-day and found it still empty though a moderate number of the houses on the road between Melattur and Mannarghat were occupied. A good many of the Mannarghat Mapillas are said to be still out with Sithi Koya Tangal; he is apparently somewhere in Tenkara (whence he can retreat up the Attapadi valley) but the Gurkhas have not yet succeeded in getting near him. He is supposed to have 200 or 300 armed men with him but information is very vague. I think it is not unlikely that this gang will disperse and come in when the news of the Melattur surrenders spreads. The only other considerable gang in Walluvanad is that of Mukri Ahamad which is centred on Tazhekkod and has Pranakod Mala to retire on and is proving also most elusive.

4. In Ernad, there is no news from the Wandur and Nilambur area, and Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji's whereabouts are obscure. Koyamu with a party who will probably not surrender is still said to be near Pandalur. In the Arikkod area surrenders continue south of the river, and seem to be likely to spread north.

5. In Calicut taluk the two police companies are now at Omasseri, the centre of the gang that went in for wholesale conversions and beheadings; they found the place empty and have not yet succeeded in getting any good information.

6. On the whole everything confirms the impression that the rebellion is collapsing fast, and I think that offensive military operations may soon cease to be necessary, but I doubt whether it will be advisable to move many of the troops for some time. The recruiting for the police is not going well; 150 are still wanted to make up the 600. But it is rather too early yet to discuss this question in any detail.

7. Two worrying questions are (*a*) that of the arrest and trial of surrenderers and (*b*) that of the return of Hindus to their homes; (*a*) is dependent both on accommodation and on the release of police officers from military intelligence work; (*b*) must depend largely on the attitude of leading Nayars, which so far does not seem encouraging.

LXXXI

Dated Malappuram, the 6th December 1921.

There have been minor scraps in the last two days, with small parties of rebels by the police at Vennakod (Puttur amsam, Calicut taluk), at Chelembra and Puttur (near Kannamangalam) and in the Kaipakkancheri area; by the military at Tuvvur and Chembrasseri, south-west of Arikkod, on the Nilambur-Parambayil road, at Vakkathodi (near Manjeri). Some 20 rebels have been killed.

2. There are small armed gangs in the Vengara-Kannamangalam area, south-east of Kottakkal, south of Arikkod and near Edakkara; and larger parties at Kalamula (Karuvarakundu area) Nemmini, Tazhekkod, Mannarghat and probably Panikkod (Calicut taluk).

3. Surrenders continue in the Melattur and Arikkod areas; and have begun at Nemmini and in the Vandur area.

4. A murder by a party of seven was reported yesterday in Tanalur but the police who went out failed to find the party.

5. It is reported that the armoured cars were fired on yesterday on the Parambayil road.

6. I have not heard any details of the affairs in the Cannanore Jail.

LXXXII

Dated Malappuram, the 7th December 1921.

We have been out beyond Nilambur, but could not get quite to Edakkara as the road was blocked; we spent an hour cutting up one tree that had been put across the road. A gang of 200 led by Moidu Haji and Abdul Haji had been reported in the neighbourhood and are probably still there. A shot was fired about 20 yards ahead of my car, from some apparently empty huts; but we failed to find any one. The sort of jungle that you get round Edakkara, mainly bamboo, makes it absolutely impossible to see a man within 10 yards; and the only chance of getting on to a gang in such country is to catch them asleep in a house. Nilambur itself looked more of a ruin than ever owing to the raid on it about a fortnight ago, but off the main road a good many Mapillas and others have come back and Nilambur, like Edavanna and Wandur which we also visited, is becoming a centre of surrenders.

2. I am collecting figures to reply to the telegram about surrenders just received. I hope that it will be made clear to the Government of India that such figures mean little. Surrenderers include all sorts, a few fighters tired of it, more camp followers, harbourers and feeders of rebel gangs, and still more persons who have probably done nothing much more than talk to rebels and hide from troops. The common form of petition put in by say 200 through a Tangal is to this effect: "we are loyal, and acknowledge the authority of the British Government; we have taken no part in the riot; if we have done anything wrong we are ready to be tried and beg for mercy. We pray that we may be saved from being shot and that our houses may not be destroyed by the troops." Totals to date will probably be over 15,000 from over 30 amsams; but there are still bad men out from those amsams, though not very many, and there are still many amsams to be dealt with. It is desirable to have a European officer present when an amsam comes in and to arrange a date and place for a function of some formality. It may also be pointed out that very few guns have yet been brought in, about a dozen I think; and by no means all the swords that might be expected from the surrendered amsams. Also no 'first-class leader' has yet surrendered himself, though there is a possibility of Sithi Koya doing so shortly.

LXXXIII

Dated Malappuram, the 8th December 1921.

There have been no military operations of importance.

2. Sithi Koya Tangal has sent in a letter offering to surrender with all his gang if he is given a promise of pardon, and concluding with more or less of a taunt that the troops will never catch him. He is being told that he must surrender unconditionally. His gang has not been one of the worst, and I do not think that there are any murders to his credit; but I presume that Government will agree that all surrenders must be unconditional.

3. Ordinary surrenders continue; I wired figures up to 7th this morning. Even though they may help little towards getting in the worst offenders (and they do help to some extent), I have no doubt that the moral effect of insisting on a formal surrender by the rank and file is of great value. A man who has brought in a knife and had his name taken loses his sullen desperate look when he is allowed to go away, even though he knows that he may be arrested later on; and such restoration of confidence is a distinct gain in itself. The difficulty is to get subordinates and Hindus generally to appreciate such an aspect of the case. It is a point not always remembered that the overtures to surrender have in all cases come from the surrenderers and that there has been no offer of amnesty.

4. Chembrasseri Tangal and Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji are said to be still thinking about surrender. The Tirurangadi leaders are said to have no intention of surrendering, nor has Koyamu, the Pandalur leader, nor Karadan Moideen, north of the Beypore river.

LXXXIV

Demi-official—from A. R. KNAPP, Esq., C.B.E., I.C.S., dated Calicut, the 10th December 1921.

Paragraph 2 of Evans's daily letter of the 8th. I hope Government will make it quite clear that all 'surrenders' must be unconditional and that the Military Commander is not empowered without consultation with Government to promise anything except perhaps immunity from trial by court-martial.

The mention by Evans of the fact that the Tangal's gang has not been one of the worst and has no murders to its credit rather suggests to me a tendency to weaken on this point. Sithi Koya Tangal, unless previously shot, must certainly be tried for waging war. If the court-martial won't do it, then the Tribunal will have to do so.

I quite concur in Evans's remarks in paragraph 3.

NOTE.—This matter is dealt with separately. See D.O. No. M. 210, dated 14th December 1921, section B (ii) LXXIX.

LXXXV

Dated Malappuram, the 9th December 1921.

The Chins from Kalikavu who went out to Kalamula yesterday after Chembrasseri Tangal's gang met with opposition and killed 35 and captured 20 guns; they had 3 slightly wounded. Full details are not yet in and it is not possible to say how far this affair is likely to hasten Chembrasseri Tangal's surrender which is said to be impending.

2. The Suffolks in a combined operation with some Leinsters and police and 83rd, closing in on Cherur where the chief remainder of the Tirurangadi-Vengara gang was reported, apparently had an engagement with heavy firing for about an hour this afternoon; but results are not yet known. If they prove satisfactory, this ought to be the final blow necessary west of Malappuram. Information tends to indicate that Lavar Kutti, Kunhalavi and Abdulla Kutti, who were the chief leaders of the Tirurangadi gang, have gone off on their own with very few adherents.

3. Sithi Koya is a little way up the path to Attapadi with 300; he is being cut off from his food supplies, and the chances are that his gang will desert him. There is little chance of surrounding him in such a position.

4. There is no news of other gangs. Surrenders continue round Perintalmanna, Kondotti and Wandur.

LXXXVI

Dated Malappuram, the 10th December 1921.

In the Suffolk engagement yesterday at Cherur 81 rebels were killed, 10 guns (including one ·303 and a revolver) and 40 swords were captured. The rebels started the fight with some ·303 sniping and a rush from a Nayar's house which has been one of their resorts for some time. They were fairly desperate, fifteen prisoners were taken. The gang was apparently made up partly of local "Tiruranagdi" men and partly of Karath Moidin Kutti Haji's men. Abu Bakr Mussaliar, who took the lead of the "Tiruranagdi" gang recently when Lavar Kutti and Abdulla Kutti left, was probably killed; but this has not yet been verified. Lavar Kutti and Abdulla Kutti with perhaps 150 men altogether remain of the armed rebels to be dealt with in this area.

2. There is no further news of Sithi Koya; his letter which I have now seen in original was more abject than the reports indicated, and I do not expect him to hold out much longer. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and Chembrasseri Tangal are still somewhere along the Nilambur-Kalikavu road, on the hill side; there may be about 400 armed men with them altogether, not more I think. The Chins' scrap the day before yesterday when they reported having killed 35 at Kalamula, was a series of ambushes; the enemy were largely in khaki, but seem to have been short of ammunition. Their casualties were probably a good many more than 35. On the same day another company of Chins were fired at from the north of the road near Edakkara; they counted 8 and probably inflicted more casualties.

3. North of the Beypore river there is probably a gang of about 200 near Panikkod, but no news is in yet from the Garhwalis who are chasing it. There are also still 100 or more armed rebels in Omasseri; the auxiliary police are chasing them daily in very thick country and killing a few on the fringe.

4. Surrenders continue; and are being "accepted" gradually as arrangement can be made for the "parade" of each amsam.

5. The position therefore roughly is that there are fighting gangs more or less penned in to the hills behind Mannarghat, the road from Kalikavu to Nilambur, the road from Nilambur to Edakkara, and in the south-east of the Calicut taluk; and one still troublesome gang in the

Tiruranagdi area, and one north-east of Perintalmanna. These gangs of course may move, but it is much more dangerous for them to move than it was, and it ought to be much more easy to follow them up if the persons who have surrendered assist as they are bound to do. With moderate luck two or three weeks now ought to see the end of the gangs; and it is not improbable that two of the leaders may surrender before that.

6. I have written mainly of the gangs because the papers seem inclined to think that all is peace because large numbers have surrendered. As I have explained before, " surrenders " are important mainly for their moral effect; their value from the strictly military point of view may be gauged by the number of guns surrendered; it is about 10 so far; the names recorded now come to about 27,500.

LXXXVII

Dated Malappuram, the 11th December 1921.

A company of the Auxiliary police under King surprised a gang of rebels in a mosque in Perumanna (between Kottakkal and Tirur) early this morning. They killed 48 and took 11 prisoners. A subadar was killed and one constable wounded, shot through the arm. The police recovered two ·303 rifles (the ones taken from the Leinsters at Tirur on August 20th), 6 police carbines, 3 other guns, and 35 swords: a very good bit of work for which King and Sub-Inspector Karunakara Menon deserve great credit. The rebels were mostly from Vengara, and Valiyora, but not all have yet been identified; they probably belonged to the gang that was led by Lavar Kutti and Kunhalavi; and probably the leaders had only left them temporarily; so far no leaders have been identified. In any case, this with the Suffolks show two days ago ought to go far to settle the Tirurangadi area. It may resolve itself in the leaders being deserted and being arrested alone " on information given."

2. Chembrasseri Tangal and Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji are said to be together in the hills behind Kalamula; the Chins are after them. Sithi Koya is still more or less hemmed in at the foot of the Attapadi pass. Mukri Ahamad's gang north of Perintalmanna is dwindling; so is Koyamu's in Pandalur. Avoker Mussaliar, the leader in the Puttur-Omasseri area, is said to have been wounded. Karath Moidin Kutti Haji and the Konnara Tangal are near Tiruvambadi with perhaps 150 men; and Thonikara Ahamad with about 50 near Edakkara. That completes the list of gangs. Troops are on the track of all; but nearly all are in difficult country.

LXXXVIII

Dated Malappuram, the 13th December 1921.

I did not write yesterday as we went in to Calicut, and there was really nothing to say. There is not much more to-day. The Chins are still on the track of Chembrasseri Tangal and Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji in the Nilambur-Kalikavu hill area. They report that there are no signs of rebels to be seen round Kalamula now, and the rumour, not improbable, is that Chembrasseri Tangal has run back to the hills round Nedungayam. It seems probable that the numbers with him, or them, are decreasing daily. Sithi Koya was possibly to be brought to bay by the Gurkhas to-day, but no news is yet in. The Garhwalis and police are on the tracks of the Konnara Tangal and Karath Moidin Kutti Haji's gang; but it like others is reported to have taken to the hills, near the Calicut Rubber Estate. The Suffolks hope to get Kunhalavi and the remnant of the " Tirurangadi " gang to-morrow.

Dealt with separately. See section F (ii) I.

2. I enclose a copy of a letter from Humphreys to the General about the withdrawal of martial law; and of my letter to Knapp, from which it will be seen that I consider the " war " practically over. I presume that the General will address the Government and a copy of my letter in advance may help to expedite consideration.

LXXXIX

Dated Malappuram, the 14th December 1921.

We have been out to Mannarghat and Karuvarakundu. At Mannarghat three companies of Gurkhas failed to catch Sithi Koya in their operations yesterday. It is disappointing but not in the least surprising; he is dodging about in the hills that flank the Attapadi valley, and may succeed in doing so for some time. He is said to have about 250 men with 100 guns now, and there are indications that they are beginning to desert; he himself is said to have given general permission to his followers to leave him if they want to, and that is in consonance with the tone of his letter asking for terms. He may be able to move north towards Tiruvazhamkunnu, but not easily; otherwise he is hemmed in, and has no food supply open. I am not so confident of his being caught quickly now that I have heard the accounts of yesterday's operations (though they killed 20), but I think that a fortnight should see the end of his gang.

2. Karuvarakundu which supplied most of the band that attacked Pandikkad and is undoubtedly a place which joined in the rebellion wholesale, was full of surrendered Mapillas catching fish, doing odd jobs for the Gurkhas, and quite happy over it. This is typical of the Mapilla; he will rush on a machine gun one day and fetch and carry for you the next. For

this reason I do not mind if 600 of the crowd that attacked Pandikkad go scot free, as they probably will; (the casualties are put by the Mapillas at fully 400). I do not think that those who escaped are any more (or any less) dangerous as fanatics than hundreds of other Mapillas of Ernad. I mention this, because it has been put by those who will apply the analogy of previous outbreaks to this rebellion, that it is not safe to allow anybody who has fought against the troops to remain in the district; even if it were possible to get everyone who has fought. I do not think it would be desirable to take action against all. One case we let off was that of a boy of about 13 who was found hiding by a heap of dead, and who admitted having come with the rest to fight; I doubt whether he is likely to be more dangerous when he grows up than an average boy from Karuvarakundu; both are liable to "go out" for no particular reason at any moment if the right kind of stimulus is at hand.

3. There is no accurate news of Chembrasseri Tangal and Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji but they seem to be still in the Nedungayam region; the rumour is that they intend going to Gudalur with 1,500 men, but I don't think there is a chance of that. They might try to escape that way individually, but even that is unlikely. More troops are being brought up into the Nilambur valley; the country requires abundance of them, and I am afraid that it may be a longer job than we calculated rounding up these gangs, even if they can be kept in the Nilambur valley.

4. Elsewhere conditions are mainly peaceful; and the country generally is beginning to look more normal, though you still see few Hindus except in centres where they congregate. We are ordering village officials back to their amsams, and trying to empty refugee camps, but both things must be done with a certain amount of leniency. Both Mankada and Kottakkal are howling at the prospect of being deprived of their guards.

XC

Dated Malappuram, the 15th December 1921.

We have been round to Edakkara, Kalikavu and Karuvarakundu. The Edakkara bridge, a big single span, has had one end all but dropped; it is practically resting on nothing and another half hour's work would have finished it. The bridge was first damaged apparently early in the rebellion, but the worst damage was done within the last week. It will be a difficult job to make it fit for traffic. The Edakkara Travellers' Bungalow was also burnt only two or three days ago. All this is probably the work of a gang led by Karath Moidin Kutti Haji and perhaps the Konnara Tangal; and this is presumably the gang that went up to Pandalur last night. They were reported at Nirpuzha Mukku two or three days ago and they apparently climbed up to Pandalur to get food and attacked the police camp for that purpose. They are said to have carried off two days' rations and to have gone back to Nirpuzha Mukku. The Wynad reports put the numbers at 600, but I should doubt if there were more than 100. We got the news at Nilambur on our way back. Chins are being sent out to Nirpuzha Mukku. I am afraid this affair will frighten all the Wynad. Now that the rebels are more or less cut off from the low country for food, they may try to get up to the plateaus; but I do not think they will do so in any considerable numbers. It is, however, a thing that it is practically impossible to prevent, especially if they move up mere jungle tracks. Accurate news of the position of any of the gangs is wanting, but all seem still to be keeping to the foot-hills of the ghats.

2. I am going in to Coimbatore to-morrow to see about my kit, and shall probably be there over the week end; so I may not write again for a few days. I have had a pretty strenuous time of it for the last two months, usually out visiting posts for six or eight hours every day, and it is trying work motoring in Malabar when every cow and buffalo is ownerless. I want to let Austin get away for Christmas as he has had very hard work and has been separated from his wife; and I shall try and get 10 days off afterwards. It looks now as though the closing down of military operations will be more deferred than I thought. Calicut taluk may, I think, be regarded as clear of rebels now, and in Ernad and Walluvanad they are, as I have said, confined to the foothills and the rest of the country is beginning to get normal; but I am certain that it would be a mistake to move any troops away until we can say with some confidence that Chembrasseri Tangal, Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, Sithi Koya, Abdul Haji and one or two others have been accounted for with their gangs. At present they *may* move anywhere; rumour is always crediting them with rapid marches and with immense forces, and that in itself is a point that has to be reckoned with in dealing with the question of the removal of troops. Though really the destruction of 50 of Chembrasseri Tangal's gang is of more value than Chembrasseri Tangal's head alone, popular opinion would attach more importance to the latter.

XCI

Dated Malappuram, the 18th December 1921.

Nothing much has happened since I wrote last. The latest reports indicate that K. Moidin Kutti Haji and the Konnara Tangal are north of the Beypore river with about 200 men; they are said to be going to attack Arikkod, or according to another account to be moving north

towards Tamarasseri. We have no further information from the Nilgiri-Wynad, except that according to the Mapillas eight of them were killed out of an attacking force of about 200. All seem to have come down from the plateau.

2. Sithi Koya's forces are said to have been still further depleted. He himself with about 50 men is in the hills due north of Mannarghat.

3. Chembrasseri Tangal is reported to be in the Melattur neighbourhood with only a small following and there are again talks of his surrender. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji is probably still in the Nilambur area, and the rebels there seem to be few in number and very scattered.

4. The police have been out north of Tirurangadi and north of Ponmundam and have killed a few rebels and made a few captures, but none of great importance. A few dacoities have been reported from these areas and in the Kattuparutti area there is still a troublesome band, but there are hopeful signs of Mapillas and Hindus joining to resist it. A Nayar house was burnt last night in Valluvambram, a "surrendered" amsam, but here again the surrendered Mapillas have been giving assistance against stray rebels. Koyamu Haji, whose "Pandalur" gang has been reduced to about 20, went yesterday to the house of the adhigari of Mankada Pallipram (the adhigari had only recently been induced to return to his amsam) and extorted some money and threatened to come again. This has of course frightened the Mankada Kovilagam which has just been deprived of its guard. Such incidents show the difficulties of guaranteeing safety and restoring confidence in "surrendered" amsams; as does the threatened attack from the north on Arikkod which is the centre of a tract that has been settling down satisfactorily in the last ten days. But on the whole I think that the surrendered areas, which now include practically all but the amsams touching the hills, are gradually but steadily improving.

5. Surrenders now total nearly 30,000 from about 100 amsams, with 2,500 swords and 50 guns. The proportion of guns has improved recently in the Melattur and Arikkod areas.

XCII

Dated Malappuram, the 19th December 1921.

Information is just in that Chembrasseri Tangal has surrendered, apparently alone. It was not unexpected. What the effect will be on his gang, or on other leaders it is not easy to say; but I think probably not much, and not so much as on the general public opinion.

2. The police north of the river chased a band of about 20 and killed three. There are rumours of fighting also north of the river near Arikkod, but nothing definite is in.

3. Further surrenders are reported from Nilambur, Arikkod, and Edavanna, with a fair proportion of guns.

4. No news of Sithi Koya from Mannarghat.

XCIII

Dated Malappuram, the 20th December 1921.

We have been out to see Chembrasseri Tangal in custody of the Gurkhas at Melattur. He said he was too frightened to make a statement and would prefer to wait for a day or two. He had given permission to his followers to surrender, unlike Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji who has promised to shoot everyone who surrenders, but did not know what they would do nor how many were still out. I could not get him to say why he had rebelled. He is a man of some dignity, and less of a fanatic than Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, and I think it possible that he may admit everything and make a long statement. He will be tried by court-martial for offences under 121 and 302 (there are many murder charges that might be proved against him). The credit of his surrender is due to Sub-Inspector Ramanatha Ayyar.

2. News is just in that Sithi Koya Tangal was captured this afternoon near Mannarghat with remnants of his gang, seven guns and five swords.

3. At Pandikkad this morning they had good hopes of getting Koyamu Haji and the remaining ten men of the Pandalur (Walluvanad) gang to surrender.

4. This leaves of chief leaders (1) Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, (2) his brother Variankunnath Moidin Haji, (3) Abdu Haji, (4) K. Moidin Kutti Haji, (5) the Konnara Tangal, (6) Moidu Haji, (7) Kunhalavi, Lavar Kutti and M. Abdulla Kutti, (8) Avoker Mussaliar.

(1) Who has been the most murderous, the most influential at times, and the most quarrelsome with his fellow rebels, is not, I think, likely to surrender. According to one report he made towards Devarshola after the raid on Pandalur (Nilgiri-Wynad); other reports put him still in the Nilambur area; others put him across the Beypore river north of Arikkod. I am afraid he will still take some catching. He has probably a fair number with him, but there is nothing reliable to go on.

(2) is not with his brother, and is probably somewhere in the Nilambur area; he may come in; has probably few with him.

(3) is probably somewhere in the Nilambur area, or else in the neighbourhood of Arikkod; two small parties were round there yesterday moving apparently north.

(4) and (5) are probably in the Arikkod area north of the river.

(6) is somewhere about Karuvarakundu and may surrender; he has perhaps 100 men.

(7) the remnants of the Tirurangadi gang are probably hiding, with few if any followers, in Kannamangalam or the Kondotti area.

(8) is said to be wounded in the Pudupadi neighbourhood. Nos. (1) to (6) must be accounted for before military operations can cease, I think.

5. Talks with surrenderers show that the Pandikkad attack, which was one of the decisive incidents in the war, was a joint effort of Chembrasseri Tangal and Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji; they addressed a crowd of two to three thousand in the evening and about 2,000 started for the attack; Chembrasseri Tangal assured them that British bullets would do no harm and, according to an ex-sepoy who was in the attack, most of them believed him, though he (the ex-sepoy) did not; they expected to wipe out the Gurkhas and get their rifles, which would be all right in their hands; they advanced in a sort of military formation, but when the firing began very many ran away.

6. The problem of what to do with ' fighting rebels ' who have surrendered is still worrying me. In Karuvarakundu, for instance, there are probably at least 100 surrenderers who were in the Pandikkad attack and in other fights with the troops; some of them admit it, but there is no evidence and hardly likely to be any. Against a good many of them there will probably be evidence of participation in lootings and murders, and they will be arrested as cases are ready and sorted out; but this will be a long process, and at present progress is difficult because all the inspectors and sub-inspectors are on military intelligence work. There is also the difficulty of accommodation and guards for prisoners, which is a constant source of worry. We are therefore limiting arrests to important leaders, who will mostly be tried by court-martial, and to other "worse" men against whom there is a case ready; and I think that this must perforce be the policy for some time. But a Hindu who has complained against A for looting his house is naturally not very keen on going back to it while A is at large, even if he has surrendered. He is also not keen on going back so long as men who are known to have been "rebels", though there is no evidence against them, are at large; but I think he has got to be made to realize that he must make up his mind to this, and as I have said before I do not think there is any great political danger in their being at large.

XCIV

Dated Malappuram, the 21st December 1921.

We have been to Mannarghat to see Sithi Koya. He surrendered with 12 of his men to Amu (to whom great credit is due). He tries to lay the blame for his share in the rebellion on Chembrasseri Tangal; but there is clear evidence that he went out first on his own initiative, backed by the Elaya Nayar; later on in October it may have been Chembrasseri Tangal who bucked him up to fight the Suffolks. There are several murders to his charge. He will be court-martialled. He says he had only about fifty men left just before he decided to "run away"; some of them have come in and others will probably follow, but there are others who were with him before from the Mannarghat area and who are still out with guns in the surrounding hills; it may take time to get them and it may mean chasing into the Attapadi valley, but I think the police can manage it and probably all troops will now be moved from the Perintalmanna-Mannarghat area.

2. Police from Malappuram hope to bring in Koyamu this evening.

3. The auxiliary police had a scrap at Tiruvambadi (Calicut taluk) yesterday, which shows that there are still fighters in that area; and latest reports suggest 2 or 3 fighting gangs, probably Karath Moidin Kutti Haji, Konnara Tangal and Abdu in the neighbourhood of Arikkod. Nothing specific from the Nilambur area.

4. The road from Perintalamanna to Mannarghat was a good deal more normal than when I went along it last week and business is beginning in Mannarghat. But Mankada asks for an armed escort to remove his "women" to Calicut and others ask for a "detachment of military for a week to protect me while I reap my crop"; and I saw yesterday at Manjeri a depressing group of men and boys who had been "converted" two months ago and only just dared come out of hiding.

XCV

Letter—from A. R. Knapp, Esq., C.B.E., I.C.S., to the Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., dated Calicut, the 21st December 1921.

I send you a copy of a demi-official which I had just written to Evans. I think you will agree that we ought to get what we can in the way of information from Chembrasseri Tangal. Whether you will agree with my tentative suggestion in the last paragraph I do not know.

Chembrasseri Tangal of course thoroughly deserves shooting but I am not at all sure that for a man who has actually been commanding the rebel troops and facing death transportation for life (i.e., really for life, deportation being continued under the Mapilla Act) would not be the heavier punishment and if it meant that we got a real insight into the origin of the rebellion it might be worth while to consider it.

ENCLOSURE.

Demi-official—from A. R. KNAPP, Esq., C.B.E., I.C.S., to F. B. EVANS, Esq., I.C.S., dated the 21st December 1921, No. XI.

I hear that Chembrasseri Tangal and a lieutenant have surrendered. I assume that they will be tried by the court-martial. It is most important that whether before or after they are convicted any statement that they are prepared to make may be recorded as fully as possible. Their statements are probably about the only information which we shall get from really inside sources as to the origin and objects of the rebellion and the extent to which they expected to succeed: also of the organization by which the whole business was engineered. Unless we know far more than we do at present on these points and are able to arrive at a fairly accurate analysis of the ultimate and immediate causes of the rising, I do not see how we are going to make provision against trouble in the future. It does not very much matter whether statements are taken by you or Hitchcock or Austin. All that is important is that before Chembrasseri Tangal is put away an attempt should be made to get him to make a clean breast. I say it with a good deal of hesitation but it seems to me that there *might* be circumstances in which it would be worth while even to let him off the death penalty if we could thereby get a complete insight into the inner workings of the rebellion, but I do not of course know what personal crimes there are to his credit.

XCVI

Demi-official—from the Hon'ble Sir LIONEL DAVIDSON, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., to A. R. KNAPP, Esq., C.B.E., I.C.S., dated 22nd December 1921.

Your demi-official of the 21st December about Chembrasseri Tangal has just reached me. The last sentence is so guarded that I do not feel called upon to dissent. But my own impression is that the remission of the extreme penalty would not be likely to secure any more full and accurate exposition of the inner workings of the rebellion than would otherwise be obtainable. Also it would undoubtedly be difficult to justify such a measure of leniency. This letter will, I hope, get to you in time to be shown to His Excellency to whom you will no doubt mention the matter to-morrow.

XCVII

Dated Malappuram, the 22nd December 1921.

The Chins killed nine rebels in the Nilambur area yesterday, and recovered seven guns. The police had a skirmish near Arikkod and recovered some weapons; casualties not known.

2. The fighting gangs remain apparently in the Nilambur and Arikkod areas, and in the triangle north of the Beypore river. Surrenders continue round Nilambur, Wandur and Tirurangadi.

XCVIII

Dated Malappuram, the 23rd December 1921.

The Gurkhas yesterday got into contact with a gang in Tiruvazhamkunnu and killed about 20 and recovered some guns and a broken theodolite. The gang appears to have been under Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and Mukri Ayamu, and to have numbered about 300 well armed; it dispersed and part went to Mannaramala, and the rest apparently towards Karuvarakundu. Parties were chased in both these places without success. The theodolite suggests that these were some of the people that raided Pandalur, and a prisoner's statement confirms this; according to it, the Pandalur raid was planned at a meeting of Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, Moidu, Abdu, Konnara Tangal, Karath Moideen Kutti Haji and Mukri Ayamu; 250 men were selected for it out of 1,000; the main object was to get arms; all came back at once from the Wynad. The leaders just mentioned are the only remaining fighters; they may have between them 1,000 men, many well armed; and the Pandalur incident shows that they are capable of some combination and that they are very mobile.

2. The police at Tirurangadi yesterday killed Kunhalavi and M. Abdulla Kutti with five others and got two guns and five swords, another very good bit of work to their credit. These two men were the worst of the Tirurangadi gang; Kunhalavi probably the murderer of Rowley and Abdulla Kutti, a K.D. rescued from Manjeri jail when it was looted. But for 'dacoit' gangs in Mattatur and Kaipakkancheri the area west of Malappuram may now really be regarded as safe; it is out of the beat of Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji & Co.; but it is still very difficult to persuade Hindus of this, or of the importance from every point of view of their getting back to their homes.

XCIX

Dated Malappuram, the 24th December 1921.

There is no military news worth detailing. Parties have been out from various posts in the Nilambur, Wandur, and Arikkod areas on information of the appearance of small bodies of rebels, and have in some cases killed a few armed men. The fighting gangs that remain are so far as

can be seen (1) in the Nilambur area mainly north of the river, (2) in the Arikkod area, (3) in the Tiruvambadi area, Calicut taluk (4) and in the Karuvarakundu or Kalikavu area. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji may be in Walluvanad, near Perintalmanna; but he is very mobile, and though we get good information now of where he has been 'yesterday' we never know where he is 'to-day'.

2. I have motored over most of the east of Ernad and Walluvanad in the last two days, and there is a noticeable, if gradual, improvement in the number of people 'pursuing their ordinary avocations'. I am constantly asked if a particular amsam is now 'safe' or 'clear of rebels' but I do not consider either question capable of a definite answer. The rebel gangs that remain are scattered and diminished; but they are still capable of concentrating to some extent and they can still give the slip to the troops near whom they pass with comparative ease; it would be still possible for them to attack the Manjeri garrison or the Hindus living in and near Manjeri, for instance, however unlikely. Also we are not and cannot be sure that all 'rebels' in a 'surrendered' amsam have come in, nor if they have that they will not join in again if sufficiently tempted or frightened. It is therefore really impossible to say with any real accuracy that one amsam is safe and another is not; but practically all amsams except the few bordering on the foothills of the ghats are reasonably safe and people have really less reason to be frightened of returning home in them now than they might have in two or three months time when presumably the military strength will be reduced to the permanent garrison. I am therefore trying to insist on all civil officials getting to their proper places if possible, and I consider that relief to refugees who are concentrated in towns should be drastically restricted. But it is up to the big Hindu landlords and men of influence to give the lead and they seem not in the least inclined to do so; they say that they don't trust these 'surrenders', etc., nor will they trust our discretion when we decide, for instance, to remove troops from Kottakkal. There will be no chance of a satisfactory settlement of the country unless the Hindu is going to bring himself to apply sensible ordinary standards to the Mapilla, instead of treating him as something unique and terrifying; he has got to put up with the Mapilla as a neighbour and he cannot have him treated for ever as an enemy; and quite apart from the fact which I have before emphasised that the rebellion is ultimately the work of Hindus as much as Mapillas, I am opposed to differentiating more than can possibly be helped between Hindu and Mapilla in schemes of reconstruction and I am opposed to allowing Hindus to have their own armed guards. I would suggest that Government should do all that they can to bring home to the Hindus their duties in this respect.

C

Dated Malappuram, the 26th December 1921.

Sixty-three men of Sithi Koya's gang have come in with 18 guns and 80 swords. I think it may fairly be said that this is the end of the gang. A few who were there may have joined some other party, and there may be individuals still hiding but nothing more in the Mannarghat area. The credit of getting in these men belongs to Amu. Sithi Koya has made a statement in which he lays the blame for stirring up Mannarghat on the 25th August on Chembrasseri Tangal; this is very probably true. He also makes vague but quite sufficiently incriminating allegations against the Elaya Nayar, who has just been discharged by the Tribunal; there is no moral doubt that the latter abetted waging war, and I propose to see whether it is desirable to send his case up under the Mapilla Act. Sithi Koya admits waging war and being the leader of a fighting gang, but says that he was made leader against his will and forced to stay on against his will; there may be a fraction of truth in this; he is not a natural leader. He admits that Khilāfat and Congress preaching were at the bottom of the trouble, but says that he understands by Khilāfat "the proper observance of Islam ritual."

2. It has not been possible to get a coherent statement out of Chembrasseri Tangal; he started off with a spontaneous reference to the visit of Shaukat Ali and Gandhi to Calicut, and to the activities of local non-co-operators and Khilāfat workers, but says that he was told that they advocated non-violence; the actual blaze in Malabar in August he attributes to the rumour spread by Ali Mussaliar that the Tirurangadi mosque had been fired at. After that "the Mapillas went mad and he could not control them"; but there is not the least doubt that he really commanded his gang and personally ordered most things including many atrocious murders; he may, as he says, have been led to some extent by his lieutenant, Amakundan Mammad, who surrendered with him, but they both deserve death.

3. Moidu Haji has surrendered at Melattur with 8 men and some guns. He is a Manjeri man, who went to Nilambur with Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and was a leader in his 'kingdom' and later the leader of a separate gang, that numbered at one time about 150.

4. A few other important arrests have been made. There is no specific news about Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji or Karath Moidin Kutti Haji, or the Konnara Tangal.

5. We have been up to Nadgani to-day and seen Ward. I do not think there is any reason to anticipate another attack on Pandalur, or any attack on any estate; the Pandalur raid was not directed against any planter; a considerable number of the men concerned in it have since been accounted for, and I personally think it very improbable that the rest would or could go up to the Wynad in any considerable numbers.

CI

Dated Malappuram, the 27th December 1921.

Fifty armed rebels raided Arikkod on Christmas night; but details of what happened are not yet in. Next day the troops from Arikkod were fired at from a hill across the river. No other military news. Some more fighters have surrendered at Nilambur and at Perintalmanna from the Mukri's gang.

2. The 83rd except two platoons, the armoured cars and some of the Pioneers are being sent home now. Next will follow the Chins, in about a fortnight, and two Gurkha battalions at ten days' intervals; that is of course if circumstances permit; they should as far as can be foreseen at present.

3. In discussion with Burnett Stuart yesterday it was calculated that about the end of January would probably be the earliest date for the withdrawal of martial law, provided that something was then ready to replace it to provide for special courts. The number of prisoners awaiting trial is getting serious.

CII

Dated Calicut, the 29th December 1921.

There is nothing to report except the continuance of surrenders and arrests, some of them important.

2. The raid on Arikkod on the 25th night was not serious; they looted a few shops, but did not attack the camp.

3. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji has gone to the Karuvarakundu neighbourhood to one of his wives' houses; he is said to have 50 to 100 men with him, but individuals are deserting; one was caught yesterday. The Konnara Tangal, who with Karath Moidin Kutti Haji is the chief remaining trouble, visited his mosque two days ago, and is said to be out to die, probably in the Tiruvambadi area; it is possible, as undoubtedly all are getting desperate now from want of food, etc.

Dealt with separately in secret file No. 336.

4. It is reported from Arikkod that some of the Mapillas have been worrying 'reverted converts' to go to mosque. We proposed two or three months ago, to try and get a fatwa from Mecca about forcible conversion: and Hitchcock wrote up to Armitage about it. I do not know, nor does he, what has been done, and should be obliged if you could tell me. I think it might be useful to publish a fatwa, if we could get anything at all satisfactory, and I think it ought to be got by Government. These conversions were as much oaths of allegiance to the Khalifa as anything else; but of course you can draw no line between politics and religion in Islam. I do not think that the reverted convert runs very much danger of being murdered; but he does run some.

CIII

Dated Calicut, the 4th January 1922.

The most significant fact during the last week has been the failure of the troops and police to get at the remaining fighting gangs. The Gurkhas from Pandikkad just missed surprising Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji with some 80 followers on Pandalur on the 30th, and the 80 are now apparently in two bands moving round Edavanna. The operations of two companies of police north of the Beypore river and two companies of Garhwalis from Arikkod have been equally indecisive against the gangs under Karath Moidin Kutti Haji, the Konnara Tangal and Abdu Haji. They are apparently working together though not all in one gang; they have lost possibly 20 in the last week; on the other hand they met a party of Garhwalis two nights ago and inflicted some casualties on them and then proceeded to attack the Garhwali camp, and they then proceeded south of the river in the direction of Tirurangadi glancing at Kondotti on the way, but according to the Tangal being driven off by his men. Their numbers as reported yesterday were 500 well-armed; I should be inclined to halve this, but one result is that there was a bit of a stampede towards the railway from Tirurangadi, and boats have again stopped going up the river to Arikkod.

2. My object in referring specially to the above facts is to emphasize the point that the 'A' group gangs (my reference is to Humphreys' letter of 11th December 1921 about the withdrawal of Martial Law) have *not* yet become negligible as a fighting force, and I do not expect that they will have become so in another week. I agreed and agree that until they have become negligible 'military operations and therefore Martial Law should continue,' and I would deprecate very strongly any attempt to force the pace for political or other reasons. I am not, I think, an alarmist, but I think that there is still just a risk of a recrudescence so long as Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and the Konnara Tangal are at large and are able to move about and defy the troops as they have shown that they can do in the last ten days. I do not wish to argue the political aspects of the matter; but I would suggest that to make a point of synchronizing the withdrawal of Martial Law with an event with which it has no connexion is simply 'asking for it' from malevolent critics.

3. I have not yet seen Humphreys but shall do so to-morrow and will then wire in continuation of the wire which I sent to-day.

CIV

Dated Calicut, the 5th January 1922.

The gang that came down towards Tirurangadi from the north appears to have split up and bits of it are now reported in Pukkottur, and in two places in the Arikkod area. A small party, whether belonging to this lot or to Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji's is doubtful, is reported in Elankur; a house was attacked and a Nayar murdered there last night. One such occurrence on an average has been reported daily lately.

2. The numbers now out in these fighting gangs of Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, Karath Moidin Kutti Haji, Abdu Haji, the Konnara Tangal and Avoker Mussaliar are doubtful; I should not myself put them at more than 500, though others would double that number; but I am more than ever convinced that they should still be treated as a serious military problem requiring that freedom of military action for which Martial Law is intended to provide, and I am also decidedly of opinion that the withdrawal of Martial Law, before there has been some fairly decisive action to counteract what has in fact been something of a set-back in progress in the last fortnight, would be a positive danger. Public opinion, if it can be called so, is extremely sensitive; and there is a feeling, evidenced by action, in the amsams of West Ernad that the rebels are recovering ground. I do not think that it is a reasonable feeling, but it exists; and it has this at least to justify it that these gangs are able to move where they like, if with difficulty, and that the troops have not yet succeeded in catching them.

CV

Dated Malappuram, the 6th January 1922.

Chins, Suffolks and Garhwalis are all out after the gangs of Karath Moidin Kutti Haji, Abdu Haji & Co. in the Kondotti-Manjeri-Malappuram triangle. We got fairly close to the bulk of them motoring in from Calicut this morning. The road showed less alarm than I expected. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji is reported to be again east of the Nilambur-Kalikavu road; a specially selected party of police is tracking him, supported by Gurkhas. The Konnara Tangal is again said to have gone home to Konnara with comparatively few men.

2. It is not easy to guess at what is in the minds of these gangs now. There have been persistent rumours for some time that they intend to put up a last fight together, and that is what one would expect now on general grounds. They are desperate and certainly very hard pressed for food and they must know that they cannot expect many new adherents, though they seem to be getting a few, probably from surrenderers who know that their turn to be arrested must come in time. On the other hand, they never seem to stay together for long. Extra special efforts are being made against them now, but without luck it may still take weeks to dispose of them.

3. Though progress against the fighting gangs that are still out has been disappointing, a lot of excellent work in individual arrests has been done in the last fortnight; and fair progress has been made in the trial of cases. Less in the disposal of prisoners, because 'Prisons' has suddenly stopped men being sent to Bellary. I believe it is on account of dysentery; but we have had cholera and smallpox and have had to continue taking in prisoners in the general interests. I think 'Prisons' should be made to understand that there is still a war on.

Dealt with separately in Law Department.

CVI

Dated Malappuram, the 7th January 1922.

Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji was captured last night with 21 of his men, one ·303 rifle (the one taken from the Gurkhas at the Pandikkad fight), 10 police rifles and some other guns and swords. It was a capture rather than a surrender, effected by Sub-Inspector Ramanath Ayyar supported by some selected Auxiliary Police under Subadar Gopala Menon; they did a march of nearly 30 miles including a long detour by way of a feint, and Ramanath Ayyar displayed considerable courage and some finesse. But the capture must be attributed equally to the constant military pressure during the last few weeks, and in fact the 2/9th Gurkhas had run the band to ground and were only waiting for dark to approach it when they were forestalled by the police. Hence not a little jealousy. The men captured include at least two bad leaders and four boys. The remaining 60 (there were 80 of them when Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji was surrounded by the Gurkhas on the 30th) are somewhere in the Wandur-Nilambur area under a man named Athutti. They may perhaps disperse now, but are still a menace. Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji looks much the same as when I last saw him in 1917; he would not say much; he tried to make out that he had fought a clean fight and that he had begun because he heard that the Mambram mosque had been destroyed; also that he had heard that Thomas and Hitchcock had been killed and that if he had known that Hitchcock was alive he would have surrendered much sooner and sought his protection. This is of course all humbug; there are at least 20 bad murders against him personally. He will be tried by court-martial as soon as possible.

2. The Garhwalis are out to-day after the Konnara Tangal; he is in Karumarakkad with about 200 men. A company of the Garhwalis yesterday chased Karath Moidin Kutti Haji's gang in Morayur, but did not succeed in getting on to the main body; they killed 19 and captured 3. This gang said to number over 200 is being chased again further north to-day by Suffolks and Police.

3. The other fighting rebels are probably all north of the Beypore river in Urangattiri amsam and Tiruvambadi. It is difficult to get information in that country, but they are probably scattered.

4. The capture of Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji may have an effect on Karath Moidin Kutti and Abdu Haji, but probably not on the Konnara Tangal or the rebels north of the river. It does not in my opinion immediately affect the question of the withdrawal of Martial law. We got the news late last night, but Malappuram last night was more alarmed than it has been for six weeks, by the reports about Karath Moidin Kutti and special precautions were taken by the military. I have just been having a talk with Malan, the Postmaster-General, who was in the Punjab when Martial law was in force; he marched about with a mobile column which never fired a shot; persons arrested for looting a village officer's house were tried for waging war and sentenced to death, though the death sentence was generally commuted; they did not arrest a thousand in the whole show. The entire difference between this war and the Punjab affair is obvious.

CVII

Dated Malappuram, the 9th January 1922.

There have been scraps in the last two days with bits of the gangs of the Konnara Tangal and Karath Moidin Kutti Haji, but nothing decisive. The latest news is that Karath Moidin Kutti Haji has been driven across the Beypore with very few followers, and that Abdu is going to surrender with 100 men at Pukkottur to-morrow. North of the river Avoker Mussaliar has been active in the Tamarasseri region and has aroused considerable alarm, which may spread to the Wynad; he has comparatively few men with him, but the country is all in his favour.

2. Military operations are difficult in the Arikkod-Kondotti-Manjeri triangle and some danger to the Mapillas who have surrendered and gone back home; but it is essential to carry them on vigorously for the next few days. I have little doubt that it will lead to the dispersal and surrender of Karath Moidin Kutti Haji's and Abdu's gangs; and I think that the finale will then be with the Konnara Tangal and Avoker Mussaliar and the few real fanatics, probably in the neighbourhood of Trikkalayur north of the river.

3. Chembrasseri Tangal and Sithi Koya and four others were shot this morning. There are about 100 men ready for court-martial and if Abdu's gang come in to-morrow there will be another 100.

CVIII

Dated Malappuram, the 10th January 1922.

There has been a good deal of alarm in Calicut owing to rumours that the Konnara Tangal was intending to attack it. I do not think that there is any risk of this; he is probably in the Calicut taluk, though even that is not certain; but has few men with him and, even if joined by Avoker Mussaliar who is the other leader of importance in the taluk, would not I think venture to approach Calicut. The triangle in the south-east is the only really disturbed area; and that is still a very difficult problem.

2. Thonikara Ayamu, the last but one of the leaders in the Nilambur 'Kingdom' was captured by the police this afternoon. A Tangal who was an important man in Karath Moidin Kutti Haji's gang, from Pukkottur, was brought in this morning by the Malappuram Kazi; and we hope that Abdu Haji may come in to-morrow; eight of his gang came in last night.

3. This fizzling out of the rebellion is in every way really less satisfactory than a fight would have been; all the men who have been out to the last must at least be transported for life, but the real trouble is that a fair number of blackguards sneak away home and conceal their arms, and are bound to be a danger till they are unearthed perhaps months hence. In an amsam close to Malappuram for instance to which I had made refugees return ten days ago, some returned rebels threatened the Hindus with the result that the latter rushed back to Malappuram. They were very likely unreasonably frightened, but that hardly makes the situation easier.

CIX

Dated Malappuram, the 12th January 1922.

I did not write yesterday as there was nothing particular to say and I was very busy.

2. The whole of the Garhwalis and two companies of police are operating north of the Beypore river against the Konnara Tangal and Karath Moidin Kutti Haji in very bad country in Urangattiri and Paunikkod. The gangs have dispersed to some extent and will probably continue to melt away; twos and threes are being captured or shot daily.

3. Elsewhere arrests of individuals or small groups continues and the problem is to arrange for their accommodation and trial. There are now about 1,500 prisoners at the various military posts, at none of which are there even sub-jails intact; the daily receipts at posts are for the moment larger than the daily evacuations. We are using court-martials as much as possible, but they are only for cases of special importance from the military point of view. Every court-martial case is considered by Humphreys, Hitchcock and myself personally.

CX

Dated Malappuram, the 14th January 1922.

There is again not much to say. Military operations have been practically confined to the Arikkod area and the north of the Beypore river, against the gangs of the Konnara Tangal and Karath Moidin Kutti Haji. There has been no action of importance, but stragglers have been captured or killed and a good many of Karath Moidin Kutti Haji's gang have been driven to surrender; more are expected to come in to-day. A band of five or six armed men was disposed of in the Nilambur area yesterday, and five rebels were killed in a Hindu temple in Porur amsam, with eight guns and a good many swords and some ammunition; the former were probably stragglers from Abdu Haji's gang and the latter possibly remnants of Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji's.

2. The area most unsetted is still the south-west corner of the Calicut taluk, and that is where the Garhwalis are now being concentrated, with the police north of them to deal with Avoker Mussaliar. There seems little doubt that both Karath Moidin Kutti Haji's and the Konnara Tangal's gangs have melted away to a great extent, and I do not think that any further concentration is to be feared. All that remains is to collect as many of the dispersed members of the gang as possible; and this must take time and patience. It will not I think require any strong military force : but I am satisfied that at least a battalion in reserve will be necessary for some months. I am rather less confident than I was of a widespread spirit of chastened humility amongst the Mapillas : and I am also less confident of any real attempt on the part of the Hindus to face the situation reasonably and sensibly. But I think it is safe and reasonable to take away three battalions as is proposed, beginning with the 2/8th Gurkhas on the 21st.

CXI

Dated Malappuram, the 15th January 1922.

Athutti, one of the chief sub-leaders in Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji's gang, who left Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji the day before he was captured, has now been captured with one follower by the police near his home.

2. The Konnara Tangal is said to be at Omasseri (Calicut taluk) with 80 men; he is possibly trying to join Avoker Mussaliar, these two are the most likely amongst the leaders to fight to the end.

3. Details of the fight at the Hindu temple at Porur which I mentioned yesterday show that it was a regular old style fanatical affair; in the end bombs had to be used and this made identification difficult. Local Hindus gave the information.

4. I did not mention a murder of three Hindus near Tanur at the beginning of lask week; a party put at about 50 attacked a railway cooly who had been originally a Tiyyan, then a Muhammadan and then again a Tiyyan, all before the rebellion. The party was led by the brother of Kunhalavi, the Tirurangadi leader killed three weeks ago and consisted mainly of men who had not surrendered from some of the amsams round Tirurangadi. Some of them then went off to join the Konnara Tangal and the rest are being followed up by the police, with a fair amount of assistance from local Mapillas. This sort of thing in an area in which I had said that the Tirurangadi gangs may be regarded as disposed of is something of a set-back; but I am afraid it is the kind of thing that we must be prepared for some time, and I do not consider it very alarming. The attitude of the local surrendered Mapillas is on the whole encouraging.

5. Incidents such as those referred to in the last two paragraphs will, I hope, be remembered when we come to the inevitable criticisms of the severity of the punishments imposed by the martial-law courts. In the last month we have arrested or captured over 500 rebels who will probably get at least transportation for life, and there will be another three or four hundred in the next few weeks All of these (there are another 1,000 in the jails here and at Manjeri and Perintalmanna, etc., charged with dacoities, etc.,) are men who have been with fighting gangs up to almost the last and against many of them there is specific evidence of participation in the 'execution' of Hindus; they are of the type of man concerned in the affairs mentioned in the last two paragraphs. Government will no doubt agree that such men ought at least to be kept out of Malabar for the rest of their lives; but I anticipate an outcry when ultimate statistics show that 1,000 men were either sentenced to death or transportation for life. (Death sentences will probably not total up to much over 100 I should say.)

6. The problem of accommodating prisoners in the martial law area gets more difficult every day, but we are doing our best and I can assure Government that every feasible precaution is being taken against real overcrowding and every possible medical attention is being given. I mention the point because I understand that complaints are being made. I think that the complaints as they are made should be referred to us.

CXII

Dated Malappuram, the 17th January 1922.

I did not write yesterday as there was nothing particular to say; and I propose in future only to write every other day unless anything important happens.

2. The Perugamanna Tangal, a fairly important man who has been out with Abdu and Karath Moidin Kutti Haji, was captured yesterday with six men and some guns in the Edavanna area. Karath Moidin Kutti Haji is probably somewhere thereabouts with few men left. Garhwalis and police are operating. Abdu is said to be hiding alone in the Pukkottur area; local Mapillas are hunting him. Koyamu and the Mukri are similarly more or less alone in Pandalur and Pranakod, and local men are after them.

3. Puthupadi was raided yesterday and some houses, including Sankaran's 'hotel,' burnt; three Tiyyans were murdered. This was by 100 men of Avoker Mussaliar's gang; possibly with the Konnara Tangal and some of his men. The raiders apparently went back east and south, but we may except alarms from the Wynad. A company of Garhwalis is being pushed north to assist the auxiliary police at Tamarasseri. This part of the Calicut taluk is the most difficult problem remaining; it is probable that the Konnara Tangal is there but not certain.

CXIII

Dated Malappuram, the 19th January 1922.

Nothing much has happened in the last two days. The operations of the police and the Garhwalis in the Calicut taluk and in Urangattiri amsam have not had any tangible result so far. Some more captures have been made of members of Karath Moidin Kutti Haji's gang. The latest information, not very reliable, is that he is with the Konnara Tangal and Abdu and 200 men in the hills at the back of Urangattiri.

Dealt with separately. See D (i) LXXIX.

2. I understand that Ali Mussaliar has not yet been hanged and the rumour is that he is going to be reprieved. I venture to think that it will be the gravest blunder if he is; apart from the facts brought out in the case tried there seems to me little doubt that he was primarily responsible for sending round the false report that the Mambram mosque had been damaged and it was this lie that lit the blaze in East Ernad and Walluvanad. Chembrasseri Tangal, Sithi Koya and other leaders and murderers have been shot and Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji is to be shot to-morrow morning. Even from the point of view of expediency it seems undesirable to give a handle to critics to contrast 'court-martial justice' with Viceregal mercy.

3. So far as we know there is no reason to fear that the Wynad is in danger, much less the Prince's camp.

CXIV

Dated Malappuram, the 21st January 1922.

Military operations have been continued north of the Beypore river, but no definite results have been reported yet. There have been more surrenders and arrests in the last two days from Karath Moidin Kutti Haji's gang and from the Konnara Tangal's; the latest report is of 15 with one of the Konnara Tangal's brothers, but the wire is very bald.

2. The departure of the Chins which was fixed for 26th from Tirur has been postponed by Simla on account of mumps; they had mumps when they arrived and it is rather absurd to keep them back on that account. It will probably mean a lot of re-shuffling. We can certainly get on with two battalions now, and I think quite soon with one, which is what Humphreys wants to get down to.

3. Krishnan Nayar's proposal to have military stations at Perintalmanna and Mannarghat shows how little he appreciates the situation; we do not propose even armed police permanently at Mannarghat. His remarks about the rebellion not being a crusade against Government seem to me equally wide of the mark; it would be more accurate to speak of a Jehad, but in practically every murder case that I have seen for court-martial the evidence is that the deceased was murdered for assisting the troops, for being a spy, for recognizing the British Government and refusing to swear allegiance to the Khalifa, etc, and most of the dacoities were to get arms and money and food for the rebels. It is of course true that the victims were nearly always Hindus.

Dealt with separately. See G.O. 250, Public, 17th March 1922 (Notes).

4. The Tribunal has released on bail 3 men charged with taking part in a forcible conversion. The case is pending Government Orders on the general question whether the Mapilla Act is to be applied, and I would press for early orders. Converts can hardly be expected to revert and go home while their converters are at large.

CXV

Dated Malappuram, the 23rd January 1922.

There is nothing to report. The troops and police in the Calicut taluk are having a strenuous time, and unfortunately fever has begun; but unless the gangs with Konnara Tangal and Avoker Mussaliar are very different to the rest we may soon expect the pace of dispersal to quicken up.

2. The Chins are to go off as soon as a boat can be arranged. I am not sorry as they are apt to be unsettling rather than the reverse at this stage. Claims for damage by troops are beginning to pour in; it is impossible to verify them, and I am not in favour of attempting it; I believe it would be better at once to take up the position openly that all alike, Hindus and Mapillas, rebels and others, must make up their minds to make the best of a bad job and must expect nothing from Government but loans, on the easiest terms possible. The immediate organisation of a special staff to disburse loans on the spot on favourable terms, and I think if possible on personal security, is what I would recommend. The longer it is left that "Government have the question of compensation under their consideration" the less inclined will every one be to get to work. It is also very desirable that the Public Works Department should set the example by getting a move on with Government offices but I see little sign of it and the Executive Engineer said the other day that it would take six months to rebuild the Perintalmanna Taluk Office. I think it is really important that such slowness should not be allowed.

Dealt with in separate file. No. 458, Public, dated 25th May 1922. See also Chapter IV.

CXVI

From A. R. Knapp, Esq., C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S., Special Commissioner for Malabar Affairs, dated Calicut, the 24th January 1922.

Please refer to Evans's daily letter of the 23rd. In general I agree with the first part of his paragraph 2. With regard to his sarcasm on the subject of the disbursement of loans I notice that he suggests the immediate organisation of a special staff to disburse loans on the spot. That of course is what I should like to do. But if I may accept as correct an opinion recorded by Evans himself on the 21st, it is not so easy as it sounds. Speaking of the complaints of burning of Mapilla houses he says: "Inquiry into the particular cases could not be made now without a special staff and probably no men would be willing to go and make house-to-house inquiries yet"! Clearly if we are going to give loans with reference to the damage which each claimant has suffered house-to-house inquiry would be needed.

The fact is that with the exception of Evans and perhaps Hitchcock, every one in the district is agreed that conditions are very far from normal even in the "safest" of the amsams. Take the Calicut-Malappuram road. The position is that you can "get through". But no one that I have met in Calicut would do the journey alone and it is admitted that if a car did break down with a European in it he would stand a very fair chance of attracting the attention of Mapillas who would not miss a chance of "doing him in". Even the Mapilla members of the Muhammadan Committee which I have asked to help me by inquiring into the distress among the Mapilla women tell me now that I can only expect them to go to some of the amsams in the neighbourhood of Calicut or other central stations and that if they go further they must have an escort. It is of course clearly ridiculous in these circumstances to speak as if the destruction of the Konnara Tangal who is away in the east of Calicut, was going to be immediately followed by a return of normal administration.

I have just had a long visit from Muhammad Schamnad of the Legislative Assembly. He is most amusing. He practically regards the Government and the Hindus as solely responsible for the rebellion. The Mapilla hardly comes in at all. The Government contributed by the licence which they allowed to the Hindu agitators and the local Hindus aided first by inciting the Mapilla to rebellion and later by so ill-treating the Mapilla residents in the area who had not gone out that they were compelled to take to the jungles and join the rebellion. Had he not assured me that he was serious I should have imagined that he was joking.

Andrews is colloguing daily with the Congress party. I hear that a lecture which he gave at the Y.M.C.A. a day or two ago gave great offence to those who consider that the Y.M.C.A. should be above politics. He complains that the Mapilla leaders in Calicut are afraid to go and see him. I have ascertained that the reason why they will not go and see him is that he insists on seeing them at the Congress office. They have had enough of the Congress and recognise in it the eventual source of their present trouble. I believe that the meeting which he called last Sunday failed to attract any Mapillas at all.

Andrews volunteered to let me see before publication anything which he wrote about the Mapilla rebellion. He made the same offer to Hill. But his article in the "Servant of India" in which among other things he lays part of the blame for the outbreak on police tyranny was not shown to either of us.

I notice that Evans in an earlier letter referred to a rumour that leniency was to be shown to Ali Mussaliar. I doubt whether there can be really any foundation for the rumour—I sincerely trust there is not—for such a step to my mind would be disastrous in the effect which it would have on the Hindu feeling.

CXVII

Dated Malappuram, the 26th January 1922.

There has been little news for the last three days.

2. This morning Abdu Haji and 4 others were shot in a temple near Pukkottur. They had taken post there more or less in the old fashion. Abdu belongs to Pukkottur and had been hiding roundabouts with a few followers for some time. One of the Suffolks was shot in the head as they approached the temple, and his recovery is doubtful.

3. This kind of thing may recur at intervals for some time though I think that the number of rebels out to die is not many now. The gangs of the Konnara Tangal and Avoker Mussaliar are still proving most elusive north of the Beypore river; but the constant military pressure must be having its effect.

Dealt with separately. See F (ii)

4. Knapp has been here to-day and it was agreed that provided that a new ordinance was ready to be promulgated and that a definite reply had been given to the questions raised by Humphreys about military action in aid of the civil power we should then be able to wire a date for the withdrawal of Martial Law quite soon. One thing is however essential first, that is that immediate arrangements should be made to enable the Cannanore jail to accommodate at least 500 prisoners to await trial by the Special Tribuual or its substitutes.

5. Local papers indicate that as I expected battle is now being joined by the two extreme parties, those who say practically that the Mapillas were not responsible for the war and have suffered undeserved hardships and those who hold that there will be no safety until every Mapilla who joined in the rebellion has been hanged or deported and every Mapilla left is treated as a dangerous criminal. Fortunately there is a fair proportion of reasonable people who do not write to the papers.

CXVIII

Dated Malappuram, the 28th January 1922.

Karath Moidin Kutti Haji was caught this morning by a party of police who were out after three murderers who had escaped from the cage at the Malappuram barracks. He said that he had tried to escape through Edakkara and had had no food for nine days. This reduces real gang leaders to four, Mukri Ayamad, Koyamu Haji, the Konnara Tangal and Avoker Mussaliar. The first two are hiding practically alone on Pandalur and Pranakod; the other two are probably together with anything up to two hundred in the Pudupadi-Tamarasseri area. Operations against them by two companies of Garhwalis and two companies of police during the last week have not yet led to anything definite. Stragglers from Karath Moidin Kutti Haji's gang and others will still probably be found in the Nilambur area, which is being taken over by the sixth company of armed police to-morrow from the 2/9th Gurkhas; and there are still men who joined in the last concentration that attempted to get to Mambram to be arrested in the Tirurangadi area, which is in charge of another company of police. Elsewhere troops and police have mainly garrison and patrol work, and guarding and escorting prisoners.

2. A lot of work is piling up for the Special Tribunal. If it is split into three it will be necessary to appoint two extra public prosecutors; but one of the main and insuperable difficulties is that Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors cannot be at the same time in their jurisdictions investigating and arresting and also in Calicut giving evidence.

CXIX

Dated Malappuram, the 31st January 1922.

Koyamu was caught last night by local police with the help of local Mapillas. This ought to encourage the Mankada people.

2. The Tirur and Tirurangadi areas are becoming the most difficult to get Hindus back to. There has been less military action there than further east, because there has been less need for it, and to some extent it is true that less attention generally has been paid to Tirur and Tirurangadi; but in my opinion there has been less reason for panic.

3. We went out to Manasseri (Calicut taluk), yesterday for a conference. Things are going slowly in South-East Calicut (by the way I called it South-West by mistake in my weekly wire), but I think they are beginning to take the right turn and there seems more hope now of disposing of the Konnara Tangal in a few days.

CXX

Dated Malappuram, the 2nd February 1922.

There is no 'military' news.

2. We went to Tirurangadi yesterday, and discussed problems connected with the return of Hindus, which is very slow in most of the amsams round Tirurangadi. Apart from a good deal of what I consider unreasonable timidity the main difficulty is economic. There are not many big Hindus in most of these amsams, and the poorer refugee returns to find not only his house stripped and damaged but his plough and cattle missing; the ploughing season is beginning and he can get no work to do. His plough may have been bagged by a Mapilla and his cattle killed; it is not easy to find out. In some cases Mapillas are playing up fairly well and returning 'borrowed' property, but not in all. I think the immediate disbursement of loans on a very liberal basis will be essential, I think it should be done on the spot in a perambulation of the worst taluks by the regular revenue staff. Amsam fines might be earmarked for the repayment of these loans to some extent, and might be assessed at the same time. I am not in favour of unduly heavy fines and in some cases it might be useful to waive payment, at least of part, on condition of good behaviour. How far it will be possible to use the Relief Committee in this matter I can hardly say; they seem too fond of talk; I suggested a month ago that they should begin going out into the amsams, and that the most practical course would be for some of the Committee to lead a party of refugees back and see for themselves exactly what was wanted, but they do not seem really to have attempted anything of the kind yet.

3. The other main problem is that of the forcible converts. Many more are now coming to light. In many cases there is little doubt that the poorer Tiyyans and artisans thought that Khilāfat Raj had really come and had little compunction in becoming Muhammadans; now pressure is being put on them by other Hindus to revert (some Mapillas complain of this, and it is probable) and they are in a dilemma. I think we certainly ought to encourage them to revert; they must of course be 'allowed to choose,' but really they want a lead, and it would be fatal to let the Mapilla think that we countenance compulsory conversion however slight the compulsion. The only thing to do is to get them away to Calicut temporarily and to be prepared to deport converters on a large scale where necessary; but I would warn Government that in my opinion it will have to be on a larger scale than I anticipated. Meanwhile some of these converts are barbers and washermen, and another reason put forward by the Hindus for not returning is that they cannot get shaved or dhobied! **Dealt with separately.**

CXXI

Dated Malappuram, the 3rd February 1922.

This morning Appukulan Moidin, an important rebel who had been about for some time with a ·303, was shot with 3 followers. They took post in a Nambudiri's kalam near Mankada last night after seriously wounding a local Mapilla who had been sent out by the Anakkayam adhigari, also a Mapilla, to watch the gang. They announced their intention of making a stand and fired from the house, which is close to the road, on anyone they could see. A party of Suffolks surrounded the house and managed to kill all the rebels without casualties; it was not a simple job, as the house had very small windows from which the rebels fired. Besides the ·303 two other guns and four swords were captured. The ·303 was one of the Dorsets' captured by the rebels at the fight at the Tirurangadi mosque on 29th August. There are no more ·303s "missing" now; and this is the last known armed party in East Ernad. (The affair was actually in Walluvanad but the men belong to East Ernad.) The Mapilla who was shot by the rebels last night will die I am afraid; if he does I hope that Government will be liberal to his family as quickly as possible. Some of the Anakkayam Mapillas have really been working day and night recently at considerable risk to round up Koyamu and Appukulan Moidin; and this spirit of course deserves every encouragement.

CXXII

Dated Malappuram, the 5th February 1922.

There is no particular news. The Konnara Tangal and Avoker Mussaliar appear to be together in the Tiruvambadi area with about 30 or 40 men. A small party of 8 is reported to have gathered in Vengur (Perintalmanna area), but so far the information is not very definite. They may be going to support Mukri Ayamad in a last effort. The 2/9th Gurkhas are being collected, and will probably leave before the end of next week. I do not think that the situation demands more than the Suffolks and Garhwalis.

2. A meeting at Calicut yesterday to discuss reconstruction problems did not elicit many useful suggestions from non-officials, but should I think have been some use in the way of explaining the situation to them. The Hindus, aristocrats and democrats alike, made wild demands for the protection of jenmis; and generally they were impractical in their proposals and cowardly, also greedy. Ignorance of the true facts was also striking.

CXXIII

Dated Malappuram, the 7th February 1922.

An attempt to get the Konnara Tangal to come in through his relations has failed. The report is that he beat his relations and drove them away, saying that he intended to stay in the hills and fight, or rather avoid capture, indefinitely. He and Avoker Mussaliar are said to have about 100 men with them but only 30 guns. Further attempts are being made to cut off their food supplies, but everything is in their favour and I am afraid it will be a long job reducing them to surrender. They are not much in danger where they are, but it prevents that part of Calicut taluk settling down. I do not however think that it would be any real use keeping a strong military force in the neighbourhood on their account. One company of Garhwalis is to remain at Manasseri for the present and there are two companies of police; that is I think as large a force as can be usefully employed.

2. Mukri Ayamad is said to have run away to Cochin from the Perintalmanna area; this is not verified yet but is not improbable.

Dealt with separately. See H. XXIII.

3. I have been round with District Superintendent of Police, District Medical and Sanitary Officer and Executive Engineer, selecting sites for the barracks for the Auxiliary police at Perintalmanna, Karuvarakundu, Nilambur, Arikkod and Tirurangadi. These will be 5 of the 6 stations; the sixth is being left undecided for the present; it is a question whether it should be in the Kottakkal-Kaipakkancheri area or the Pandalur area, and it is not of immediate urgency as there must be two companies north of the Beypore for some time. In most cases we selected unassessed dry private janmam land, which the jenmi will I am sure let us occupy without objection and I hope Government will not insist on acquisition; the barracks will only be "semi-permanent", and Malabar jenmis hate having their land acquired. At Nilambur we selected part of a teak plantation recently felled; as the location of a company of armed police at Nilambur is necessitated largely by the interests of the Forest department I do think they should object to giving it up. It is urgently necessary that the construction of these barracks should be begun at once and Hitchcock has asked for half a lakh to be spent this year; Davis says he can spend that amount. The total for the six companies is very roughly estimated at about 2 lakhs for buildings; land will be trifling; we shall probably only have to pay at Tirurangadi.

CXXIV

Dated Malappuram, the 9th February 1922.

The Konnara Tangal and Avoker Mussaliar are reported to have moved across the Beypore river and to be in the neighbourhood of Vazhakkad. Troops and police were to operate there to-day, but there is no news in yet. I am inclined to doubt the report.

2. I inspected Uraga Kizhmuri to-day, a bad amsam in which the Hindus suffered severely and have not yet been persuaded to return. About 50 Hindu families have had their houses burnt and property looted, and about 75 Mapilla houses have suffered from military operations. A rough calculation gives about Rs. 15,000 as the amount immediately needed in the way of loans to enable the Hindus to re-start. It is an amsam in which there are still a considerable number of bad criminals to be arrested; at its surrender comparatively few were taken, mainly for want of accommodation, and recently when an attempt was made to get other wanted men to come in it was not successful; I had a small meeting and told the Mapillas present that they had got to hand up the men wanted and a further attempt to make the arrests will be made to-morrow. If it is successful there is no reason why all refugees should not go back, as soon as the more urgent loans are disbursed. The adhigari is a Nambudiri and a weak man and none of the Hindus have made much effort; in a good many cases Mapilla tenants are willing to pay their rent if asked, and in one case at least a Mapilla who had raised a crop on a deserted Hindu land had paid 6/10ths to the Hindu when asked; but this sort of thing will not be encouraged so long as the Hindus hide in Malappuram and whine for compensation and revenge.

CXXV

Dated Malappuram, the 11th February 1922.

Yesterday 10 rebels from Nemmini took post in a Hindu temple and were killed by the auxiliary police from Perintalmanna, a platoon of the Garhwalis from Pandikkad arrived just too late for the fight. Eleven guns, including one police carbine, were captured and 7 swords. This is the party to which I referred about a week ago as being in Mannarmala.

2. The police from Tirurangadi accounted for six rebels in Tenjipalam; they had information about them and made a night attack on two houses, unfortunately three of the police were wounded. Two rebels were captured besides the six killed.

3. I gather from the Legislative Assembly discussion that martial law will continue till the 25th. Humphreys is very bored. The 2/9th Ghurkas are gathering at Tirur but apparently cannot get a train till the 18th.

4. Knapp's Mapilla Committee to inquire into the extent of distress amongst Mapilla women is being confronted with large numbers of weeping women, but seems to me to be making too superficial a tour. Mr. Mir Abbas Ali is also collecting many stories of hardship and "atrocities" such as were retailed by Mr. Schammad to the Legislative Assembly. Distress amongst Mapilla women is of course inevitable, but I am still doubtful whether it is beyond the capacity of the Mapilla community to relieve it in most parts.

CXXVI

Dated Malappuram, the 14th February 1922.

There is no military news.

2. I went with Tireman to Nilambur to-day. He came rather under the impression that life at Nilambur, was, and would be, comparable with life on the frontier. I think this an utter misconception, and I think Tireman changed his views. I should have no hesitation in sending a European District Forest Officer to Nilambur and asking him to live on the District Forest Officer's hill wherever the police post is put. I have written separately officially about this. I think it is most important to combat the idea that it is not safe for Europeans or officials to go about without special protection; all officials can, and ought to be touring "as usual"; there are one or two amsams where I would perhaps take a revolver, that is all. The contrary view comes from those who have stuck to Calicut and the railway line; and they are unfortunately the larger number and the most vocal. If it is not safe now it never will be, and we had better all pack up and be off.

3. I think it unfortunate that Vincent's reply to Schammad should not have been brought more up to date, if it had to be delayed for four months; it gives a very wrong impression of the present state of affairs, and even if it was ever true to say that Kalladi Moidutti was "generally regarded as a kaffir" (a Thomasian exaggeration) I can't think that it was a good thing to say. It is also absurd to say that there are "300 mosques in Tirurangadi", even if it is literally true of the amsam, which again I doubt. (I quote from page 4 of the *Madras Mail* of 13th.)

CXXVII

From A. R. Knapp, Esq., C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S., Special Commissioner for Malabar Affairs, dated Calicut, the 17th February 1922.

[Evans' daily report of the 14th February 1922.]

I am interested to hear of Tireman's view which was arrived at entirely independently of me. To some extent it represents my own view gathered from discussion with all kinds of people and not only those to have stuck to Calicut and the railway line. The impression was strengthened when I found to my surprise that the Auxiliary Police are to be located in what Evans described as "forts."

When in addition it is remembered that Hitchcock does not consider it safe to allow the ordinary police to have firearms lest they should be looted, and that both he and Evans are against allowing any one to possess arms with the possible exception of exempted persons, malikhanadars, etc., I cannot help thinking that his optimistic picture is overdrawn.

Evans in an official letter regarding the Nilambur post which I have just forwarded says; "I believe that Government servants can now, and will be able to, live and move about as safely in Ernad as they could before the rebellion". If by "before the rebellion" it means a year or two ago, then the opinion of practically every one I have met is against him. When the reconstruction of Government buildings was discussed a fortnight or so ago with Hawkins, Way and Davis, the latter who has seen a good deal of the fighting area, pressed that an escort should always be available for the Assistant Engineer and that a car should be provided so that he might return at night to one of the larger stations instead of camping on the work-spot. When a day or two back I mentioned to my Muhammadan Committee that I proposed to go and camp at Kondotti, half way between Calicut and Malappuram, they advised me at once to do nothing of the kind. They had themselves travelled through parts of the area without incident but they suggested that the feeling in regard to Government officers was such that to go and sleep alone in an out-of-the way bungalow would be very foolish. Lescher, one of the planters, is looking after certain estates but sleeps at Nilambur. Browne will not return to his estate unless he is allowed to make Calicut his headquarters. It is agreed I think that for some little time to come a married divisional officer ought not to be sent to Malappuram.

I agree with Evans that the sooner Government officers can return to their ordinary methods of doing business the better, but I think he overlooks one point, namely, that it is not merely a question of personal risk, but if unhappily some still fanatical Mapillas took it into their heads to "scupper" a Government officer that would probably mean a recrudescence of the fighting. When Evans 10 days ago put forward his view at a conference of all classes which

I held in Calicut and stated that Government servants were going about their ordinary business, it was at once pointed out that they took care, and quite properly, to return at night to some central station and my own view based on opinions which I have collected from all kinds of sources is that this is for the present the wisest course.

If precautions are needed against an attack on the armed Police Force or on police stations they are I imagine equally needed against an attack on individual Government officers. We have yet to learn what the attitude will be when Martial Law comes off and the Military Commander and his staff disappear. We know what was the result of removing the Malappuram garrison and without being in the least pessimistic—for I do not visualise anything like a revival of the rebellion but rather the possibility of isolated crime—I do not think that any final conclusion on this point can be arrived at until we have seen how the Mapilla is going to behave when normal conditions are restored so far as the presence of the military is concerned. Evans in a letter not very long ago admitted that the Mapilla was not in the state of chastened humility for which he had hoped and this I must say is my impression also. Not all the amsams have surrendered and in at least one which has surrendered it has been necessary within the last week to send a body of troops out to make arrests.

CXXVIII

Dated Malappuram, the 20th February 1922.

I am afraid I have not written for some days, but there has been little to say. Things are going slowly in the Calicut taluk, the only theatre of active operations now, but not unsatisfactorily on the whole. The Konnara Tangal and Avoker Mussaliar are being kept to the hills, and probably have not more than about 50 fighters with them now; there have been desertions and arrests and occasional killing of outposts. Both leaders are said to be ill and it is probable since these hills are fairly feverish at this time, and they must be hard pressed for food. I think it probable that events will follow the same course as they did in the Mannarghat hills, but both these leaders are far more of the fanatic than Sithi Koya was. We are visiting the posts at Tamarasseri and Manasseri to-morrow.

2. In the rest of the area everything is quiet, and the Mapillas, at least in many amsams, are settling down fairly well; the Hindus are not doing as much as they could in many places, and the janmis and big kanamdars are still very loathe to return. The question of "safety" is difficult to argue; I regard an amsam as "safe" if there is no reasonable fear of any armed gang appearing; the line taken by the vocal Hindus is rather that an amsam is not safe until all the persons known to have been concerned in murders and dacoities have been arrested. If the latter interpretation is taken it will of course still be a long time before every amsam can be regarded as safe; but I do not think it is reasonable. I quite agree that we have got a large number of arrests still to make in some amsams, but it is not practicable to proceed faster than we are doing and on the other hand it is obviously of the greatest importance that everyone should get back home as soon as he can do so without real danger. The other difficulty, perhaps the most serious, is economic. The Mapilla trader and shopkeeper is, I am convinced, all right and so are many other Mapillas. Those who have had their houses burnt or damaged amount to a considerable number in some amsams, but I believe that a good many can afford to start rebuilding. They are slow to do so largely, I think, because they have been led to believe that they are going to get compensation, and I think that they should be disabused of this idea. I am writing separately about this when I have got some more figures. For the Hindus the reconstruction parties are just beginning to disburse loans, and I think that if a sufficient sum can be provided quickly it ought to have the desired effect. It is very difficult to estimate what will be wanted, but I should say that at least 10 lakhs could be profitably disbursed in a fairly short time. A fair amount will no doubt be wanted for Mapillas, but I am all in favour of limiting it in their case to utmost necessity.

3. A public 'reconstruction' meeting at Calicut yesterday, organized by Manavedan Raja, and mainly, I think, Hindu, passed a very fairly moderate and sensible set of resolutions on the whole, better at least than I expected, though I consider that they still ask too much.

CXXIX

Dated Malappuram, the 25th February 1922.

The expected wire about the withdrawal of Martial Law has just arrived. Humphreys and staff left to-day.

2. Your letter about myself has also arrived. It will not be an easy job to write "chapters in the history of the rebellion" such as I imagine Government contemplate: e.g., "Nilambur, and the rise and fall of the kingdom of Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji" and journalism is not my forte; but I will see what I can do. Humphreys had gone before I got your letter, but I

have written to him for a copy of his despatch. I think I shall get it but may not, as after I first spoke to him about it Madist said that they would be responsible for the despatch to the Government of India.

3. I am writing formally for leave from about the 15th March. I have not been very fit lately, and should like to get away about then.

4. I think that the state of affairs generally may be said to be satisfactory. It is no doubt annoying that it has not been possible yet to do more to settle the Konnara Tangal and Avoker Mussaliar ; but the state of things north of the Beypore river is not beyond the capacity of the two police companies to deal with if necessary, though it is advisable to keep Garhwalis there as long as they are not more wanted elsewhere. The greater part of Walluvanad has returned to normal conditions, though the delay in repairing the Perintalmanna offices must militate against complete normality. North Ponnani has made steady quiet progress in settlement recently; a good proportion of Hindus are back and ploughing, etc., is proceeding satisfactorily. In Ernad there may still be isolated stands in temples and there are still a few armed rebels to be caught in a few amsams such as Olakkara; but speaking generally all amsams are reasonably safe and normal life is being well resumed in the majority. Take Kalikavu for instance, the amsam in which Pullangod estate is situated, an amsam which produced many of the worst rebels and which suffered very severe military punishment; the sub-inspector is working with ordinary unarmed police, the nearest troops being at Wandur eight miles away; it is reported that there are still some ten desperadoes at large and that they will probably take post somewhere in the neighbourhood; on the other hand Lescher who is in charge of Pullangod has persuaded some of the Mapillas to erect a monument to Eaton inscribed "erected by Mapillas of Kalikavu to Mr. Eaton who was murdered by Mapillas of Kalikavu", an old Mapilla woman offered Lescher Rs. 70 to be paid to Mrs. Eaton, as the value of cow killed by the rebels, and the latest story is of a man who died suddenly after having seen Eaton's ghost in the veranda of his bungalow. I have little fear of any recrudescence of trouble if the Mapillas are handled sensibly; but we must not allow agitators to persuade them that they have been cruelly treated or that Government is going to dole out lakhs in compensation, nor must we allow them to believe that Government are going to treat them as wild beasts at the request of the Hindus.

5. The economic situation is more difficult to gauge and I can only give my opinion based on general observation, without facts or figures to support it. It is not pessimistic, and I doubt whether any heroic measures are necessary. According to the papers seeds and ploughs are wanting everywhere; so far as I have seen, most of the seed-beds that should be sown by now have been sown and most of the ploughing that should be in progress is in progress. I have written before about crowded roads and markets and tea-shops, and this week the toll-gate sales for Ernad fetched nearly 10 per cent more than they did last February. The reconstruction of houses is not making much progress but this, I believe, to be due, partly at least, to unjustifiable hopes of compensation. Claims for damage to house property by troops are still pouring in mostly from Mapillas. Many are obviously gross exaggerations; many are alleged to have been caused 'by troops or Hindus' and practically none are now verifiable. I am having them tabulated mainly for statistical purposes. In Kalikavu claims from Mapillas so far amount to about Rs. 45,000; most of the houses were destroyed deliberately for military reasons and the Mapillas know it and do not really expect compensation, but such a claim even if double the real loss deserves consideration when the question of fining the amsam is considered. These petitions have been shifted backwards and forwards between the District Officer and the Deputy Adjutant Quartermaster-General, and Knapp and me; I propose now to transfer them finally to Knapp if he will permit me. I do not think any harm will come from not taking individual action on them; anyhow it was impracticable to do so before the withdrawal of Martial Law, and it seems to me essentially a 'reconstruction' matter.

Note.—Dealt with separately. See notes in G.O. No 458, Public, dated 25th May 1922.

6. As to the period of the retention of the Garhwalis I would only say now, that if they were required elsewhere I should not say that there would be any real danger in letting them go even now.

7. Other main questions that will presumably arise are (1) the remission of sentences on minor rebels and (2) the extent to which prosecutions are to be carried. As to (1) I believe that there would be little danger in letting back most of the 'minor looters,' of course after judicious shroffing. As to (2) I would suggest the desirability of fixing a provisional time limit and proceeding on the principle of prosecuting as many chief offenders as may be possible within that limit and then crying halt. It is a very difficult question but it must obviously impede a real settlement if prosecutions are to drag on indefinitely and there is in some parts a tendency for Hindus now to put in complaints that are to say the least unreliable, while there are still men in jail who have been awaiting trial for over five months. I have done my best to see to individual cases, but I think the time has come to take up this question generally. We ought to be able to get on quicker with three Special Judges instead of the Tribunal, but

statistics of magisterial cases during the last two months should be of some use. The special magistrates in Calicut and outside Malappuram have been largely occupied in dealing with cases transferred to them by the Tribunal, and I have inevitably confined my control principally to the Malappuram magistrates; they have done a good deal of work, but have had and will have their hands full in keeping pace with the prisoners in Malappuram and east of it and we have endeavoured to adapt arrests to their capabilities. I believe it will be advisable to lay down some general principles about arrests and prosecutions for the future, however difficult it may be to formulate anything satisfactory.

8. Agitation for the present seems likely to take the form of atrocity hunting. There have been the inevitable number of "regrettable incidents" that must occur in any war, but little as far as I know that would horrify any reasonable person if presented in its proper perspective. I have before emphasised the fact that the troops and police have been mainly engaged in active field operations against an elusive and treacherous enemy rather than in administering martial regulations, and no manuals will overrule the fact that "inter arma silent leges". What I consider really most inexcusable has been the prevalence of looting, mainly petty; but I don't think this will interest the agitator.

9. I do not propose to write any more periodical demi-officials.

SECTION F (i)—MARTIAL LAW.

I

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 21st August 1921.

I—II, Martial Law asked for in Ernad, Walluvanad Ponnani.

Request Officer Commanding troops take charge as situation beyond civil control. To-day 8-30 hours evacuated Tirurangadi, abandoning public buildings. Post Office and railway station Parappanangadi wrecked. Line cut. Tanur post office wrecked. State of rebellion prevails Ernad and North Ponnani. Urge proclamation Martial Law.

II

Telegram (*extract*)—to the Government of India, No. M. 11, dated the 22nd August 1921. Despatched about 15 hours.

This Government, at request of General Officer Commanding, have sanctioned introduction railway security scheme west of Podanur and are satisfied from reports received that condition of open rebellion exists and that Martial Law should be established in the taluks of Ernad, Walluvanad and Ponnani. Conditions now correspond to state of affairs described in Chapter II, Martial Law Manual, and this Government therefore consider regular action as contemplated in Chapter III should be taken and Martial Law introduced by Ordinance of Governor-General.

III

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 24th August 1921. [Despatched 4-25. Received noon.]

III—IV, Draft ordinance.

Your telegram of the 22nd August referring to Martial Law Ordinance. Regret the delay in replying which is due to the absence of the Viceroy from Simla. Draft Ordinance prepared in anticipation of an emergency contains following provisions:—

(1) Martial Law to be enforced in area specified and such other areas as Governor-General in Council may direct.

(2) Commander-in-Chief shall appoint one or more officers ranking not lower than Lieutenant-Colonel to be Military Commanders to administer Martial Law.

(3) Military Commanders empowered to make regulations public safety and maintenance of order and to define powers and duties of military officers and others in furtherance of that purpose. Regulations may provide that contravention thereof is punishable by any punishment authorized by ordinary law. But regulations shall interfere as little as possible with ordinary avocations of life, and before making any regulation unconditional, Commander shall consult senior civil officer in direct charge of administration of area but is not to follow his advice.

(4) Military Commander may by written order empower any officer of ten years' service not below rank of Captain and any magistrate to make Martial Law orders to supplement regulations. Punishment for contravention of such to be specified in regulation.

(5) Three classes of criminal courts may be constituted under ordinance—(*a*) Summary courts, (*b*) Special tribunals and (*c*) Summary general courts-martial.

(6) Jurisdiction of all such courts limited to trial of offences committed after such date (whether before or after date of proclamation of Martial Law) as the Governor-General in Council may decide.

(7) Offences against the regulations or Martial Law orders shall be tried by courts constituted under ordinance unless Military Commander direct that they be tried by ordinary courts.

(8) Military Commander may by general or special order direct that all offences connected with disturbances shall be tried by courts constituted under ordinance. Jurisdiction of ordinary courts to continue, save as provided in the ordinance, but no interference allowed with Martial Law regulations, or personal control.

(9) Military Commander may empower any magistrate or military officer of ten years' service not below rank of Captain to exercise powers of summary court. Such summary courts follow the procedure laid down in Indian Army Act for trial of offences committed on active service. Summary court may not try offences punishable with more than five years' imprisonment and maximum punishment it can inflict is two years' imprisonment or a fine of rupees one thousand. It is now proposed so to amend this as to vest powers of summary courts in civil magistrates only.

(10) In trial before summary courts accused has no right to be defended by lawyers but court has discretion to allow appearance of lawyers. Here again it is proposed so to amend as to provide that all accused persons may be defended by pleaders.

(11) Special tribunals may be appointed by Military Commander and shall ordinarily try any offences that are to be tried by courts constituted under ordinance and are not tried by summary courts. But Military Commander may direct in case of urgent necessity setting forth his reason that any persons shall be tried by summary general courts-martial instead of by special tribunal. A magistrate may be appointed a member of a summary general court-martial.

(12) Special tribunals shall consist of at least three persons of whom one shall possess qualification specified in section 101, Government of India Act, for appointment as Judge of High Court. Commitment to special tribunals is unnecessary. Procedure to be followed is that for trial of warrant cases. Special tribunal's judgment is final and conclusive and it may pass any sentence authorized by law for punishment of offence of which such person is convicted. It will exercise all original powers conferred by Code of Criminal Procedure on Sessions Court. No appeal or revision shall lie but Governor-General in Council and Local Government retain the power to make orders under section 401 or 402 of Code of Criminal Procedure.

(13) Special rule of evidence provided for previous statement of any person in any criminal court being admitted if such person is dead or cannot be found or is incapable of giving evidence at the time of trial, if the court is of the opinion that death, disappearance or incapacity has been caused in interest of accused.

(14) Think desirable three clauses defining circumstances in which whipping can be inflicted. Most important is that summary court can pass sentence of whipping only for offences of violence or for offences for which whipping may be awarded under ordinary criminal law. Others prohibit whipping of females, of males sentenced to imprisonment for more than five years and of males over forty-five years of age or medically unfit.

(15) Nothing in ordinance shall be construed as in derogation of any power for maintenance of law and order exercisable by the Governor-General in Council or other authority.

(16) No suit or prosecution shall lie against any person for anything done or purporting to be done in good faith under this ordinance and in reasonable belief that it was necessary for the purpose of the ordinance.

Please wire clear line which of these provisions you consider should be included in the ordinance. Government of India consider in particular that special tribunal and summary general court-martial are unnecessary and that summary courts, to which civil magistrate only would be appointed, should suffice. Cases not triable by summary courts to be tried by ordinary criminal courts.

It has been suggested that it is preferable to continue to deal with situation by means of *de facto* Martial Law now apparently in force without any ordinance, the operation of military being confined to suppression of disorder and dispersal of unlawful assemblies Government of India feel strongly however that ordinance is the only satisfactory method of (1) validating proceedings of summary courts, (2) providing for legal method of punishing acts which though not offences against ordinary law are breaches of Martial Law regulations and orders and incompatible with the maintenance of order, (3) preventing irregular or improper punishment for breaches of military rules, (4) for indemnifying officers for acts done in good faith and with reasonable belief that they are necessary for the performance of their duty.

Whether ordinance is promulgated or not, a special order must be issued for military to consult and keep in closest touch with civil authorities. It is presumed that all officers, civil and military, will observe Martial Law instructions recently issued. Necessary orders to secure both these ends will be issued to the military officers by Commander-in-Chief. Further, Government of India consider it essential that trial and punishment should be left as little as possible in the hands of the military officers and that, as suggested above, civil officers alone should be vested with these powers. Please communicate your views clear line when necessary action will be taken.

IV

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 31, dated the 24th August 1921.

Draft accepted Calicut to be included.

Your telegram to-day Martial Law. Madras Government agree that Ordinance should be promulgated and accept view that provisions 11 and 12, namely, for special tribunal and summary general court-martial are unnecessary at present. They accept other provisions with modifications suggested. Area to be notified should be taluks of Ernad, Walluvanad, Ponnani and Calicut of the Malabar district. Date under provision 6 should be August 19th.

V

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 2874, dated the 26th August 1921.

V—VIII (a) Martial Law Ordinance.

Mapilla disturbances. Ordinance signed by Governor-General and promulgated this afternoon in Gazette Extraordinary. Following full text. *Begins*—

An Ordinance to provide for the proclamation of Martial Law, to empower military authorities to make regulations for administering it and to provide for other matters connected therewith.

Whereas an emergency has arisen which makes it necessary to provide for the proclamation of Martial Law, to empower military authorities to make regulations and issue orders to provide for the public safety and the maintenance and restoration of order, to authorize the trial of certain offences by special courts constituted under this Ordinance, and to provide for other matters connected with the administration of Martial Law ;

Now therefore the Governor-General, in exercise of the powers conferred by section 72 *of the Government of India Act, is pleased to make and promulgate the following Ordinance :—*

Short title.

1. This Ordinance may be called the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921.

Proclamation of Martial Law.

2. Martial Law shall be in force and the provisions of this Ordinance shall apply in the area which is specified in the Schedule and in such other areas as the Governor-General in Council may, by notification in the *Gazette of India*, direct, and in all such areas Martial Law shall be proclaimed by such means and in such manner as the Local Government may direct and shall remain in force in any such area until withdrawn by the Governor-General in Council by notification in the *Gazette of India* whereupon the provisions of this Ordinance shall cease to apply in such area:

Provided that no failure to comply with any directions of the Local Government as to the manner of proclamation in any area shall invalidate anything done in the administration of Martial Law in pursuance of this Ordinance in that area :

Provided further that the validity of any sentences passed, or of anything already done or suffered, or any liability incurred or indemnity granted in accordance with the provisions of this Ordinance, shall not be affected by reason only of the fact that this Ordinance has ceased to be in force.

Administration of Martial Law.

3. In any area in which Martial Law is for the time being in force, the Commander-in-Chief in India, or an officer not below the rank of Major-General empowered by him in this behalf, shall appoint one or more military officers, not being lower in rank than a Lieutenant-Colonel to be Military Commanders to administer Martial Law (any such officer

being hereinafter referred to in this Ordinance as 'the Military Commander') and the Military Commander shall exercise his powers in respect of such area or such part thereof (hereinafter referred to as an 'administration area') as the appointing authority may direct.

Regulations.

4. (1) Subject to the provisions of this Ordinance, the Military Commander shall have power to make regulations to provide for the public safety and the maintenance and restoration of order and as to the powers and duties of military officers and others in furtherance of that purpose.

(2) Such regulations may provide that any contravention thereof, or of any order issued thereunder or supplementary thereto, shall be punishable with any punishment authorized by any law in force in any part of British India, and any such contravention shall for the purposes of this Ordinance be deemed to be an offence against a regulation or an order, as the case may be.

(3) The power to make regulations shall be subject to the following conditions, namely:—

(i) In making any regulation the Military Commander shall interfere with the ordinary avocations of life as little as may be consonant with the exigencies of the measures which he deems to be required to be taken for the purposes of Martial Law;

(ii) before making any regulation the Military Commander shall, if possible, consult the Senior Civil Officer in direct charge of the administration area in which he exercises power but shall not be bound to follow his advice; and

(iii) the penalty, if any, for the contravention of a regulation shall be specified therein;

(iv) the Military Commander shall cause any regulation made by him to be published in such manner as he thinks best fitted to bring it to the notice of those affected and shall transmit through the normal channel a copy of every regulation so made to the Commander-in-Chief in India.

Martial Law Orders.

5. (1) The Military Commander may by order in writing empower any magistrate or any military officer of seven years' service not below the rank of a Captain to make Martial Law Orders in any part of the administration area for the purpose of supplementing the regulations in that area and the punishment for the contravention of any such order shall be that specified in the regulations for the contravention of a Martial Law Order:

Provided that no order shall be made which is inconsistent with the regulations.

(2) Every magistrate or officer making a Martial Law Order under sub-section (1) shall cause the same to be published in such manner as he thinks best fitted to bring it to the notice of those affected.

(3) A copy of every such order shall, as soon as may be, be submitted to the Military Commander who shall have power to add to, modify or rescind any such order in such way as he thinks fit.

(4) Where a Military Commander has under sub-section (3) added to, modified or rescinded any such order he shall forthwith communicate the fact to the magistrate or officer who made the order and such magistrate or officer shall thereupon cause to be published in the manner hereinbefore mentioned the order as so added to or modified or the fact that the order has been rescinded as the case may be.

Courts under the Ordinance.

6. (1) Summary courts of criminal jurisdiction may be constituted for the purposes of this Ordinance in any administration area in the manner hereinafter provided.

(2) The Military Commander may, by general or special order in writing, empower any magistrate appointed under the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, to exercise the powers of a summary court.

Limitation of jurisdiction of summary courts.

7. No summary court shall try any offence unless such offence was committed—

(a) in the administration area in which such court was constituted, and

(b) after such date (whether before or after the date of the proclamation of Martial Law in the area) as the Governor-General in Council may, in respect of such area by notification in the *Gazette of India*, direct in this behalf.

Trial of offences against Regulations or Martial Law Orders.

8. (1) Every offence against a regulation or a Martial Law Order which is triable by a summary court shall be tried by such court unless the Military Commander directs that it be tried by the ordinary criminal courts.

(2) The ordinary criminal courts are hereby empowered to try any offence in respect of which a Military Commander has made a direction under sub-section (1) and any offence against a regulation or Martial Law Order which is not triable by a summary court.

(3) Contraventions of any regulation or order made or issued in any area after the date notified in respect of that area by the Governor-General in Council under clause (*b*) of section 7 and prior to the enforcement of Martial Law by or under this Ordinance in that area by any officer acting in the exercise of military control for the purpose of providing for the public safety or the maintenance or restoration of order shall be deemed to be offences against a regulation or a Martial Law Order in force in that area under this Ordinance and shall be triable and punishable as if any sentence authorized by any such aforesaid regulation or order were a sentence authorized by a regulation under this Ordinance.

Trial of offences connected with events necessitating Martial Law.

9. (1) Subject to the provisions of section 7, offences, other than offences of the kind referred to in section 8, connected with the events which have necessitated the enforcement or continuance of Martial Law, or any class of such offences, may, if the Military Commander by general or special order so directs, be tried by summary courts.

(2) If any question arises whether or not an offence is an offence of the nature described in sub-section (1) the decision of the summary court shall be conclusive on the point, and such decision shall not be questioned in any court.

(3) The Military Commander or any authority empowered by him in this behalf may, by a general or special order, give directions as to the distribution among the summary courts of cases to be tried by them under section 8 or this section.

Trial of other offences.

10. Save as otherwise provided in this Ordinance, all offences shall be dealt with by the ordinary criminal courts exercising jurisdiction in the administration area in the ordinary course of law.

Jurisdiction of ordinary civil courts.

11. The ordinary civil courts shall continue to exercise civil jurisdiction in the areas in which Martial Law is in force by or under this Ordinance, provided that no civil court shall exercise any jurisdiction by way of interference with any regulation or Martial Law Order made under this Ordinance.

Procedure of summary courts.

12. In the trial of any case a summary court shall, as far as possible, follow the procedure laid down in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for the trial of warrant cases, and shall have all the powers conferred by the said Code on a magistrate in regard to the issue of processes to compel appearance and to compel the production of documents and other movable property :

Provided that the court shall not be required to record more than a memorandum of the evidence or to frame a formal charge:

Provided further that, in the trial of any offence punishable with imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year the court may follow the procedure for the summary trial of cases in which an appeal lies laid down in Chapter XXII of the said Code.

Sentences by summary courts.

13. Summary courts may pass any sentence authorized by law or by regulations under this Ordinance, provided that such courts shall not pass a sentence of imprisonment for a term exceeding two years, or of fine exceeding one thousand rupees.

Jurisdiction of summary courts.

14. (1) No person shall be tried by a summary court for an offence which is punishable with imprisonment for a term exceeding five years.

(2) If a summary court is of opinion that the offence disclosed is one which it is not empowered to try, it shall send it for trial to an ordinary criminal court having jurisdiction.

(3) If a summary court is of opinion that an offence which it is empowered to try should be tried by an ordinary criminal court, or that it requires a punishment in excess of that which it is empowered to inflict, it shall stay proceedings and report the case for the orders of the Military Commander, who may direct that the case shall be tried by a summary court, or may send it to an ordinary criminal court having jurisdiction.

Legal practitioners.

15. Every person accused of an offence before a summary court shall be entitled to be defended by a legal practitioner.

Provided that the court shall not be required to grant an adjournment for the purpose of securing the attendance of a legal practitioner if, in the opinion of the court, such adjournment would cause unreasonable delay in the disposal of the case.

Exclusion of interference of other courts.

16. (1) Notwithstanding the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, or of any other law for the time being in force, or of anything having the force of law by whatsoever authority made or done, there shall be no appeal from any order or sentence of a summary court, and no court shall have authority to revise such order or sentence, or to transfer any case from a summary court, or to make any order under section 491 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, or have any jurisdiction of any kind in respect of any proceedings of a Summary Court.

(2) The power of the Governor-General in Council or the Local Government to make orders under section 401 or section 402 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, shall apply in respect of persons sentenced by Summary Courts.

Limitation of power of summary court to whip.

17. Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (2) of section 4, no Summary Court shall pass a sentence of whipping for any offence against a regulation or Martial Law Order except where the offender has in the commission of the offence used criminal force within the meaning of the Indian Penal Code.

Execution of sentences of whipping.

18. In the execution of any sentence of whipping passed by a summary court the provisions of sub-section (2) of section 392 and the provisions of sections 393 and 394 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, shall apply and every such sentence shall as far as possible be carried out in a place to which the public shall not be admitted.

Offence defined.

19. Unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context, the word 'offence' shall be deemed for the purposes of this Ordinance and of sections 401 and 402 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, to include an act which is, or which under the provisions of this Ordinance is deemed to be, an offence against a regulation or a Martial Law Order.

Saving.

20. Nothing in this Ordinance shall be construed as in derogation of any powers for the maintenance of law and order exercisable by the Governor-General in Council or any other authority.

Validation of Martial Law sentences prior to proclamation.

21. Any sentence passed in any area after the date notified in respect of that area by the Governor-General in Council under clause (*b*) of section 7 and prior to the enforcement of Martial Law by or under this Ordinance in that area in respect of any contravention of a regulation or order made or issued within the same period by any officer acting in the exercise of military control for the purpose of providing for the public safety or the maintenance or restoration of order shall be deemed to be as valid as if it were a sentence passed under this Ordinance in respect of an offence against a regulation or a Martial Law Order in force in that area under this Ordinance.

Proceedings not invalidated by certain irregularities.

22. No sentence, finding or order passed by a Summary Court shall be invalid by reason only of any error, omission or irregularity in any proceedings before or during the trial unless such error, omission or irregularity has in fact occasioned a failure of justice.

Protection of bona-fide section.

23. No suit, prosecution or other legal proceeding whatsoever shall lie against any person for or on account of or in respect of any act, matter or thing ordered or done or purporting to have been ordered or done (*a*) under this Ordinance or (*b*) in the exercise of military control in any

area for the purpose of providing for the public safety or the maintenance or restoration of order after the date notified in respect of that area by the Governor-General in Council under clause (*b*) of section 7 and prior to the enforcement of Martial Law by or under this Ordinance in that area:

Provided that such person has acted in good faith and in a reasonable belief that his action was necessary for the said purposes:

Provided further that nothing in this section shall prevent the institution of proceedings by or on behalf of the Government against any person in respect of any matter whatsoever.

THE SCHEDULE

(*See section* 2.)

The area comprised within the following taluks in the Malabar district of the Madras Presidency, namely, Walluvanad, Ponnani, Ernad and Calicut.

SIMLA,
26*th August* 1921.

READING,
Viceroy and Governor-General.

VI

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 488 Pol., dated Simla, the 26th August 1921.

Government of India presume power of distributing criminal cases will be delegated to some civil authority and hope care will be taken in distribution to ensure important cases not tried by third-class Magistrates. Government of India also draw attention of Local Government to fact that only persons who can be empowered under section 6 are Magistrates. Please repeat ordinance to Madras District Command. Addressed Madras. Repeated Southern Command.

VII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 52, dated the 27th August 1921.

Your 2874 of 26th Martial Law, Malabar. Please wire clear line immediately date notified in *Gazette of India* under section 7 (*b*) of Ordinance.

VIII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, dated Simla, the 27th August 1921.

Your telegram 27th instant. Martial Law Malabar date notified 19th August.

VIII (a)

Telegram—to EVANS, Shoranur, and the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. M. 58, dated the 27th August 1921.

Date notified under section 7 (*b*) of Martial Law Ordinance is August 19th.

IX

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 53, dated the 27th August 1921.

IX—XV, Extension to Wynad and Kurumbranad.

Malabar internal situation 26th. Affected area now includes Kurumbranad taluk which has been entered by large parties of Mapilla rebels. Indian troops have been requisitioned from Cannanore to meet and deal with these. Owing to disorganization of business and communications, the whole affected area now threatened with famine. Planter Eaton of Pullangod estate now definitely reported killed. Planters Browne and Colebrook have arrived safely Ootacamund. Planter Tippetts escaped Calicut. Relief party sent for Planter Norman. The Forest Officer's Bungalow, Nilambur, also range officer's quarters and lines gutted. District Forest Officer Chandy Rangers and Forest Subordinates all prisoners. Palghat Subdivisional Magistrate reports gangs Mapilla roaming Ponnani taluk plundering houses and liquor shops and boasting that Swaraj established. Incursion into Wynad threatened. Emergency issue arms ammunition to planter units Auxiliary Force being ordered.

Relief force reported within four miles Malappuram 26th. Railway Calicut restored except 10 badly damaged miles. Special Civil Officer hopes to establish contact with Calicut to-night.

Reference your telegram No. 480-Political. No further casualties of European officers to report.

X

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 54, dated the 27th August 1921.

Malabar. My telegram of August 27th M. 53. Under the circumstances there stated, the Governor in Council requests extension Martial Law Ordinance to the Wynad and Kurumbranad taluks of Malabar.

XI

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 496 Pol., dated the 27th August 1921.

Your telegram M. 54 of 27th August. Malabar. By notification issued to-day Governor-General in Council is extending Martial Law Ordinance to Wynad and Kurumbranad taluks of Malabar with reference to section 7 (*b*) of Ordinance. Please wire clear-the-line date which should be notified by Governor-General in Council for these areas.

XII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 60, dated the 28th August 1921.

Your telegram Home No. 496, dated 27th August.

Owing to the defective state of communications, it is difficult to say exactly when overt acts of rebellion first took place in the taluks of Kurumbranad and Wynad. Moreover it is undesirable to proclaim different dates for limited and contiguous areas. The Governor in Council therefore recommends that the date for these two taluks also should be August 19th.

XIII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 507 Pol., dated the 29th August 1921.

Martial Law Malabar. Your telegram No. M. 60 of August 28. Notification under section 7 (*b*) of Martial Law Ordinance declaring August 19th as the date referred to in that section in respect of the Wynad and Kurumbranad taluks. Government of India do not consider altogether convincing the reasons given in your telegram for having the same date in all areas. During the Punjab disturbances it was one of the chief grounds of complaint that retrospective effect was given to Martial Law Ordinances without sufficient justification, courts established by Ordinance thus acquiring power to try offences before Martial Law was promulgated. In case of Wynad and Kurumbranad taluks, Government of India would prefer to notify date on which the military actually took charge unless before then the number of offences committed in connexion with the disturbances was too numerous to be tried by ordinary courts. On consideration of this aspect, please communicate date to be notified. Should Ordinance be extended to further area, date to be notified should be, except as indicated above, date on which military actually took over control of the situation.

XIV

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 75, dated the 30th August 1921.

Home 507, Political, 29th. First reports of military intervention were on 25th. Cannot say at present whether offences prior to that were too numerous for trial by ordinary courts. Local Government therefore prepared though with great reluctance accept twenty-fourth.

XV

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 530 Pol., dated the 31st August 1921.

Notification issued to-day thirtieth under section 7 (B) Martial Law Ordinance declaring 24th August as date applicable under that section for Wynad and Kurumbranad taluks.

XVI

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, No. 24585-32/G, dated Poona, the 27th August 1921.

Reference State 2874 of August 26th Major-General J. T. Burnett Stuart, Commanding Madras District, is appointed Military Commander in the areas proclaimed under Ordinance, No. II of 1921. Addressed Chief Secretary to Government. Repeated General Officer Commanding, Wellington. Both addressees please acknowledge.

XVI–XVIII, Appointments under Martial Law Ordinance.

XVII

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M 64, dated the 28th August 1921.

Reference concluding portion Government of India telegram containing Martial Law Ordinance communicated to you yesterday. Please say to whom you propose to delegate power of distributing criminal cases under section 9 (3) of Ordinance.

XVIII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. 2302/13-A-3, dated the 28th August 1921.

Your M-64 twenty-eighth. Proposed delegating power to Collector, Malabar. Hope to confer with him to-morrow.

XIX

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. M-63, dated the 28th August 1921.

The following proclamation is issuing (Begins) Proclamation. Martial Law, Malabar. It is hereby proclaimed under section 2 of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, that a state of Martial Law exists in the taluks of Calicut, Ernad, Walluvanad, Ponnani, Kurumbranad and Wynad in the district of Malabar. By order of the Governor in Council. (Signed) N. E. Marjoribanks, Chief Secretary. Ends. Please have a large number of copies in poster form printed in English and Malayalam and widely distributed and posted. Government Order follows.

XIX, XX, Proclamation of Martial Law.

XX

G.O. No. 550, Public, dated 29th August 1921.

The Martial Law Ordinance, as received by telegraph, is printed as an annexure to this order.

2. The following Proclamation will be published in an Extraordinary issue of the Fort St. George and Malabar District Gazettes :—

PROCLAMATION.

MARTIAL LAW—MALABAR.

It is hereby proclaimed, under section 2 of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, that a state of Martial Law exists in the taluks of Calicut, Ernad, Walluvanad, Ponnani, Kurumbranad, and Wynad in the district of Malabar.

3. The District Magistrate, Malabar, will have a large number of copies of the Proclamation printed in English and Malayalam, in poster form, and cause them to be widely distributed and posted at public offices and other public places, throughout the affected area.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

N. E. MARJORIBANKS,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the District Magistrate, Malabar.
,, Special Civil Officer with Officer Commanding Troops, Malabar.
Copy to the General Officer Commanding, Madras District, Wellington.
,, all District Magistrates and Commissioner of Police.
,, the Publicity Officer.
Editors' Table.

XXI

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. 2302/10/A-3, dated the 28th August 1921.

XXI–XXIII, Draft Regulations. See also XXXII.

Can you detail civil officers with legal experience for duty District Headquarters Wellington ? Am forwarding draft Martial Law instructions for review by you and translation into appropriate vernacular.

XXII

Letter—from the General Officer Commanding, No. 2302/11/A-3, dated the 28th August 1921.

In pursuance of "Martial Law Ordinance, 1921," I have the honour to forward herewith a draft copy of the Martial Law *regulations*, which I propose to issue.

I should be glad if, after review of them from a legal point of view and amendment or revision where necessary, you would take very early steps to have them translated into the appropriate vernaculars and thereafter forwarded to the Officer Commanding Troops, Malabar, for posting as placards under his orders or as he may direct after consulting the Special Civil Officer attached to his staff. Any further instructions which I may consider it necessary to issue will be forwarded to you for similar action.

The Military Commanders deputed by me to administer Martial Law in any area will be empowered to make Martial Law orders for the purpose of supplementing the regulations which may be issued from time to time by me after consulting you as above.

I will notify you later the names of officers deputed by me to administer Martial Law and the areas to which they will be allotted.

There will probably be four such administration areas; please therefore be prepared to detail four civil officers each with a clerk, to assist the officers I shall appoint as Military Commanders.

It is requested that sufficient copies (in English) of the Regulations as finally approved and issued in placard form be forwarded (1) to me for communication to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief as laid down in paragraph 4 (3), sub-paragraph (ii) of the Ordinance, (2) to Commanding Troops, Malabar, for distribution to all concerned.

ENCLOSURE

Martial Law Regulations.

Whereas Martial Law has been proclaimed and is in force in the districts of

Now therefore I (Major-General J. T. Burnett-Stuart), being in command of His Majesty's Forces in the Madras district, hereby direct that the following Regulations shall be observed in the aforesaid districts and in all other districts or places in my command to which Martial Law may hereafter be extended :—

No. 1.

Notwithstanding anything in these Regulations the criminal courts as by law established shall continue to exercise jurisdiction over persons accused of—

(*a*) Offences other than offences created by these regulations.

(*b*) Offences not connected with the present disturbances,

(*c*) Offences which, though connected with the present disturbances, have been transferred, under these Regulations, for trial by such courts.

No. 2.

Every offence which is directly connected with the present disturbances and which is described in any section of any of the following chapters of the Indian Penal Code, that is to say :—

Chapter VI—Offences against the State,
Chapter VII—Offences relating to the Army and Navy,
Chapter VIII—Offences against the public tranquillity,
Chapter XVI—Offences affecting the human body,
Chapter XVII—Offences against property,

is hereby declared to be an offence against Martial Law and punishable under these Regulations in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Penal Code.

No. 3.

Any person who attempts to contravene or abets the contravention of any of these Regulations shall be punishable as if he had contravened that Regulation.

No person shall assist or harbour any person who is or has been actively engaged in the present disorders, by giving him information or by supplying him with shelter, food, drink, money, clothes, arms, ammunition, stores, forage or means of conveyance, or by assisting him in any way to evade apprehension.

Maximum punishment . . .

No. 4.

Every person who—

(*a*) sees or comes in contact with persons who are actively engaged in the present disorders, or

(*b*) comes to the knowledge of the whereabouts or of gatherings or movements or intended gathering or intended movements of such persons, or

(*c*) knows or has reason to believe that any of his relatives or dependents have joined or are about to join such persons,

shall without delay give full information thereof to the nearest military or civil authority.

Maximum punishment . . .

No. 5.

No person shall—

(*a*) in any way interfere with the working of the railways or canals, or

(*b*) damage or tamper with any material or property connected with railways or canals, or

(*c*) damage or interfere with telegraph or telephone lines or apparatus or any wireless telegraph installation, or

(*d*) tap, with the intention of reading off messages, any telegraph or telephone lines.

Maximum punishment . . .

No. 6.

Every Civil or Military Officer in the execution of his duty when administering martial law may issue such orders as may be necessary and no person shall—

(*a*) disobey or neglect to obey any such order, or

(*b*) obstruct, impede, or interfere in any manner with any such officer or any other person who is carrying out the orders of any authority administering martial law, or who is otherwise acting in the execution of his duty under martial law, or

(*c*) make any false statement, which he knows to be false, in order to obtain a pass issued under martial law.

Maximum punishment . . .

No. 7.

No person shall destroy, deface, or in any way tamper with any notice exhibited under martial law whit such notice is in force.

Maximum punishment . . .

No. 8.

No person shall wilfully give false evidence in any proceeding before a Military court or officer disposing of an offence summarily under martial law.

Maximum punishment . . .

No. 9.

Every administrator of martial law is hereby empowered to requisition such vehicles, property and labour as may be necessary for the public service and to authorize other Civil and Military officers to do the same in his area, and every person to whom such a requisition is addressed shall promptly comply with the same.

Maximum punishment . . .

Part II.

No. 10.

1. The districts in which martial law has been or may be introduced will be divided into areas and officers will be appointed by me to command troops and administer martial law therein. Such officers are in these regulations referred to as "administrators of martial law." In each such area one or more deputy administrators of martial law will, if necessary, be appointed by me.

2. Every administrator or deputy administrator of martial law, every officer commanding a station, every officer commanding a regiment, battalion or similar unit, and such other civil or military officers as I may specially appoint to exercise these powers, are hereby authorized to dispose summarily of offences (or to exercise the powers of a summary court) under martial law and to exercise the powers specified in paragraph 2 of regulation No. 12 below.

No. 11.

1. A military court may be convened by an officer in command of a brigade, brigade area column, station or post and shall consist of three officers, one or more of whom may be civil officers. It shall, as nearly as possible, follow the procedure and keep the records prescribed for a summary general court-martial under the Indian Army Act; provided that the evidence given at the trial and the statement (if any) of the accused shall always be recorded.

2. The finding and sentence of a military court shall be subject to confirmation as in the case of a summary general court-martial under the Indian Army Act. Provided that every death sentence shall be reserved for confirmation by the District Commander.

3. Every person accused before a military court may of right be defended by an advocate or pleader, but the court shall not be under any obligation to postpone a trial to secure the attendance of such advocate or pleader.

No. 12.

1. Any person who contravenes or attempts to contravene or abets the contravention of any of the foregoing regulations or any martial law order or who commits or attempts to commit or abets the commission of any such offence against the Indian Penal Code as is referred to in regulation No. 2 shall be liable to trial, by an officer authorized to dispose of an offence summarily (or to exercise the powers of a summary court) under martial law or by a military court constituted as in regulation No. 22.

2. An officer authorized to dispose of an offence summarily (or to exercise the powers of a summary court) under Martial Law may sentence an offender to imprisonment, rigorous or simple, which may extend to two years, or to a fine not exceeding Rs. 1,000, or to both, and to imprisonment not exceeding six months in default of payment of fine: and

(1) when the offence of which the offender is convicted is an offence of violence or an offence for which such punishment can be awarded under the ordinary law;

(2) when it is impossible to carry out any other sentence which will adequately punish the offender;

may inflict whipping in lieu of any other punishment.

3. A military court may sentence an offender to death, transportation for a term of not less than seven years' imprisonment, rigorous or simple, which may extend to fourteen years, or to a fine, or to a fine in addition to any other punishment which it is empowered to award and to imprisonment not exceeding one year in default of payment of fine; and may inflict whipping

(1) when the offence of which the offender is convicted is an offence of violence or an offence for which such punishment can be awarded under the ordinary law;

(2) when it is impossible to carry out any other sentence which will adequately punish the offender,

or, where, under the Whipping Act, 1909, whipping may be added to any other punishment, may inflict whipping in addition to any other punishment which it is empowered to inflict.

XXIII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. G.T. 4, dated Calicut, the 31st August 1921.

Detailed analysis of Ordinance and discussion with local Civil authorities have revealed limitations in Martial law powers as conferred by Ordinance which render draft regulations sent to you inappropriate. Modified regulations have been prepared and approved by me and are now being printed locally for posting. Martial law area will be organized as single area and no additional civil officials from outside area now required.

XXIV

Telegram—from the Government of India, No. 498 Pol., dated the 28th August 1921.

XXIV—XXVI, Supplementary Ordinance—Asked for.

Malabar disturbances. The Government of India would be glad if the Local Government could supply as soon as possible a general appreciation of the situation, both Civil and Military, in view of the approaching opening of the Legislative Assembly. Has the Local Government any objection to their Fortnightly report of August 20th being used in the Legislative Assembly? The Government of India would be glad to know if the Local Government are satisfied that their resources are

adequate in all respects to deal with the situation, or if more troops are needed. Please say if the Government of India can take any further action to assist the Local Government. Has the Martial Law Ordinance been found suitable in actual practice? If not what additions or modifications would the Local Government suggest?

XXV

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 78, dated the 30th August 1921.

Continuation my No. 77 of 30th. Martial Law Ordinance. It is too early to appreciate the working of the Ordinance in practice. However, having regard to large number of cases—waging war, murder, arson, dacoity and other crimes of violence—with which ordinary courts will be unable to deal in any reasonable time, Government now consider it necessary to provide by Ordinance for the establishment of at least one special tribunal which would consist of one High Court Judge and two Sessions Judges, one European and one Indian.

XXVI

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 562 Pol., dated the 2nd September 1921.

Your telegram of August 30th, No. 78 M. Terms of supplementary Ordinance regarding special tribunals under consideration. Ordinance will probably be promulgated September 5th.

XXVII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 582, dated the 5th September 1921.

Following is text of Supplementary Ordinance issued to-day 5th September in Gazette Extraordinary. **XXVII—XXVIII, Supplementary Ordinance.**

Whereas an emergency has arisen which makes it necessary to supplement the provisions of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, *now therefore the Governor-General in exercise of the powers conferred by section* 12 *of the Government of India Act is pleased to make and promulgate the following Ordinance* :—

(1) This Ordinance may be called the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, 1921.

(2) It shall have the same extent as the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, and shall apply also in any area in which the said Ordinance applies by virtue of a notification under section 2 thereof.

2. Notwithstanding anything contained in the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921 (hereinafter referred to as the Principal Ordinance), special tribunals may be constituted for the purposes of that Ordinance in any administration area or areas in the manner hereinafter provided.

3. A special tribunal shall consist of three persons who shall be appointed by the Local Government; the President of the tribunal shall be a person who has acted or is acting as a Judge of a High Court established under the Indian High Court Act, 1861, or the Government of India Act, and the other two members shall be persons who have acted for a period of at least two years in the exercise of the powers of a Sessions Judge under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

4. The provisions of sections 7, 15, 17, 18, 22 and 23 of the Principal Ordinance shall apply to special tribunals in the same manner and to the same extent as they apply to summary courts and for the purposes of this Ordinance the word 'offence' shall have the meaning ascribed to it by section 19 of the Principal Ordinance: provided that a special tribunal constituted in more administration areas than one shall subject to the provisions of this and the Principal Ordinance have jurisdiction in all such areas.

5. (1) Subject to the provisions of section 4 a special tribunal shall notwithstanding anything contained in the Principal Ordinance try such offences connected with the events which have necessitated the enforcement or continuance of Martial Law as the Local Government may by general or special order in writing direct.

(2) If any question arises whether or not an offence is an offence of the nature described in sub-section (1) the decision of the special tribunal shall be conclusive on the point and such decision shall not be questioned in any court.

(3) Special tribunals may pass any sentence authorized by law or by regulations under the said ordinance.

(4) When an accused person is sentenced to death by a special tribunal the President shall inform him of the period within which, if he wishes to appeal, his appeal should be preferred.

6. (1) A special tribunal may take cognizance of offences without the accused being committed to it for trial and in trying accused persons shall follow the procedure prescribed by the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for the trying of warrant cases by magistrates provided that the special tribunal shall make a memorandum only of the substance of the evidence of each witness examined and shall not be bound to adjourn any trial for any purpose unless such adjournment is in its opinion necessary in the interest of justice.

(2) Nothing in the proviso to sub-section (1) shall be deemed to affect the provisions of section 15 of the Principal Ordinance as applied to the proceedings of special tribunals by this Ordinance.

(3) A special tribunal shall have all the powers conferred by the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, on a court of session exercising the original jurisdiction.

(4) In the event of any difference of opinion among the members of a special tribunal the opinion of the majority shall prevail.

7. (1) Notwithstanding the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, or of any other law for the time being in force or of anything having the force of law by whatsoever authority made or done there shall save as hereinafter provided be no appeal from any order or sentence of a special tribunal and no court shall have authority to revise such order or sentence or to transfer any case from a special tribunal or to make any order under section 491 of the said Code or have any jurisdiction of any kind in respect of any proceedings of a special tribunal and no order of confirmation shall be necessary in the case of any such sentence.

(2) An appeal shall lie to the High Court in the case of any sentence passed by a special tribunal of death or of transportation for life or of imprisonment for a term of ten years or more and the provisions of the Indian Limitation Act, 1908, shall apply as though the appeal were an appeal to a High Court under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, from a sentence passed by a court of session.

(3) The power of the Governor-General in Council or the Local Government to make orders under section 401 or section 402 of the said Code shall apply in respect of persons sentenced by special tribunals.

8. The Local Government may by notification in the local official gazette make rules providing for

(i) the times and places at which special tribunals may sit, and

(ii) the procedure of special tribunals including the powers of the President and the procedure to be adopted in the event of the President or any member being prevented from attending throughout the trial of any accused person.

9. The provisions of this Ordinance shall be construed with and read as part of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, and this Ordinance and the Principal Ordinance may be cited together as the Martial Law Ordinances, 1921.

Above is in continuation Home Department Telegram No. 562, dated 2nd September 1921.

XXVIII

G.O. No. 596, Public, dated 16th September 1921.

The Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, 1921, as received by telegraph, is printed as an annexure to this order.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

N. E. Marjoribanks,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the District Magistrate, Malabar.
,, other District Magistrates.
,, the Special Civil Officer, Malabar.
,, the Inspector-General of Police.

Copy to the General Officer Commanding, Madras District (with C.L.)
,, Publicity Officer.

XXIX

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 314, dated the 3rd September 1921.

Fraser has had sufficient number third-class cases with his experience court-martials during great war. Consider him quite fit for second-class powers and appointment with summary powers under Martial Law.

XXIX—XXXI, Queries by District Magistrate.

XXX

Letter—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 233, dated the 4th September 1921.

A doubt has arisen as to the procedure to be adopted when a Magistrate sitting as a summary court comes to the decision that the offence disclosed is one that ought to be tried by the Sessions Court [see Regulation 2 (*b*)]. The Public Prosecutor thinks (and I agree with him) that the Magistrate should register the case as a preliminary case and dispose of it as a Magistrate with ordinary powers. Now all Magistrates are empowered to commit for trial by Sessions (vide *Fort St. George Gazette*, 1873, page 717), but all Magistrates now invested with summary powers may not have local jurisdiction, e.g., a Magistrate may be trying a case which arose in the jurisdiction of the Tirur Sub-Magistrate who, if he has any local jurisdiction at all, has it somewhere else. Therefore assuming that the powers conferred on the District Magistrate by the notification of 1873 still exist, I propose to issue a notification under section 12 and the notification of 1873 empowering all Magistrates exercising the powers of a summary court to commit to the Sessions persons accused of offences committed anywhere within the Martial Law area.

Will Government please examine the question at once and telegraph whether my action will be legal? Courts have commenced trying cases summarily and therefore it is necessary to decide this at once.

XXXI

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. M. 91, dated the 6th September 1921.

Your letter No. 233, dated 4th. Such cases should be remanded for trial by special tribunal.

XXXII

Letter—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 4th September 1921.

I have the honour to submit three copies of the Martial Law Regulation corrected up to date.

Regulations. See also XLIV, LIX, LXXVIII, LXXXV.

ENCLOSURE

Proclamation by the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated 28th August 1921.

No. 1.

The following Ordinance II of 1921 is proclaimed for general information :—

[For text of Ordinance—vide No. VI supra.]

Proclamation No. 2.

The area of Calicut, Ernad, Walluvanad, Ponnani, Kurumbranad and Wynad taluks is now under Martial Law and I have been appointed by superior Military authority to command troops and administer Martial Law therein.

All Martial Law notices and orders which I may, from time to time, have occasion to issue will be posted at all public offices in the area and will be communicated to the local press, and any person destroying, defacing or in any way tampering with any such notice or order will be punishable under Martial Law.

CALICUT,
2 *th August* 1921.

E. T. HUMPHREYS,
Colonel.

Proclamation No. 3.

Whereas Martial Law has been proclaimed and is in force in the taluks of Calicut, Ernad, Walluvanad, Ponnani, Kurumbranad and Wynad in the district of Malabar :

Now therefore I, E. T. Humphreys, Colonel, being in command of His Majesty's forces in the above area, hereby direct that the following regulations shall be observed in the aforesaid taluks and in all other taluks or places in my command to which Martial Law may hereafter be extended.

PART I.

No. 1.

1. Notwithstanding anything in these regulations the Criminal Courts as by law established shall continue to exercise jurisdiction over persons accused of—

(*a*) offences other than offences created by these regulations,

(*b*) offences not connected with the present disturbances,

(*c*) offences which, though connected with the present disturbances, have been transferred, under these regulations, for trial by such Courts.

No. 2.

Every offence which is directly connected with the present disturbances and which is described in any section of any of the following chapters of the Indian Penal Code, that is to say

Chapter VI.—Offences against the State,
Chapter VII.—Offences relating to the Army and Navy,
Chapter VIII.—Offences against the public tranquillity,
Chapter XVI.—Offences affecting the human body,
Chapter XVII.—Offences against property,

is hereby declared to be an offence against Martial Law and punishable under these regulations in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Penal Code.

Errata.

The following amendment to the Regulations approved by the Military Commander has been approved and is published for information :—

In regulation 2, after "XVII--Offences against property" *insert* "Offences under section 3, Mapilla Outrages Act, Act XX of 1859."

The following amendment to the Regulations approved by the Military Commander is published for information :—

In Regulation 2, after "offences under section 3, Mapilla Outrages Act XX of 1859" *insert* "offences under the Malabar War-knives Act No. XXIV of 1854."

No. 3.

The maximum punishment for the contravention of a regulation is that specified at the end of each regulation, and an offender guilty of contravening a regulation may be sentenced either to that maximum punishment or to any less punishment authorized by these regulations.

No. 4.

Any person who attempts to contravene or abets the contravention of any of these regulations shall be punishable as if he had contravened that regulation.

No. 5.

No person shall assist or harbour any person who is or has been actively engaged in the present disorders by giving him information or by supplying him with shelter, food, drink, money, clothes, arms, ammunition, stores, forage or means of conveyance, or by assisting him in any way to evade apprehension.

Maximum punishment—two years' imprisonment.

No. 6.

Every person who—

(*a*) sees or comes in contact with persons who are actively engaged in the present disorders, or

(*b*) comes to the knowledge of the whereabouts or of the gathering or movements or intended gathering or intended movements of such persons, or

(*c*) who knows or has reason to believe that any of his relatives or dependents have joined or about to join such persons,

shall without delay give full information thereof to the nearest military or civil authority.

Maximum punishment—two years' imprisonment.

No. 7.

No person shall—

(*a*) in any way interfere with the working of the railway or canals, or

(*b*) damage or tamper with any material or property connected with railways or canals, or

(*c*) damage or interfere with telegraph or telephone lines or apparatus or any wireless telegraph installation or

(*d*) tap, with the intention of reading messages, any telegraph or telephone lines.

Maximum punishment—five years' imprisonment.

No. 8.

No person shall, save under a permit issued by an administrator of Martial Law, or under his authority, convene or attend any meeting or procession of more than five persons, except in the case of—

(*a*) a meeting, bona fide, held for religious purposes in a recognized place of worship, or

(*b*) a meeting of persons residing in one house and gathering in such house.

Maximum punishment—one year's imprisonment.

No. 9.

Where any orders have been issued under Martial Law regarding the control of travelling and movements, no person shall enter or leave the taluks to which Martial Law has been extended or move to and from within them, in contravention of such orders.

Maximum punishment—six months' imprisonment.

No. 10.

No person shall escape from any prison or other custody in which he is for the time being confined or restrained under Martial Law.

Maximum punishment—one year's imprisonment.

No. 11.

Every civil or military officer in the execution of his duty when administering Martial Law may issue such orders as may be necessary and no person shall—

(*a*) disobey or neglect to obey any such order, or

(*b*) obstruct, impede, or interfere in any manner with any such officer or any other person who is carrying out the orders of any authority administering Martial Law, or who is otherwise acting in the execution of his duty under Martial Law, or

(*c*) make any false statement, which he knows to be false, in order to obtain a pass issued under Martial Law.

Maximum punishment—two years' imprisonment.

No. 12.

No person shall disseminate false intelligence which he knows to be false, or spread reports calculated to create alarm or despondency.

Maximum punishment—two years' imprisonment.

No. 13.

No person shall destroy, deface or in any way tamper with any notice exhibited under Martial Law while such notice is in force.

Maximum punishment—six months' imprisonment.

No. 14.

No person shall commit any act, or be guilty of any omission,

(*a*) which is to the prejudice of good order or of the public safety, or

(*b*) which is calculated to mislead, or hamper the movements of, or imperil the success of His Majesty's forces.

Maximum punishment—two years' imprisonment.

No. 15.

Every administrator of Martial Law is hereby empowered to requisition such vehicles, property and labour as may be necessary for the public service and to authorize other civil and military officers to do the same in his area, and every person to whom such a requisition is addressed shall promptly comply with the same.

Maximum punishment—six months' imprisonment or Rs. 1,000 fine.

No. 16.

1. Any person who contravenes or attempts to contravene or abets the contravention of any of the foregoing regulations or any Martial Law order or who commits or attempts to commit or abets the commission of any such offence against the Indian Penal Code as is referred to in Regulation No. 2 shall be liable to trial, by an officer authorised to dispose of an offence summarily [or to exercise the powers of a summary court] under Martial Law.

2. An officer authorized to dispose of an offence summarily (or to exercise the powers of a summary court) under Martial Law may sentence an offender to imprisonment, rigorous or simple, which may extend to two years, or to a fine not exceeding Rs. 1,000, or to both, and to imprisonment not exceeding six months in default of payment of fine ; and

(1) when the offence of which the offender is convicted is an offence of violence or an offence for which such punishment can be awarded under the ordinary law ;

(2) when it is impossible to carry out any other sentence which will adequately punish the offender ; may inflict whipping in lieu of any other punishment.

No. 17.

For every offence against these regulations the offender may be arrested with or without warrant, by any civil, military or police officer.

No. 18.

1. Whenever a person is summoned to appear, or is arrested, under Martial Law the charge against him shall, without unnecessary delay, be investigated in his presence by an officer authorized to dispose summarily of offences [or to exercise the powers of a summary Court] under Martial Law who shall dismiss the charge if he considers that no offence has been committed or that the charge should not be proceeded with.

2. At the conclusion of the hearing, if this officer is of opinion that the charge ought to be proceeded with, he shall, without unnecessary delay—

(*a*) dispose of the case summarily under Martial Law, or

(*b*) if the offence is also one under the ordinary law, remand the accused for trial by a criminal court, or

(*c*) remand the accused, in custody or on bail, for a period not exceeding fifteen days.

When an accused person has been remanded under the provisions of clause [*c*] of this paragraph, he shall on the expiration of the period of remand ordered be forthwith either tried or discharged without trial [if no evidence is forthcoming] or remanded for trial by a civil or military court [or by a special tribunal created under Ordinance No. II of 1921].

3. An officer investigating a charge under paragraph 1 may depute any civil, military or police officer to make such preliminary enquiries into the case as he may consider necessary.

4. Every person accused of an offence before a summary court shall be entitled to be defended by a legal practitioner, provided the court shall not be required to grant an adjournment to secure the attendance of a legal practitioner if in the opinion of the court such adjournment would cause unreasonable delay in the disposal of the case.

CALICUT,
29*th August* 1921.

E. T. HUMPHREYS,
Colonel.

XXXIII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 93, dated the 7th September 1921.

XXXIII—XXXV (d) Special Tribunal—appeals—difficulty in constituting.

Martial Law Supplementary Ordinance. Your telegram * 582-Pol., dated 5th September 1921. Reference section 7, sub-section (2), of Supplementary Ordinance. This Government desire to point out that in paragraph 12 of the draft provisions communicated with your cipher telegram of August 24th it was expressly provided that no appeal or revision should lie from decision of Special Tribunal but that

*No. XXVII.

Local Government and Government of India should retain powers under sections 401 and 402, Criminal Procedure Code. The proposals of this Government contained in telegram of August 30th, No. 78. M., proceeded on assumption that material provisions of the draft ordinance would not be altered at least without consulting the Local Government. As authority primarily responsible for restoration of law and order and administration of justice in Malabar, His Excellency the Governor in Council feels it his duty to state that in his considered opinion it is unnecessary and undesirable, after constituting a special tribunal consisting of a Judge of the High Court and two Sessions Judges specially selected for experience in Malabar, to prolong proceedings by providing an appeal from their decisions to the High Court. The offences may be serious but the facts will be simple and rarely in doubt, and as regards sentences powers of revision reserved to the Local Government and the Government of India afford amplest safeguards. To restore peace and normal conditions of business interruption of which threatens famine it is essential trials of chief offenders should be speedily ended. His Excellency the Governor in Council therefore strongly urges that provision in the Supplementary Ordinance for regular appeal to High Court should be deleted. The Hon'ble Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar has recorded a minute which will follow.

XXXIV

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 96, dated the 8th September 1921.

Reference my telegram M. 93. Following is minute of the Hon'ble Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar. Begins:

Right of appeal to the High Court is absolutely necessary. Otherwise the people would not be satisfied with the sentences passed by the Special Tribunal whose procedure will differ even from the procedure of trial of warrant cases which is not really adapted for trial of serious offences. There will be no charge, no interval for preparation of defence except at the discretion of the Tribunal. This itself is a serious encroachment on the safeguards provided by the Code especially as the accused will know of the evidence against him only at the trial. Though I admit that quick disposal of cases is very desirable, it is necessary that we should depart from the ordinary procedure as little as possible and still more important that criminal trials and convictions should command the approval of the ordinary man in the street. The delay caused by an appeal need not prevent restoration of peace and order as that will generally be attained by the trial in the first court. I would go further and allow an appeal in all cases. Frankly I do not have much faith in the power reserved to the Executive Government to revise sentences—Ends.

XXXV

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 97, dated the 8th September 1921.

In continuation my telegrams M. 93 and M. 96 Governor in Council desires to emphasize that speedy justice most important in settlement of area and that trial in first court will not in any way tend to settle the Mapilla mind so long as final result is uncertain.

XXXV (a)

Demi-official—to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 98, dated the 8th September 1921.

With reference to my telegrams Nos. M. 93, M. 96 and M. 97. I am directed to forward copies of demi-official letters received by His Excellency the Governor from the Honourable the Officiating Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Phillips on the subject of the provision for appeals made in the supplementary Martial Law Ordinance. I am further to say if, the Ordinance having been promulgated, considerations of political expediency are deemed to preclude its modification to the extent of deleting the provision for appeals, His Excellency the Governor in Council would most earnestly press for the reduction of the period allowed for appeal from sixty days to seven days which is that provided in cases, where the sentence of death has been passed.

ENCLOSURE (i)

Demi-official—from the Hon'ble Sir WILLIAM AYLING, *Kt.*, I.C.S., Officiating Chief Justice of the High Court of Judicature, to His Excellency the Governor of Madras, dated Madras, the 7th September 1921.

I handed over your letter to Phillips yesterday afternoon, expressing a personal hope that he would consent to serve on the Special Tribunal. He promised to consider the matter; and you will doubtless hear from him to-day.

Two hours later I met Davidson, and was surprised to learn that it was now proposed to make the decisions of the Special Tribunal appealable to the High Court in all cases where the sentence exceeds ten years' rigorous imprisonment.

If I may assume the liberty of speaking frankly, this alters the whole matter to my mind. It is only if the decisions of the Tribunal are to be final that the appointment of a High Court Judge seems to me desirable or even justifiable. It was on the understanding that no appeal would be allowed that I expressed approval of Phillips' appointment, and, in discussion with Davidson advocated the association with him of two experienced and carefully selected Sessions Judges so as to make the Court so strong that no reasonable man could possibly fail to have confidence in it. All this is quite unnecessary if, except in comparatively minor cases, the Tribunal's decisions are to have no more finality than those of any single Sessions Judge sitting with two ordinary lay assessors.

I would go further and suggest for Your Excellency's consideration whether it is consistent with the dignity and position of a High Court Judge to place him in such a position.

Lastly I would add that, in view of the present depletions of the High Court Bench, I should much regret the delegation of a Judge of Phillips' capacity even if, as doubtless would be the case, some one is appointed to act for him.

ENCLOSURE (ii)

Demi-official—from the Hon'ble Mr. W. W. PHILLIPS, Judge, High Court of Judicature, to His Excellency the Governor of Madras, dated the 7th September 1921.

It is with considerable reluctance that I am willing to accept your kind offer to appoint me as President of the Special Tribunal in Malabar. I presume that I shall be compensated for undertaking work which does not appeal to me, and for the inconvenience caused thereby. I hear from Davidson and Ayling that it is proposed to make the decisions of the Tribunal appealable to the High Court. I hope this decision is not final, for such procedure is, in my opinion, not at all consonant with the dignity of the Tribunal as constituted, as it practically reduces its status to that of an ordinary District and Sessions Judge sitting alone. Apart from the question of the dignity of the Tribunal, it appears to me to be a ridiculous waste of time and money to employ such a Tribunal to do work which can be done equally well by a Sessions Judge.

If there is to be such an appeal I must reserve to myself the right to reconsider my acceptance of your offer.

XXXV (b)

Demi-official—from the Hon'ble Mr. W. W. PHILLIPS, Judge, High Court of Judicature, Madras, to His Excellency the Governor of Madras, dated the 8th September 1921.

Since receiving your letter I have been thinking over the matter and have come to the conclusion that, if the Government of India will not withdraw the provision for appeal as published in the *Madras Mail* of last night, I cannot see my way to accepting the appointment, because I think it would be derogatory to the dignity of the High Court Bench; and in this I think Ayling agrees. The effect of the Government of India's Ordinance is that a High Court Judge, aided by two experienced Sessions Judges, is to do work which can be done equally effectively, and certainly more quickly, by a single Sessions Judge sitting alone, and the decision of the Tribunal, except in minor cases of which there will presumably be few, is to have no greater weight than that of a single Sessions Judge. I may also add that in my opinion the setting up of this Tribunal with limited powers is a waste of time and public money with which I do not desire to have any concern, but except from a personal point of view considerations of this nature are not within my province. In the circumstances, therefore, I must with great regret withdraw my acceptance of your Excellency's kind offer, unless the Government of India consents to restrict the right of appeal. I am very sorry to have to come to this conclusion, but I do not think I should be doing right in accepting the appointment, although it is possible, but not, I think, likely, that one of my colleagues may think differently.

P.S.—As the matter is urgent I thought that I had better write before learning the Government of India's decision, in order that you may take the necessary steps, when that decision is known.

XXXV (c)

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 638-Pol., dated Simla, the 9th September 1921.

Your No. M. 93, Supplementary Martial Law Ordinance. Power to make Ordinance and settle its terms rests with Governor-General alone. While fully appreciating difficulties indicated unable to advise deletion of provision for appeal to High Court. In our telegram of August 24th we wired you a specimen Ordinance prepared some time ago and kept ready for emergency. We suggested that Special Tribunals were unnecessary and you agreed. When we received your telegram asking for appointment of Special Tribunal the Legislature was about to sit. It is true that the Governor-General retains the power to make Ordinances in case of emergency, but an Ordinance may be controlled or superseded by an Act of the Legislature. After very careful consideration it was decided that the balance of advantage lay in allowing an appeal against severe sentences. Experience in the Punjab disorders of 1919 proved absence of all provisions for appeal caused most serious trouble and necessitated the detailed examination of records by the High Court Judges later. In debate in the Legislative Assembly on 5th attention was especially drawn to right of appeal in the Supplementary Ordinance and we are convinced that we cannot now withdraw it without laying the Governor-General to a charge of breach of faith. Mere fact that convict can appeal will not protract proceedings before the Special Tribunal and except in capital cases will not involve postponing execution of sentence.

XXXV (d)

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 684-Pol., dated Simla, the 15th September 1921.

Demi-official. Your demi-official No. M. 98, of September 9th regarding provision for appeals in Supplementary Ordinance. Reference is invited to Home Department telegram No. 638 of September 9th. Government of India consider it unnecessary to advise Governor-General to reduce period of limitation for appeal.

XXXVI

Order—No. 597, Public, dated 16th September 1921.

Special Tribunal appointed.

Under section 3 of the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, 1921, His Excellency the Governor in Council appoints the following Judges to constitute a Special Tribunal for the purposes of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, in the Martial Law area in Malabar district, namely:—

Mr. J. W. Hughes, I.C.S., President.
" A. Edgington, I.C.S., Member.
" R. Narayana Ayyar, I.C.S., Member.

2. These officers will be considered to be on special duty during the period of their service in the special tribunal and will draw in addition to their ordinary pay and allowances a deputation duty allowance of Rs. 10 per diem.

3. The President of the Tribunal is requested to submit as soon as practicable proposals regarding accommodation and staff.

N. E. Marjoribanks,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To J. W. Hughes, Esq., I.C.S.
" District and Sessions Judge.
" A. Edgington, Esq., I.C.S.
" R. Narayana Ayyar, Esq., I.C.S.
" the Chief Justice (with C.L.).
Gazette, paragraph 1 only.
To the Accountant-General through Finance.
Copy to Finance with copy of notes.
Editors' Table (paragraph 1 only).

XXXVII

Telegram (extract)—from the District Magistrate, Calicut, No. 249, dated the 5th September 1921.

XXXVII—XL. Waging War—Sanctions for prosecutions.

. . . . Public Prosecutor strongly advises including charge under section 121, Indian Penal Code, against prisoners from Tirurangadi mosque. Please sanction under section 196, Criminal Procedure Code.

XXXVIII

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Calicut, No. M. 92, dated the 6th September 1921.

Your telegram 249, dated September 5th. Send list of cases including gist of charge in which sanction of Government under section 196, Criminal Procedure Code, appears necessary.

XXXIX

Memorandum No. M. 94, Public (Confdl.), dated 8th September 1921.

Copies of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, and the Supplementary Ordinance are forwarded herewith to the Advocate-General, who is requested to be so good as to advise the Government whether in the case of offences tried by the courts constituted under these ordinances the sanction of Government will be required before proceedings can be instituted in such cases (e.g., section 121 of the Indian Penal Code) as would require the sanction of Government under the provisions of section 196, Criminal Procedure Code, if tried by the ordinary courts.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the Advocate-General (through the Government Solicitor).

XL

Opinion of the Advocate-General, No. 65 (Confdl.), dated 16th September 1921.

Uuder section 72 of the Government of India Act the Governor-General may, in cases of emergency, make and promulgate ordinances for the peace and good government of British India or any part thereof. But the power of making ordinances under the said section is subject to the like restrictions as the power of the Indian Legislature to make laws. My construction of this section is that an ordinance passed by the Governor-General is a law passed under special circumstances and unless there is something repugnant in the subject or context of the Act itself or unless there is some other over-mastering consideration, the ordinance must be treated for the period referred to by section 72 as a law, passed no doubt by a single individual, but on account of the emergency which has arisen and because it is impossible or inexpedient to summon together the two Chambers of the Indian Legislature. The word "Court of Justice" is defined in the Indian Penal Code as "a Judge who is empowered by law to act judicially alone, or a body of Judges which is empowered by law to act judicially as a body when such Judge or body of Judges is acting judicially."

The Criminal Procedure Code in regulating the exercise of criminal jurisdiction in section 6 and in defining the constitution of criminal courts lays down that besides the High Court and *the courts constituted under any law other than this Code* for the time being in force there shall be five classes of criminal courts in British India. According to my view, section 6 therefore contemplates and recognizes the existence of courts constituted under laws like ordinances. According to my construction of the effect and bearing of an ordinance passed by the Governor-General, such an ordinance would be "*a law other than the Criminal Procedure Code.*" No doubt, it might be argued that the Martial Law Ordinance II of 1921 and the Supplementary Ordinance (sent up to me in type) may be construed as self-contained codes; but reading the two ordinances together, I incline to the opinion that they do not seek to supersede the existing law but are intended, as far as possible, to be operative side by side with the existing law and to override the existing statutory law only if there be and to the extent of any inconsistency.

I am therefore of opinion that in the cases of offences tried by the courts constituted under the Martial Law Ordinance, the sanction of Government will be required before proceedings can be instituted in such cases (e.g., section 121 of the Indian Penal Code) as would require the sanction of Government under the provisions of section 196 of the Criminal Procedure Code if tried by the ordinary courts.* I may mention that under the Criminal Procedure Code it is not necessary to give sanction in each case but the Governor-General in Council may delegate the power

* In any event if the offence is one *under the Penal Code*, the procedure must be as far as possible *under the Criminal Procedure Code.*

of granting sanction to some officer empowered in this behalf. It goes without saying that such sanction cannot be general but must be given in respect of each particular case.

C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR,
Advocate-General.

MADRAS, 16*th September* 1921.

XLI

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 627-Pol., dated the 9th September 1921.

Malabar disturbance. We would with reference to Martial Law Instructions chapter III paragraphs numbers 2 and 4 ask Local Government take all possible steps for insuring that the civil authorities maintain close touch with Martial Law administration and exercise the responsibility of advising military any cases of improper orders. Wrong exercise power should be promptly reported to Government of India. We fully recognize Miltitary authorities are primarily responsible for administration Martial Law but in view of Punjab experience we wish emphasize the responsibilities of the Civil Government also. We understand that you now have all the additional troops you require both in Madras itself and in Malabar but should be glad to know exactly what has been done. His Excellency the Governor in Council will no doubt take up the question of terminating Martial Law as soon as possible. It may be necessary to make special provision for trial of persons accused of offences in disorders after termination Martial Law. We should be glad to have Local Government's view as to probable date of termination. XLI—XLII Martial Law Instructions.

XLII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 100, dated the 10th September 1921.

Your telegram No. 627-Pol. of September 9th. Martial Law administration. Necessary action being taken. Further reply will be sent after His Excellency's return from Malabar next week.

XLIII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 689-Pol., dated Simla, the 16th September 1921.

Notification issued under section (7) (*b*), Martial Law Ordinance, as read with section (4), Supplementary Ordinance, fixing dates (*a*) 19th and (*b*) 24th August for purpose trials by Special Tribunals in respect areas (*a*) specified in schedule to principal ordinance and (*b*) those specified in Home Department Notification 495, August 27th, respectively. Dates under the ordinances.

XLIV

From E. F. THOMAS, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 19th September 1921.

I have the honour to forward herewith five copies of the Martial Law proclamations corrected up to date. Regulations.

ENCLOSURE

PROCLAMATIONS

Proclamation by the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 28th August 1921.

No. 1.

The following Ordinance II of 1921 is proclaimed for general information:—[See No. VI above.]

Proclamations by the Military Commander, Martial Law area.

PROCLAMATION No. 2.

[See No. XXXII.]

PROCLAMATION No. 3.

[See under XXXII above with following alterations.]

No. 2.

Every offence which is directly connected with the present disturbances and which is described in any section of any of the following chapters of the Indian Penal Code, that is to say—

Chapter VI.—Offences against the State.
Chapter VII.—Offences relating to the Army and Navy.
Chapter VIII.—Offences against the public tranquillity.
Chapter XVI.—Offences affecting the human body.

Chapter XVII.—Offences against property,
or in section 3 of the Mapilla Outrages Act, XX of 1859,
or in the Malabar Warknives Act, XXIV of 1854,
or in section 126, Chapter IX of the Indian Railways Act, IX of 1890,
is hereby declared to be an offence against Martial Law and punishable under these regulations in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Penal Code, of the Mapilla Outrages Act, XX of 1859, of the Malabar Warknives Act, XXIV of 1854, or of the Indian Railways Act, IX of 1890, as the case may be.

NOTE.—In Nos. 5 to 14 the words "or Rs. 1,000 fine or both" should be added to the clause relating to maximum punishment.

Proclamation by the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 12th September 1921.

THE FOLLOWING SUPPLEMENTARY ORDINANCE IS PUBLISHED FOR GENERAL INFORMATION.

No. 4.
Supplementary Ordinance. [For text see No. XXVII above].

XLV

Letter—from E. F. THOMAS, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate, Malabar district, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, dated Calicut, the 19th September 1921, No. 410.

XLV—XLVI. First prosecution for waging war sanctioned.

I have the honour to request Government to grant sanction for the prosecution under section 196, Criminal Procedure Code, of the persons named in the enclosed list for offences against the State. I shall probably have to submit a supplementary list as soon as it is possible to collect evidence as to the outrages in Eastern Ernad and Walluvanad, and this cannot be until the armed bands of rebels have been met and dispersed.

ENCLOSURE

List of persons to be treated under sections 121 and 121-A and 122, Indian Penal Code, for whose prosecution sanction is required under section 196, Criminal Procedure Code.—

1. Erikunnan Ali Musaliar of Nellikuth.
2. K. Rayan ... ...
3. C. Kunhi Chekku ... ...
4. K. Ahamad ... ...
5. C. Mammad Kutti ... ...
6. M. Said Alavi ... .
7. P. Unnian Kutti ... ...
8. T. Abdur Rahiman ... ...
9. P. Kunhamad ... ...
10. C. Pokker ... ...
11. A. Said Ali ... ...
12. A. Unnian Kutti ... ...
13. K. Mammad Kutti ... ...
14. K. Soopi Kutti ... ...
15. C. Eni Haji ... ...
16. K. P. Ahamad ... ...
17. N. Ahamad ... ...
18. K. Avaran Kutti ... ...
19. N. Kunhamad ... ...
20. E. Mammad Kutti ... ...
21. K. Kunhali ... ...
22. C. Said Ali ... ...
23. K. Mammad Kutti ... ...
24. P. Mayan Kutti ... ...
25. P. Koya Kutti ... ...
26. K. Said Ali Kutti ... ...
27. K. Alavi ... ...
28 P. Hydru ... ...
29. T. Kunhi Moideen ...
30. E. Moideen Kutti ... ...
31. M. Pokkayi ... ...
32. P. K. Ahamad ... ...
33. U. Ahamad ... ...
34. P. I. Kunhadu ... .
35. K. Ahamad ... ...
36. N. Kunhammu ... ...
37. C. Ali Kutti ... ...
38. K. Kunhalan Kutti ... ...

(Nos. 1–38) Section 121. These accused surrendered at the Mosque at Tirurangadi after fighting had gone on for some time. The band was led by Ali Musaliar (No. 1).

39. Chembrasseri Kunhi Koya Tangal.	Section 121. Now waging war at Melathur. He has still to be captured.
40. Pulath Chek of Tiruvali ...	Section 121. For waging war in Nilambur. Evidence to be collected after capture of Nilambur, which is still in the hands of the rebels. This man is strongly suspected of having led the band that murdered Eaton. Evidence as to this remains to be collected.
41. Mannazhikaran Unnian Haji ...	Section 121. Started the rebellion at Karuvarakundu. Is now in active rebellion.
42. Elaya Nayar of Mannarghat ...	Section 121. Collected and led rebels at Mannarghat. He has been remanded for trial by the Special Tribunal.
43. Katalisseri Muhammad Musaliar. 44. Muthel Purath Narayana Menon.	Sections 121 or 121-A. It is not known yet whether they did more than conspire and abet. These two men must be dealt with under the Mapilla Act if no case will lie. No. 44 has been arrested on my warrant under that Act.
45. Mozhikunnath Brahmadathan Nambudiri.	Section 121. Collected men and led them in the assault at Cherpulcheri.
46. Unnayandakath Puthen Veetil Kunhi Kadir of Tanur.	Sections 121 or 121-A. Waging war at Tirurangadi and conspiring before this (now under sentence of two years). This man led the rebel mob at Tirurangadi which attacked from Parappanangadi and committed the first overt act of waging war.

E. F. Thomas,
District Magistrate.

XLVI

G.O. No. 633, Public, dated 21st September 1921.

Under the provisions of section 196, Criminal Procedure Code, His Excellency the Governor in Council hereby sanctions the prosecution for offences under section 121, Indian Penal Code, before the Special Trubunal constituted under the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, 1921, of the following thirty-eight persons captured at Tirurangadi on the 31st August 1921, namely :—1–38 in No. **XLV** above.

2. His Excellency the Governor in Council also sanctions the prosecution before the Special Tribunal of the following persons for offences under section 121, Indian Penal Code, namely :—Nos. 39—45 in No. **XLV** above, except 43 and 44.

3. His Excellency the Governor in Council also sanctions the prosecution before the Special Tribunal of Unnayandakath Puthen Veetil Kunhi Kadir of Tanur for offences under section 121, Indian Penal Code, or 121-A, Indian Penal Code.

4. The District Magistrate, Malabar, is requested to arrange for the institution of proceedings before the Special Tribunal against the persons mentioned above with the least possible delay. The Public Prosecutor should conduct the prosecution.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

N. E. Marjoribanks,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the District Magistrate, Malabar.
,, the Pnblic Prosecutor, Malabar.
,, F. B. Evans, Esq., Special Civil Officer.

Copy to the General Officer Commanding with copies of Government Order appointing the Special Tribunal and issued yesterday about time and place of sitting.

XLVII

XLVII—XLIX. Special Tribunal. Commencement of sittings.

Telegram—from the President, Martial Law Tribunal, Calicut, dated the 20th September 1921.

Request sanction to start Special Tribunal sittings at Calicut on Friday 23rd.

XLVIII

G.O. No. 626, Public, dated 20th September 1921.

The following notification will be published in the Fort St. George and Malabar District Gazettes :—

NOTIFICATION.

Under clause 8 (i) of the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, 1921, His Excellency the Governor in Council hereby notifies that the Special Tribunal constituted in G.O. No. 597, Public, dated 16th September 1921, will commence its sittings from 23rd September 1921, at Calicut.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

N. E. MARJORIBANKS,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To J. W. Hughes, Esq., I.C.S., President, Martial Law Tribunal, Calicut.
,, A. Edgington, Esq., I.C.S., Member, Martial Law Tribunal.
,, R. Narayana Ayyar, Esq., I.C.S., Member, Martial Law Tribunal.
,, the District Magistrate, Malabar.
,, the Hon'ble the Chief Justice.
,, the Superintendent, Government Press, for publication in Gazette.

XLIX

Telegram—from the President, Special Tribunal, Calicut, dated the 23rd September 1921.

Special Tribunal commenced sittings to-day forenoon.

L

Official Memorandum No. M-116, Public, dated 20th September 1921.

L—LIV. Special Tribunal. Rules and notifications. **See also LXIV.**

The President of the Special Tribunal constituted under the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, 1921, is requested to submit immediately a draft of such rules as he considers necessary under section 8 of the Ordinance.

N. E. MARJORIBANKS,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the President, Special Tribunal.

LI

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. M-115, dated the 20th September 1921.

Please submit immediately proposals under section 5 (1), Martial Law Supplemental Ordinance.

LII

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 21st September 1921, No. 438.

Your M. 115. Propose that tribunal be empowered try offences described in Humphreys' regulations 2 and 7, it being understood that tribunal will only try cases which would nominally be triable by Sessions Court. In regulation 2 exclude offences under Act XXIV of 1854. Hughes agrees this proposal. Tribunal will start work Friday 23rd. Request therefore issue special notification as above ; also one showing place of sitting Calicut ; also require sanction under 196, Criminal Procedure Code, very early.

LIII

G.O. No. 632, Public, dated 21st September 1921.

Under section 5 (1) of the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, 1921, His Excellency the Governor in Council hereby directs that the Special Tribunal constituted by G.O. No. 597, Public, dated 16th September 1921, shall, consistently with the terms of the said ordinance read with the Principal Ordinance, try the offences specified below, namely :—

(1) Offences described in any section of any of the following chapters of the Indian Penal Code, that is to say :—

Chapter VI.—Offences against the State
Chapter VII.—Offences relating to the Army and Navy
Chapter VIII.—Offences against the public tranquillity

Chapter XVI.—Offences affecting the human body
Chapter XVII.—Offences against property or
in sections 3 of the Mapilla Outrages Act XX of 1859 or
in section 126, Chapter IX of the Indian Railways Act.

(2) Breaches of the following Martial Law Regulation (No. 7)—

No person shall

(*a*) in any way interfere with the working of the railway or canals, or

(*b*) damage or tamper with any material or property connected with railways or canals, or,

(*c*) damage or interfere with telegraph or telephone lines or apparatus or any wireless telegraph installation, or

(*d*) tap, with intention of reading messages, any telegraph or telephone lines.

Maximum punishment:—

Five years' imprisonment or Rs. 1,000 fine, or both.

2. The above direction is subject to the general proviso that the Special Tribunal shall try such cases only as would ordinarily be committed to a Court of Sessions.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

N. E. MARJORIBANKS,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the President, Special Tribunal.
Copy to the Members, Special Tribunal.
,, the District Magistrate, Calicut.
,, F. B. Evans, Esq., I.C.S.
,, the General Officer Commanding Wellington. Military Commander, Tirur.
,, the Hon'ble the Chief Justice (with C.L.).

LIV

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Calicut, No. M. 121, dated the 21st September 1921.

Your No. 438, dated 21st September. Special Tribunal. Notifications under section 8 (1) fixing time and place as 23rd at Calicut issued yesterday. Sanction to prosecute persons mentioned in your letter of September 19th issuing to-day except in cases 43 and 44 where grounds insufficient. Order following your proposals under section 5 (1) also issuing to-day.

LV

Letter—from J. W. HUGHES, Esq., I.C.S., President, Special Tribunal, Calicut, dated Calicut, the 20th September 1921.

LV—LVII. Special Tribunal Establishment.

With reference to G.O. * No. 597, Public, dated 16th September 1921, I have the honour to state that I have consulted the District Magistrate. He is strongly of opinion that Calicut is the most suitable place for the sittings of the Special Tribunal. I agree with him and recommend therefore that the Special Tribunal be authorized to sit at Calicut and to commence sittings on Friday, September 23rd. I have made the necessary arrangements for the work to be started on that day.

2. The District Magistrate has been good enough to place at our disposal a suitable court hall in his office and is also arranging for the accommodation of the small staff which will be necessary.

3. With regard to the staff, I have consulted the District Judge and I beg to propose the following establishment for the Special Tribunal:—

				RS.	A.	P.
One head clerk on				125	0	0
Translator				93	12	0
Bench clerk				52	0	0
Assistant clerk				35	0	0
Typist				35	0	0
Seventeen peons—5 second grade	RS. 14	A. 4	P. 0 each.	233	4	0
12 third grade	13	8	0 ,,			

*No. XXXVI.

4. It appears to me to be necessary to have a head clerk to be responsible for the working of the office, for the charge of stationery and properties and for the important business of paying batta to witnesses. A translator of course is essential and also a bench clerk. The other two clerks proposed by me will, I think, be found necessary after the court has got into the full swing of work.

5. The rates of pay are those suggested by the District Judge and framed to accord with the scale in a District Court.

6. With regard to peons I suggest three for each member of the Tribunal and eight peons to attend the court and assist the establishment and to pull punka. The District Judge informs me that he is arranging these 17 peons to be detached, taking the men from courts "in the rebel area where their services are not at present required."

7. The total monthly cost of the establishment proposed would be Rs. 574–0–0. Of this amount Rs. 233–4–0 is the cost of the peons and this will not involve extra expense to Government as the peons are lent, as stated above, from courts which are not working. It may be with regard to clerks also that the additional expense will be small if the District Judge can utilize the services of clerks who come from courts which are not working. I am asking him to report exactly how much additional expenditure will be incurred.

8. I beg to recommend at the same time that this court may be provided with permanent advance of Rs. 300 for contingencies and for payment of batta to witnesses.

LVI

G.O. No. 639, Public, dated 26th September 1921.

The Government sanction the following establishment for the Special Tribunal constituted in G.O. No. 597, Public, dated 16th September 1921 :—

	RS.	A.	P.	
One head clerk on	125	0	0	a month.
One translator on	93	12	0	"
One bench clerk on	52	0	0	"
One assistant clerk on	35	0	0	"
One typist on	35	0	0	"
Five second-grade peons on	14	4	0	"
Twelve third-grade peons on	13	8	0	"

The staff will be ineligible for the temporary increases in pay sanctioned in G.O. No. 700, Financial, dated 2nd August 1920, and G.O. No. 780, Financial, dated 28th August 1920.

2. The President of the Special Tribunal is requested to engage for these appointments as far as possible men who are already in Government service in courts in other parts of the Malabar district where, owing to the rebellion, those courts are not working.

3. The Government also sanction a permanent advance of Rs. 300 to the Special Tribunal to pay for contingencies and batta to witnesses.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

N. E. MARJORIBANKS,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the President, Special Tribunal, with C.L.

Copy to the Chief Justice.
" District Judge, South Malabar.
" District Magistrate, Calicut.
" Finance Department.

LVII

Letter—from J. W. HUGHES, Esq., I.C.S., President, Special Tribunal, Calicut, No. 14, dated the 27th September 1921.

In continuation of my letter, dated 20th September 1921, I have the honour to state that the District Judge of South Malabar, is replacing clerks deputed to this office by clerks from the staff of the burnt-out district munsifs' courts and thus effects a monthly saving in this court of Rs. 209-6-5; and if this be deducted from the cost of our clerical staff, viz., Rs. 340-12-0, the additional expenditure that has to be incurred on account of the establishment of this Court is Rs. 131-5-7 per mensem.

LVIII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. 2302/25-A 3, dated 23rd September 1921.

Following from Adjutant-General. Chief (?) disallows so much of regulation number 16, that is paragraph 2, clauses 1 and 2, as relates to whipping and directs Military Commander to substitute provisions in accordance with section 17 of the Ordinance. Regulation 11, clause A, must be read subject to section 5 of the Ordinance. Presume this is understood by all concerned. Ends. Ensure that your regulations are applied in accordance with these limitations. Addressed Commanding, Malabar Column. Repeated Madras, Madras. LVIII—LVIII (c). Whipping.

LVIII (a)

Demi-official—to $\frac{\text{F. B. EVANS, Esq., I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, Malappuram}}{\text{E. F. THOMAS, Esq., I.C.S., Collector of Malabar}}$, No. M. 133, dated 24th September 1921.

Please see Martial Law Regulation No. 16 issued over Humphrey's signature, dated 29th August 1921. The provisions about whipping are in conflict with those in section 17 of the Martial Law Ordinance and we are informed that the Commander-in-Chief has noticed this and ordered correction.

2. These Regulations were not, like the * first draft, sent to Government for scrutiny or approval but it was understood that they had been compiled in committee with you and consequently they were not closely examined here. I am to ask how it was that this Regulation came to be passed in the face of section 17 of the Ordinance. Please also let me know with details if any case has occurred of whipping having been inflicted under this Regulation when it was not permissible under the terms of the Ordinance.

* No. XXII.

LVIII (b)

Demi-official—from F. B. EVANS, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Collector of Malabar, dated Tirur, the 25th September 1921.

Your demi-official No. M. 133, dated 24th September 1921.

Martial Law Regulation No. 16.

I do not know what 'first draft' you refer to. The draft originally published by Thomas was modelled on the draft in the 'little book'. The inconsistency of 16 with section 17 of the Ordinance must be regarded as an error, made in haste, for which I must share responsibility with Thomas. Necessary corrections were ordered two days ago. The inconsistency is very slight, and has been of no importance. Only one sentence of whipping has been passed up to date, so far as the returns show, and I do not expect that it was against the Ordinance. I will send details if it was.

LVIII (c)

Demi-official—from E. F. THOMAS, Esq., I.C.S., Collector of Malabar, No. 478, dated the 26th September 1921.

Your demi-official No. M. 133, dated 24th September.

I am afraid it was pure oversight that accounts for the existence of Regulation 16 which is opposed to the provision of section 17 of the Ordinance. The Regulations were drawn up by Colonel Humphreys, Evans and myself sitting together. They were not sent up to Government. Those that were were drawn up by the General at Wellington when he thought that he was the Military Commander under the Ordinance. I am sorry the mistake was made but Simla need not

worry for the only case of whipping up to date was one tried by Austin. The offence was theft and unlawful assembly and the person whipped was a boy of sixteen. He would have been whipped under the ordinary law. The Regulation has now been amended and I enclose a copy of the amendment.

The error arose through our following too closely the booklet on Military Law, see page 27, part II of draft Regulation 20 and not then realizing the wide difference between the Martial Law contemplated therein and that we have to work.

LIX

Letter—from E. F. Thomas, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate, Calicut, dated the 26th September 1921.

Regulations.

The following amendments to the Martial Law Regulations approved by the Military Commander are published for general information :—

In Regulation 11, *for* the first three lines *substitute* the following :—

" No person shall—

(*a*) disobey or neglect to obey any order duly made and published in accordance with section 5 of the Martial Law Ordinance by a Magistrate or Officer duly empowered under that section, or "

For Regulation 16 (2) *substitute* the following :—

" A Magistrate authorized to exercise the powers of a Summary Court under Martial Law may sentence an offender to imprisonment, simple or rigorous, which may extend to two years or to a fine not exceeding Rs. 1,000, or to both, and to imprisonment not exceeding six months in default of payment of fine, or if the offender has in the commission of the offence used criminal force within the meaning of the Indian Penal Code, and the offence is punishable with whipping under the ordinary law, to whipping."

E. F. Thomas,
District Magistrate for Military Commander.

Calicut, 26th September 1921.

LX

Letter (*extract*)—from the General Officer Commanding, Madras District, to the General Officer Commanding in Chief, Southern Command, Poona, No. S. 250/313/G., dated 27th September 1921.

* * * * * *

LX—LXI. Military Courts asked for.

4. I have felt in duty bound to accept the modified form of Martial Law decreed by the Government and to confine the activities of the troops to the straightforward tactics and action in support of the civil power described above, up to the last possible moment. But I have now had to report that these methods are inadequate ; the present limited application of military force has been exploited to the full and a continuance of action on the same lines can only result in prolonging the disturbance, in the loss of valuable lives, and in filling the gaols with prisoners. The most that can be hoped for under present conditions is to continue the collection of prisoners and to keep the rebellion localised ; but meanwhile the devastation of the area will continue.

* * * * * *

5. I have also asked for the fullest powers for military courts convened by the Military Commander to deal with persons taken in arms against His Majesty's Troops, or convicted of actively aiding the rebels. I would have avoided this if I could, but experience of the past five weeks has already confirmed my previous conviction that rebellion cannot be stamped out by military force unless the Military Commander is entrusted with the fullest powers of punishment.

LXI

Letter (*extract*)—to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 144, dated 1st October 1921.

* * * * * *

7. There remains the proposal of the General Officer Commanding for the establishment of military summary courts martial to deal with rebels taken in arms against the troops and persons guilty of actively assisting the rebels. When it first became apparent that Martial Law prevailed, His Excellency the Governor in Council, judging by the experience of former Mapilla outbreaks, at first expected that the provision of summary courts supplemented by action under section 6 of the Mapilla Outrages Act and the Madras State Prisoners Regulation of 1819 (the usual procedure in these cases in the past) would suffice to meet the needs of the situation. It soon however became apparent that the outbreak was more than an isolated fanatical demonstration. The catalogue of serious crimes of violence grew with unexpected rapidity, and His Excellency the Governor in Council was obliged to ask for the constitution of Special Tribunals for the trial of the more serious cases. But even at that stage, it was hoped that resistance to the military operations once these were organized would be neither obstinate nor long continued. The course of events in the last fortnight has proved that these hopes were too optimistic ; that the opposition has increased and hardened and that systematic military measures with adequate forces are absolutely necessary. It appears to His Excellency the Governor in Council a necessary and inevitable corollary that means should be provided for the speedy trial and punishment of those taken in arms against the troops or found guilty of actively assisting those fighting against His Majesty's forces. The belief of the chief local civil officers is that the rebels have been greatly fortified in their resolution of defiance by the absence of all provision for the speedy trial and punishment of those taken red-handed. They report further that the ordinary Hindu population do not understand the policy that relegates a Mapilla caught fighting sword in hand, or a spy detected leading our troops into an ambush, to Calicut to undergo trial before a Tribunal of judges with the prospect of further proceedings on appeal; and consequently they shrink from rendering any active assistance to the authorities or the troops. His Excellency the Governor in Council is not unmindful of the probability of political criticism or of considerations that may be adduced from the experiences of the Punjab in 1919 but he feels it difficult to believe that any reasonable person can draw any parallel between the happenings of 1919 in the Punjab and the organized rebellion now continuing unabated in Malabar six weeks after the first outbreak of violence. His Excellency the Governor in Council can confidently claim that all steps to deal with the rebels in Malabar have been taken with the most careful consideration, and conducted with the greatest moderation. The proposed summary courts-martial are no extraordinary and novel institution, but the ordinary and appropriate accompaniment of regular warfare which is what the operations in Malabar have unfortunately become. His Excellency the Governor in Council therefore strongly recommends that the request of the General Officer Commanding in this matter be complied with and the necessary powers be granted by an appropriate supplementary ordinance reproducing the provisions of Draft Regulation 24 appearing on page 30 of the Martial Law Instructions issued by the Government of India.

*   *   *   *   *   *

ENCLOSURE

Minute by the Hon'ble Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar, Member of Council.

I regret I am unable to support the proposal of summary courts-martial. I fully realize the gravity of the situation, but I do not think the necessities of the situation demand a summary trial and punishment of military tribunals. So long as communications are open and so long as it is possible to send prisoners to take their trial before the special tribunals, I am not convinced of the need of a trial and punishment immediately after an encounter and at the place of encounter. It is true that summary execution may have a moral effect, but it is in these cases that ordinary safeguards should not be lightly taken away. In cases where the punishment is imprisonment or transportation, the prisoners have anyhow to be sent away, and it cannot have much effect whether they are so sent after conviction or for trial.

I am sure that the military tribunals will exercise their authority with care: but the circumstances under which they sit immediately after an encounter with a strong feeling against rebels who may have killed some of their comrades, with possibly no legal assistance to the accused, is not precisely the atmosphere for a calm judicial determination. The risk has to be taken when there is absolute necessity for it but the facts disclosed do not, I think, justify the institution of the military tribunals at present.

LXII

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 511, dated the 4th October 1921.

LXII—LXIII. Waging war. See XLVI supra.

Reference G.O. 633 sanctioning prosecution Ali Mussaliar and thirty-seven others 121, Indian Penal Code. Please issue erratum slip by wire reading for 18 K. A varan Kutti 18 Cassan Kutti. Name entered wrongly in records by committing magistrate. Case comes on to-morrow ; cannot be postponed as military witnesses return column.

LXIII

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 4th October 1922.

Sanction cannot be varied by telegram. Cassan Kutti must stand over.

LXIV

Letter—from J. W. HUGHES, Esq., I.C.S., President, Special Tribunal, Calicut, No. 20, dated the 29th September 1921.

LXIV—LXV. Special Tribunal Rules. See L supra.

I have the honour to submit enclosed draft of rules under section 8 of the (Supplementary) Ordinance and to offer the following remarks.

2. With reference to clause 1 of section 8 no rule now appears to be necessary since this court has been authorized to sit at Calicut.

3. With reference to clause 2, the first question that may be considered is what procedure should be adopted in the event of the President or any member being prevented from attending throughout the trial of any accused person. From the wording of the ordinance I imagine no trial could be started by the tribunal unless the President and two members are present. If any one of us were absent the case would have to be adjourned till the return of the absentee or the appointment of a new member. A good deal of time might be wasted in this way. If I am right in this view, the question is what is to be done if, after the commencement of the trial, one of us should be prevented from attending. I have consulted my colleagues and recommend that in that case, if the President is absent, the remaining members of the Tribunal may continue the trial, the senior member presiding; in the event of any difference of opinion between them as to the finding in the case of any of the accused there should be a fresh trial before the whole Tribunal. If however they are agreed as to the finding and differ only as to the sentence to be fixed, in case of conviction, the opinion of the senior shall prevail.

4. I make this recommendation because the ordinance, as framed, seems to contemplate agreement by at least two Judges as necessary for a conviction. If Government is of opinion that it is open to them to frame any other rules on the subject, it might be provided that in such cases of difference of opinion as to finding, the opinion of the senior Judge should prevail or the records should be placed before the President on his return for disposal.

5. If the President and only one member can attend the same procedure may be followed as above *mutatis mutandis*.

6. Another point to which I should invite special attention is the procedure to be followed in the case of a sentence of death being passed. Such sentences passed by a Sessions Court require confirmation but such sentences passed by this Tribunal will not require confirmation and the form of warrant prescribed will not be

applicable. I append a draft form for approval and would suggest that this Tribunal might in the warrant fix a date for the execution six weeks after the date of sentence is pronounced and the responsibility will rest upon the Superintendent of the Jail to ascertain if the condemned person files an appeal, in which case it will be his duty to suspend the execution of the sentence until the order of the appellate court is received. Thereafter he will follow the same procedure as he does at present in respect of appeals to Government.

7. I suggest six weeks, because time will be required for printing the judgments for appeal.

8. With respect to persons tried on any capital charge, I propose that this court be authorized to engage pleaders for the defence if the District Magistrate certifies, through the Public Prosecutor or otherwise, that the accused has not sufficient means.

9. I propose that all judgments should be printed both in appealable and non-appealable cases and a copy supplied—

(1) to each accused on application,
(2) to the District Magistrate,
(3) to the Inspector-General of Police,
(4) to the Superintendent of Police, South Malabar,
(5) to the Public Prosecutor,

and 12 extra copies be kept on record.

Draft of warrant in cases of death sentence.

To

The Superintendent of the Jail at

Whereas on the day of 19 the prisoner in case No. of the calendar of the Special Tribunal, was duly convicted of the offence of under section and sentenced to suffer death.

This is to authorize and require you the said Superintendent to carry the said sentence into execution by causing the said to be hanged by the neck until he be dead on and to return the warrant to the court with an endorsement certifying that the sentence has been executed.

The prisoner has been informed that he may appeal within seven days from this date and you are required to ascertain if an appeal is filed within that period and if so to suspend the execution of the sentence until the order of the appellate court is received.

Given under the hand and seal of the court, this day of 19 .

(Seal)

Signatures.

LXV

Order—No. 685, Public, dated 12th October 1922.

The Government approve the proposals made in the letter from the President of the Special Tribunal read above.

The following notification will be published in the Fort St. George and Malabar District Gazettes :—

NOTIFICATION.

Under section 8 of the Martial Law Supplementary Ordinance, 1921, His Excellency the Governor in Council has made the following rules and they are notified for general information :—

Rules.

I. In the event of the President or any member being prevented from attending throughout the trial of any accused person the remaining Judges of the Tribunal may continue the trial, the senior Judge presiding; if they agree they shall deliver judgment accordingly; in the event of any difference of opinion between them as to the finding in the case of any of the accused there shall be a fresh trial of such accused before the whole Tribunal as soon as the President or member, as the case may be, returns. If however they are agreed as to the finding and differ only as to the sentence to be fixed, in case of conviction, the opinion of the senior shall prevail.

II. If both the President and one member, or if both members are prevented from attending, the trial must be adjourned until either the President or the member returns or both.

III. In cases where a sentence of death is passed the warrant shall direct that the execution be carried out on a date six weeks after the date of sentence being pronounced and shall contain a clause noting that the accused has been informed that he can appeal within seven days and directing the Superintendent of the Jail to ascertain if an appeal is filed within that period and if so to suspend the execution until the order of the appellate court is received.

IV. The warrants in cases of sentence of death shall be signed by the three Judges of the Tribunal if they concur in the sentence, otherwise by two concurring Judges; a copy of the judgment will be typed and sent along with the warrant to the Jail Superintendent.

V. All warrants in cases of transportation or imprisonment may be signed by the President alone or, in his absence, by the senior member.

VI. The memorandum of evidence shall be recorded by the President or a member of the Tribunal, to be arranged by the President.

VII. The President will have the control of the office establishment and make appointments thereto and grant leave and have the usual powers of the head of an office in respect of the establishment.

VIII. Copies of judgments in all cases, appealable or non-appealable, shall be printed as is done in sessions cases.

IX. In cases punishable with death, the District Magistrate shall inform the Tribunal through the Public Prosecutor or otherwise, at least three days before the case is posted for trial, whether the accused is possessed of means to engage a vakil; if not the court shall engage a vakil for the defence at the cost of Government.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

N. E. MARJORIBANKS,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the President, Special Tribunal.

Copy to the Chief Justice (with C.L.).
,, District Magistrate, Malabar.
,, Special Civil Officer, Tirur.
,, General Officer Commanding, Madras District.
,, Superintendent, Government Press, for publication in Gazette.

LXVI

Telegram—from the District Magistrate Malabar, No. 518, dated the 5th October 1921.

LXVI—LXXI. Arabic inscription on Khilāfat flag.

Special Tribunal want expert Arabic scholar to give evidence of meaning of Arabic writing on Khilāfat flag exhibited in *Rex* v *Kunhi Kadir*, 121, Penal Code. Please send urgently Arabic scholar who knows English also to translate inscription and give evidence.

LXVII

Telegram—to the Hindustani Translator to Government, No. M. 145, dated the 5th October 1921.

Please send a trustworthy person knowing Arabic and English to Calicut to translate inscriptions on flags before the Special Tribunal now sitting there.

LXVIII

Demi-official—to the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. M. 146, dated the 5th October 1921.

Your telegram asking for a person to translate Arabic inscriptions on flags. I am to say that Government consider this should have been seen to earlier and not left to the last moment. The Persian and Hindustani Translator is now being asked to send a man if he can.

LXIX

Telegram—from the Hindustani Translator to Government, dated the 6th October 1921.

Telegram arrived to-day. Have directed assistant proceed Calicut immediately.

LXX

Letter—from the Acting Persian and Hindustani Translator to Government, dated the 6th October 1921.

I have the honour to report that on the receipt of your express telegram No. 145, dated the 5th October at 9 o'clock this morning, I wired to my assistant to proceed to Calicut immediately.

If necessary his translations of the Arabic inscriptions may be sent to me for verification.

LXXI

Letter—from the Acting Persian and Hindustani Translator to Government, dated the 6th October 1921.

In continuation of my letter of to-day's date I have the honour to report the receipt of the following telegram from my assistant at 4-45 o'clock this afternoon from which it may be kindly observed that no time has been lost:—

Begins—"Starting with Agha (my Persian assistant) to-night for Calicut as directed."

LXXII

Telegram (*extract*)—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 850 Pol., dated the 11th October 1921.

LXXII—LXXIV. Military Courts Ordinance.

Your letter M-144, dated October 1st. It has been decided to issue an Ordinance authorizing the establishment, when considered necessary by the Military Commander or any officer not being below the rank of a field officer empowered in writing in this behalf by the Military Commander by general or special order, of military courts for the trial of persons guilty of offence under sections 121, 122, Indian Penal Code, or of aiding and abetting such offence or offences under section 302, Indian Penal Code, if committed in connexion with events necessitating the enforcement or continuance of Martial Law, of spying or harbouring rebels and of any other offences notified in this behalf by Local Government with the sanction of the Governor-General in Council. Terms of Ordinance will be telegraphed as soon as practicable.

LXXIII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 883, dated the 15th October 1921.

Abstract.—Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921.

LXXIV

G.O. No. 711, Public, dated 17th October 1921.

The Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921, as received by telegraph, is printed as an annexure to this order.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

N. E. MARJORIBANKS,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the District Magistrate, Malabar.
,, other District Magistrates.
,, the Special Civil Officer, Malabar.
,, the Inspector-General of Police.

Copy to the General Officer Commanding, Madras District (with C.L.).
,, Publicity Officer.

Editors' Table.

[Annexure.

ANNEXURE.

ORDINANCE No. IV.

An Ordinance to provide for the constitution of Military Courts for the trial of certain offences committed in any area in which Martial Law is in force.

Whereas an emergency has arisen which makes it necessary to provide for the constitution of Military Courts for the trial of certain offences committed in any area in which Martial Law is in force :

Now, therefore, the Governor-General, in exercise of the powers conferred by section 72 *of the Government of India Act, is pleased to make and promulgate the following Ordinance :—*

Short title and extent. 1. (*1*) This Ordinance may be called the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921.

(*2*) It shall have the same extent as the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, and shall apply also in any area in which the said Ordinance applies by virtue of a notification under section 2 thereof.

Definitions. 2. In this Ordinance—

(*a*) the expression " enemy " means any mutineers, rebels or rioters against whom operations are being carried out by His Majesty's forces or the police for the purpose of restoring or maintaining order in any area in which Martial Law is in force by or under the provisions of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921 ;

(*b*) all words and expressions used in this Ordinance and defined in the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, shall be deemed to have the meanings respectively attributed to them by that Ordinance.

Offences. 3. (*1*) No person shall—

(*a*) communicate to the enemy, or

(*b*) with the intention of communicating it to the enemy, collect, publish or attempt to elicit, any information with respect to the movements, numbers, description, condition or disposition of any of His Majesty's forces or any police force engaged in administering Martial Law or in restoring or maintaining order, or with respect to the plans or conduct or supposed plans or conduct of any military operations by any such forces, or with respect to any works or measures undertaken for, or connected with or intended for, the defence of any place.

(*2*) No person shall commit any act which is calculated to mislead or hamper the movements or imperil the success of any operations of His Majesty's forces or any police force engaged in administrating Martial Law or in restoring or maintaining order.

(*3*) Any person who contravenes the provisions of sub-section (*1*) or sub-section (*2*) shall be deemed to have committed an offence under section 121 of the Indian Penal Code.

(*4*) Any person who voluntarily assists or relieves with money, victuals or ammunition, or knowingly harbours, protects or conceals any enemy, shall be punishable with rigorous imprisonment which may extend to ten years, or with fine, or with both.

Military Courts. 4. (*1*) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Martial Law Ordinances, 1921, or in any other law for the time being in force, the Military Commander may, where in his opinion the exigencies of the situation require the adoption of this course for the purpose of restoring or retaining order, by order in writing, direct that—

(*a*) any offence against section 121 or section 122 of the Indian Penal Code ;

(*b*) any offence against section 302 of the said Code, where, in the opinion of the Military Commander, such offence was connected with the events which have necessitated the enforcement or continuance of Martial Law ;

(*c*) any offence under this Ordinance ;

(*d*) any offence specified in this behalf by the Local Government with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, by notification in the local official gazette ; or

(*e*) any attempt to commit or the abetment of any offence hereinbefore mentioned ;

committed after the commencement of this Ordinance, or committed in any area after the date notified in respect of that area under clause (*b*) of section 7 of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, by any person captured or arrested after the commencement of this Ordinance, shall be tried by a Military Court to be convened by him.

(*2*) Subject to the provisions of this Ordinance and of the Martial Law Ordinances, 1921, a Military Court, for the purposes of such trial, shall be constituted in the same manner, and shall exercise the same powers and follow the same procedure as a Summary General Court Martial convened under the Indian Army Act, 1911, for the trial of a person subject to that Act, who had on active service committed an offence under that Act, and the provisions of that Act and of the rules made thereunder shall apply to and govern all such proceedings :

Provided that any person exercising the powers of a Magistrate of the first class or of a Sessions Judge may be appointed a member of a Military Court under this Ordinance :

Provided, further, that a memorandum of the evidence given at the trial and the statement, if any, made by the accused shall always be recorded.

(*3*) The finding and sentence of a Military Court under this Ordinance shall require to be confirmed by the convening officer :

Provided that every sentence of death shall be reserved for confirmation by the General Officer Commanding the District.

(*4*) The Military Commander may, by general or special order in writing, delegate his powers under this section to any officer not below the rank of Field Officer.

5. Subject to the provisions of this Ordinance, the provisions of sections 15, 16, 18, 22 and 23 of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, shall apply to the proceedings of Military Courts under this Ordinance as they apply to the proceedings of Summary Courts under that Ordinance.

Application of Ordinance II of 1921.

READING,
Viceroy and Governor-General.

15th October 1921

LXXV

Demi-official—from E. F. THOMAS, Esq., I.C.S., Collector of Malabar, dated Calicut, the 16th October 1921.

LXXV—LXXVIII (e) Special Tribunal—Delays—Special Magistrates Ordinance—Dacoities.

When I saw you at Ootacamund we had some talk about the Special Tribunal. I complained that it was necessarily rather slow in disposing of cases, and I remember that I was to write again on the subject after the Tribunal had been working some time. Here are the figures—

The Court has tried cases on 17 days.
The number of prisoners dealt with is 111.
The number under trial is 54.
The number so far remanded for and pending trial is 1,336.

At this rate even if there should be no more committals it will take 204 days before the present committals are worked off. Even if the Tribunal gets into the way of managing quicker disposals, one Tribunal will have to sit for a very long time to dispose of the many more cases which will be charged before it. It is quite certain that I shall have to ask for sanction to charge several more cases under section 121, Indian Penal Code, and I suppose that a man on trial for his life has to be given great latitude. To multiply Tribunals of the existing type will be difficult; courts and housing will be the least difficulty, it being remembered that the High Court has held that these Martial Law courts must function only in the Martial Law area.

I have thought of recommending that three Judges now on the Tribunal should be turned into Sessions Judges and the ordinary process of law restored. But the timidity of the Hindu is being already manifested in the witness box and from my inquiries I have come to fear that juries could not be depended on to take a just view of cases but would be affected by intimidation and subject to corruption. The present Tribunal is a rather cumbrous machine for getting crimes of violence punished with seven to nine years. I doubt whether even military courts, if such should be approved, will ease the difficulty. There will be so many cases of dacoity, arson and so on which will not come within the purview of the military courts that were under contemplation. It seems to me therefore that the practical solution lies in amending the Ordinance so as to permit of single Judges trying cases with full jurisdiction and allowing an appeal in all cases and not merely in those in which the sentence is a capital one or exceeds ten years. This is a solution which Hughes was inclined to accept, but I am doubtful whether he would now propose it of his own accord. You will remember that the idea of locating the Tribunal at Ottapalam or at Malappuram was given up mainly on the grounds that the Judges could not get any kind of accommodation there and that there was not sufficient accommodation for both under-trial prisoners as well as for accused persons just arrested. This difficulty still exists in the case of Ottapalam, while Malappuram is now out of the question as all the available accommodation is taken up by the troops and their officers.

I wish to point out that the quick disposal of cases is a matter of very great urgency, the longer the process of trial goes on the further is the date postponed of restoring normal conditions and getting rid of Martial Law. Moreover the public of Malabar is criticising severely (I must say with some grounds) the delay in handing out punishment to the ruffians who have made so much of this district unsafe for Hindus and loyal Muhammadans. Loyalists here would like Martial Law in as drastic a form as possible for they realize the impossibility of ever settling down again until the Mapilla has had it brought home to him that rebellion does not pay and that the Hindu cannot be murdered, tortured, shot and looted without his having to pay a just retribution.

It will be almost impossible to find accommodation for the members of another Tribunal even in Calicut. I had the greatest difficulty in getting a house for Narayana Ayyar and if any more come I don't know where they are to lodge. If the above suggestion is adopted, Jackson could be given Tribunal powers in addition to his Sessional powers if this were necessary.

LXXV (a)

Letter—from the Special Civil Officer, Malappuram, dated the 22nd October 1921.

[Ordinance No. II of 1921.]

I have the honour to recommend that the powers of summary courts constituted under the above Ordinance may be enhanced.

2. Up to date some 500 cases of dacoity have been registered by the police on complaints made by persons who have been able to give specific information with names of accused, etc. (many more have been committed in empty houses, etc.) ; of these, charge sheets with summaries of evidence, etc., have been prepared in about 100 cases, and they are ready for the Special Tribunal. The Tribunal has been working for nearly a month and has so far disposed of about half-a-dozen cases. I think that it is clear that some steps must be taken to expedite the trial of these dacoity cases, and after discussion with the Military Commander and others I recommend that summary courts in which the Magistrate empowered under section 6 (2) of the Ordinance is a Magistrate of the first class should be empowered to try all offences except offences punishable with a sentence of death and to pass sentences of imprisonment up to a maximum of seven years and of fine up to Rs. 10,000.

3. I submit that these would not be unreasonable powers to give to first-class magistrates in the circumstances; and it might be provided if thought necessary that an appeal shall lie to the Special Tribunal against any sentence of more than two years' imprisonment. The more serious cases of dacoity, which would not be adequately punished by a sentence of seven years, would continue to go before the Tribunal as well as all cases of waging war, murder, etc., not remitted to a court martial.

4. I consider this proposal better than the appointment of additional Tribunals of three Judges, if only because summary courts can be more mobile. And I venture to think that for the rank and file of these dacoity cases in the present circumstances trial before a court of three Judges is an unnecessary luxury.

LXXVI

Letter—from the Special Civil Officer, Malappuram, dated the 22nd October 1921.

I have the honour to recommend that it should be provided, by an amendment of the Ordinance, that offences of dacoity committed by the enemy are acts of war constituting offences under section 121 of the Indian Penal Code. There are about 500 cases of dacoity already registered by the police on specific complaints, and dacoities are still reported daily. The dacoities are for the purpose of obtaining arms, food or money, chiefly from the richer Hindus, and I think it is clear that they in fact constitute an integral part of the rebellion. If a band of rebels goes to a Hindu house and extorts a shot gun, it could presumably be charged on the bare facts with an offence under section 121, Indian Penal Code ; but it is not so clear that it could be so charged if the dacoits only take food or money ; and it seems desirable to make it explicit. The Military Commander is not anxious that courts martial should be convened to try dacoity cases as a rule, but he thinks that a few speedy trials and *death sentences executed by the military* in the more serious cases might have a good effect, and I agree. Under the terms of the new Ordinance a person who blocks a road is liable to be tried for waging war, and this is hardly a more serious offence than a dacoity that results in a gang of rebels getting two or three days' supply of food ; and I venture to think that in the circumstances it would be justifiable to raise the presumption that dacoities committed in the Martial Law area are acts of war. That is the gist of the proposal. It could, I think, be suitably embodied by an addition to section 3 of the Ordinance to the effect that "any person who commits dacoity in the Martial Law area shall be deemed to have committed an offence under section 121 of the Indian Penal Code."

2. I have also the honour to recommend that in section 4 (1) (*b*) of the Ordinance the words "or section 396" be added after the words "section 302". This is a comparatively minor point, since so far as I can see section 302 read with section 149 must cover practically every case covered by section 396, but the latter section is slightly wider in its language.

3. These proposals have the approval of the Military Commander and of the General Officer Commanding, Madras District. They were raised in connexion with the question whether any other offences should be specified under clause (*d*) of section 4 (1) ; and, if they are approved, I do not think that anything else need be added. If they are not approved, I would recommend that offences falling under

sections 394 to 399 of the Indian Penal Code, inclusive, be specified. This, of course, would cover the proposal made in paragraph 2 above; but not that made in paragraph 1, the essence of which is to make dacoity in the Martial Law area punishable with death.

LXXVII

Telegram—to the Government of India, dated the 31st October 1921.

Malabar affairs. Up to date about five hundred cases of dacoity have been registered by Police on complaints made by persons who have been able to give specific information with names. Of these, one hundred cases are now ready for trial by Special Tribunal. This Tribunal has been working for nearly a month and has disposed of about six cases. Necessary therefore to devise some means of expediting disposal of less important of these dacoity cases. Government, Madras, recommend therefore that in summary courts where Magistrate empowered under section 6 (2) of Martial Law Ordinance is Magistrate of first class, he should be empowered to try all offences except offences punishable with death and that he should have power to pass sentence of imprisonment up to seven years and of fine up to ten thousand rupees provided that where sentence exceeds two years' imprisonment an appeal shall lie if filed within seven days to the Special Tribunal. It is intention that first-class Magistrates if so empowered shall try the less important cases of dacoity, the more important cases only going before the Special Tribunal. These proposals were discussed by local officers with Sir William Vincent and it is understood have his approval.

LXXVII (a)

Extract from telegram from the Government of India, dated 4th November 1921, No. 1014, Political.

* * * * * *

2. Amongst offences triable by Summary General Court Martial it has been suggested that section 396 should be included. The Government of India would be glad to receive the views of the Local Government on this proposal, and they might consider at the same time whether any other offences should be made so triable.

* * * * * *

Extract of reply dated 5th November 1921, No. 167-M.

Suggestion (2).—This Government consider it unnecessary to specify offences under section 396 as triable by Summary General Court Martial. In practice all cases falling under section 396 could be tried under section 302 read with section 149. They have at present no suggestion to make for the inclusion of any other offence.

* * * * * *

Extract from same telegram from the Government of India, dated 4th November 1921.

(3) Sir W. Vincent thinks that one of the difficulties in the way of pacification of the disturbed area is the prevalence of dacoity, and he suggests that dacoities committed by Mapillas are really part of the offence of waging war against the King in that the arms and supplies and other articles thus secured are used for the purpose of carrying on and promoting hostilities against Government. He considers therefore that cases of dacoity committed by Mapillas in the Martial Law area should be triable by Summary General Court Martial and that it should be within the power of the court to impose the death sentence for this offence on the ground that it is in fact aiding and abetting waging war. The Government of India would be glad to have the views of the Local Government on this proposal and particularly as to limitations in the way of safeguards which should be imposed on the exercise of these powers. It is obviously not desirable that all dacoity cases committed in the area should be so tried or that every one convicted of dacoity should be sentenced to death.

Extract of reply sent on 5th November 1921, No. 167-M.

* * * * * *

Suggestion (3).—The Local Government are of opinion that the general question whether any particular case of dacoity falls under section 121 is one of fact to be dealt with on the evidence available and not a matter of legislative definition. The Military Deputy Judge Advocate General concurs in this view and this Government therefore deprecates any addition to or amendment of the Ordinance in this respect.

LXXVII (b)

An Ordinance to provide for the trial by Special Magistrates of certain offences committed in any area in which Martial Law is in force.

Whereas an emergency has arisen which makes it necessary to provide for the trial by Special Magistrates of certain offences committed in any area in which Martial Law is in force:

Now therefore the Governor-General in exercise of the powers conferred by section 72 *of the Government of India Act is pleased to make and promulgate the following Ordinance* :—

Short title and extent.

(1) This Ordinance may be called the Martial Law (Special Magistrates) Ordinance, 1921.

(2) It shall have the same extent as the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, and shall apply also in any area in which the said Ordinance applies by virtue of a notification under section 2 thereof.

Interpretation.

2. All words and expressions used in this Ordinance and defined in the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, shall be deemed to have the meaning respectively attributed to them by that Ordinance.

Special Magistrate.

3. Any Magistrate of the first class who has exercised the powers of a Magistrate of the first class for a period of not less than two years and who has been empowered under the provisions of section 6 of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, to exercise the powers of a Summary Court may be invested by the Local Government with the powers of a Special Magistrate under this Ordinance.

Jurisdiction of Special Magistrates.

4. (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Martial Law Ordinances, 1921, or in any other law for the time being in force a Special Magistrate shall have power to try such offences as the Local Government or an officer empowered by the Local Government in this behalf may by general or special order in writing direct: provided that a Special Magistrate shall not try

(*a*) any offence other than an offence connected with the events which have necessitated the enforcement or continuance of Martial Law,

(*b*) any offence other than an offence committed in any area after the date notified in respect of that area under clause (*b*) of section 7 of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, or

(*c*) any offence punishable with death.

(2) If any question arises whether or not an offence is an offence of the nature described in clause (*a*) of sub-section (1), the decision of the Special Magistrate shall be conclusive on the point and such decision shall not be questioned in any Court.

Procedure of Special Magistrates.

5. In the trial of any case under this Ordinance a Special Magistrate shall follow the procedure laid down in section 6 of the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, 1921, for the trail of cases by a Special Tribunal.

Sentences by Special Magistrates.

6. A Special Magistrate may pass any sentence which may be passed by the Court of a Magistrate specially empowered under section 30 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

Powers of transfer.

7. Notwithstanding anything contained in the Martial Law Ordinances, 1921, the Local Government may transfer to a Special Magistrate any case which is pending before a Summary Court or a Special Tribunal constituted under those Ordinances.

Appeals.

8. (1) Where a Special Magistrate passes a sentence of transportation or of imprisonment for a term exceeding two years, an appeal shall lie to a Special Tribunal constituted in the same area under the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, 1921.

(2) An appeal under sub-section (1) shall be presented within seven days from the date of the sentence.

(3) In disposing of an appeal under this section the Special Tribunal shall follow the same procedure and exercise the same powers as an Appellate Court under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

Exclusion of interference by other Courts.

9. Subject to the provisions of section 8 of this Ordinance the provisions of sections 15, 16, 18, 22 and 23 of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, shall apply to the proceedings of the Courts of Special Magistrates under this Ordinance as they apply to the proceedings of Summary Courts under that Ordinance.

Sitting of Summary Court or Special Magistrate outside Martial Law area.

10. Notwithstanding anything contained in any law for the time being in force, the Local Government may by general or special order appoint places outside the area in which Martial Law is in force at which any Summary Court constituted under the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, or Special Magistrate may sit for the trial of offences.

11. Nothing in this Ordinance shall be deemed to be in derogation of or to interfere with the power of a Military Commander to direct that offences shall be tried by a Military Court uuder the provisions of the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921.

LXXVII (c)

G.O. No. 804, Public, dated 14th November 1921.

The Martial Law (Special Magistrates) Ordinance, 1921, as received by telegraph, is printed as an annexure to this Order.

2. With reference to clause 10 of the Ordinance, the Special Commissioner for Malabar is requested to report his recommendations as to the place or places outside the Martial Law area, at which a Summary Court or Special Magistrate may sit for the trial of offences.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

N. E. MARJORIBANKS,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the District Magistrate, Malabar.
,, other District Magistrates.
,, the Special Civil Officer, Malabar.
,, the Inspector-General of Police.
,, the Special Commissioner for Malabar.

Copy to the General Officer Commanding, Madras District (with C.L.).
,, Publicity Officer.

Editors' Table.

LXXVIII

Notice.

Under the authority vested in me by section 4 of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, I, E. T. Humphreys, Colonel, hereby make the following amendments to the regulations made by me and published in Proclamation No. 3, dated 29th August Regulations.

1921, and subsequently amended by notices published on 26th September and 25th October 1921 :—

Regulation No. 2.—After the word 'described' *insert* the words 'in section 3 of the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921, or'.

After the word 'provisions' *insert* the words 'of the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921'.

Regulation No. 5.—*Omit.*

Regulation No. 14.—*Omit* '(*a*)' and the words 'or (*b*) which is calculated to mislead or hamper the movements of, or imperil the success of His Majesty's forces.'

Regulation No. 16 (i).—For the words following after the word 'trial' *substitute* the words 'by an officer empowered to exercise the powers of a summary court, or by a Special Tribunal, or by a Military Court if the offence is one that is triable by such court'.

Regulation No. 18 (1).—*Delete* and *read* 'whenever a person is summoned to appear or is arrested under Martial Law, the charge against him shall be investigated in his presence by an officer empowered to exercise the powers of a summary court, or if the charge against him is for an offence triable by a Military Court either by such an officer or by a Military or Police officer present, and the investigating officer shall dismiss the charge if he considers that no offence has been committed, or that the charge should not be proceeded with'.

Regulation No. 18 (2).—After sub-clause (*d*) *add* 'or (*e*) remand the accused for the orders of an officer empowered to convene a Military Court under section 4 of the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921, if the offence is one triable by such court'.

MALAPPURAM,
31*st October* 1921.

E. T. HUMPHREYS, Col.,
Military Commander.

LXXIX

Letter—from F. B. EVANS, Esq., I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, Malabar, dated Malappuram, the 7th November 1921.

[Court Martial—Witness batta—Vakils.]

LXXIX—LXXX Military Courts—Witness batta.

The question has arisen how witnesses before courts convened under Martial Law Ordinance No. 4 are to be paid batta, and how vakils' fees are to be paid, if the court decides to appoint them in cases where persons are being tried for their life and cannot afford to pay themselves.

2. The military rules do not seem to cover the points, and in reply to a reference on the question Col. Humphreys was advised to consult me. It has been ordered by the General Officer Commanding that a first-class magistrate shall invariably be appointed to sit on every court martial, and in the circumstances I recommend that the Magistrate so appointed should be authorized to pay witnesses from civil funds in accordance with the rules and procedure prescribed for criminal courts, and should also be given the powers of a Sessions Judge in regard to the payment of fees to pleaders appointed by the court to defend impecunious prisoners.

3. I should be obliged for orders by wire if possible.

LXXX

G.O. No. 866, Judicial, dated 15th November 1921.

First-class magistrates sitting on military courts-martial may sanction the grant of batta to witnesses at the rates specified in part II of the notification issued with G.O. No. 930, Home (Judicial), dated the 8th April 1920.

2. Such magistrates are further empowered to sanction the engagement of pleaders to defend persons accused before courts-martial of capital offences and the payment of fees to them at the rates specified in rule 4 of part II of the rules issued with G.O. No. 450, Law, dated the 1st March 1921.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

N. E. MARJORIBANKS,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the Special Civil Officer.
,, District Magistrate, Malabar.
,, Accountant-General.

LXXXI

Letter—from R. H. HITCHCOCK, Esq., Superintendent of Police, South Malabar, to the additional District Magistrate, Malabar, dated the 7th November 1921.

On 18th October 1921 the Circle Inspector of Police, Walluvanad, put up the following accused persons for offences under sections 147 and 441, Indian Penal Code, before the Special Magistrate of Ottappalam :— LXXXI—LXXXII Second prosecution for waging war.

Special Magistrate Summary Case No. 50/1921.	(1) Edachola Kutta Panikker. (2) Chenampara Appu Panikker. (3) Valia Vittil Appu Panikker. (4) Perumanath Attu alias Ashtamoorthi Nambudri.
Special Magistrate Summary Case No. 51/1921.	(5) Verkoth Damodara Panikker.
Special Magistrate Summary Case No. 49/1921.	(6) Appulli Kesavan Nayar. (7) Vazhappalli Appu Kunhan alias Kelu Nayar.

Nos. (1) to (4) for demolishing the Churiot bridge on the Palghat-Mannarghat road in Walluvanad taluk on 22nd August 1921, No. (5) for blocking the public road to the west of the Churiot bridge by felling teak trees on the roadside on 22nd August 1921 and Nos. (6) and (7) for demolishing the Nellipuzha bridge near Mannarghat on 22nd August 1921. The Special Magistrate sent up the cases for trial by the Special Tribunal and they are now pending before that court.

Nos. (1) to (4) took prominent part in a largely attended meeting held on 23rd August 1921 afternoon when a resolution that Swaraj had been attained was passed and steps for the future conduct of Swaraj were resolved on. These acts of the accused amount to an offence under section 121, Indian Penal Code. There is evidence against all the seven accused. The action of the accused in destroying such important bridges as those above named is waging war and their intent to wage war is also otherwise clear.

The Military Commander to whom the records of the case were sent up by the Special Magistrate, Ottappalam, has ordered that the cases against all the seven accused might be tried by the Special Tribunal and that charges under section 121, Indian Penal Code, should be added.

As prosecution for the offence under section 121, Indian Penal Code, requires the sanction of the Local Government, I request you will be so good as to address the Government and obtain the necessary sanction under section 196, Criminal Procedure Code.

Endorsement, dated 7th November 1921.

Forwarded to the Secretary to Government, Judicial Department, with the request that sanction may be given under section 196, Criminal Procedure Code.

Section 3 (2) and (3) of Ordinance No. 4 makes the offences fall under section 121, Indian Penal Code.

The prisoners are men of influence, and deserve to be dealt with in the same way as the Mannarghat Elaya Nair. The cases will be well contested, but there is good prima facie evidence.

F. B. EVANS,
Special Civil Officer and Additional District Magistrate.

LXXXII

G.O. No. 867, Judicial, dated 15th November 1921.

Under the provisions of section 196, Criminal Procedure Code, His Excellency the Governor in Council hereby sanctions the prosecution for offences under section 121, Indian Penal Code, before the Special Tribunal constituted under the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, 1921, of the following seven persons:—

For demolishing the Churiot bridge on the Palghat-Mannarghat road on 22nd August 1921.	1. Edachola Kutta Panikker. 2. Chenampara Appu Panikker. 3. Valia Vittil Appu Panikker. 4. Perumanath Attu *alias* Ashtamoorthi Nambudiri.
For blocking the public road to the west of the Churiot bridge by felling teak trees on the road side on 22nd August 1921.	5. Verkoth Damodara Panikker.
For demolishing the Nellipuzha bridge near Mannarghat on 22nd August 1921.	6. Appulli Kesavan Nayar. 7. Vazhapalli Appu Kunhan *alias* Kelu Nayar.

2. The District Magistrate, Malabar, is requested to arrange for the institution of proceedings before the Special Tribunal against the persons mentioned above with the least possible delay.

(By order of Governor in Council)

N. E. MARJORIBANKS,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the District Magistrate, Malabar.
„ Special Civil Officer, Malabar.
Copy to the Public Prosecutor, Malabar.
„ General Officer Commanding (with C.L.)

LXXXIII

Letter—from E. F. THOMAS, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate, Malabar, No. Ref. 11728-Dt. 21, dated Calicut, the 9th November 1921.

LXXXIII Crombie, A.D.— Powers.

I have the honour to submit an application for the investiture with first class powers of Mr. A. D. Crombie, Assistant Magistrate.

The application is premature by something less than two months, but the circumstances are exceptional and in my opinion and in that of Mr. Evans, Special Officer, warrant a departure from the existing rules. Mr. Crombie has been Civil Officer with the Mannarghat Column for about two months and in that capacity has been of great use and acquired very considerable knowledge of the Mannarghat area of the rebellion. He will be required for service in Military Courts established under Ordinance No. 4 and the cases that he will have to try will present no particular complexity. He has been officiating as a Special Magistrate under Martial Law with wider jurisdiction than a first-class Magistrate seeing that he passes unappealable sentences and his work in this capacity has been good. He is fit for first-class powers and I hope that Government will make an exception in his case.

LXXXIV

Demi-official—to E. F. THOMAS, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 5744-1, dated the 18th November 1921.

[Crombie—First-class powers—Your letter Ref. 11728-D., dated 9th November 1921.]

I am directed to inform you that the Government consider that it would not do to make inexperienced officers Magistrates of the first class to enable them to sit on Military courts. Crombie was away in Travancore from May to August; so his experience as a Magistrate is very short. The provision of a first-class magistrate sitting in Military courts was made to secure the presence of an officer of experience as well as of status and as a matter of prudence and good administration the Government consider it would be most inadvisable to put inexperienced officers on these courts.

LXXXV

Letter—from E. F. Thomas, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate, Malabar, dated Calicut, the 12th November 1921.

I have the honour to forward herewith five copies of Proclamation No. 3 issued by the Military Commander, Martial Law area, corrected up to date. Regulations (Final edition).

ENCLOSURE

Proclamation No. 3 by the Military Commander, Martial Law area.

Whereas Martial Law has been proclaimed and is in force in the taluks of Calicut, Ernad, Walavanad and Ponnani in the district of Malabar.

Now therefore I, E. T. Humphreys, Colonel, being in command of His Majesty's Forces in the above area, hereby direct that the following regulations shall be observed in the aforesaid taluks and in all other taluks or places in my command to which Martial Law may hereafter be extended.

No. 1.

Notwithstanding anything in these regulations the Criminal Courts as by law established shall continue to exercise jurisdiction over persons accused of—

(*a*) Offences other than offences created by these regulations,

(*b*) Offences not connected with the present disturbances,

(*c*) Offences which, though connected with the present disturbances, have been transferred, under these regulations, for trial by such Courts.

No. 2.

Every offence which is directly connected with the present disturbances and which is described in section 3 of the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921, or in any section of any of the following chapters of the Indian Penal Code, that is to say—

Chapter VI.—Offences against the State.

Chapter VII.—Offences relating to the Army and Navy.

Chapter VII.—Offences against the public tranquility.

Chapter XVI.—Offences affecting the human body.

Chapter XVII.—Offences against property.

or in section 3 of the Mappilla Outrages Act XX of 1859,

or in the Malabar War Knives Act XXIV of 1854,

or in section 126, chapter IX of the Indian Railways Act IX of 1890

is hereby declared to be an offence against Martial Law and punishable under these regulations in accordance with the provisions of the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921, of the Indian Penal Code, of the Mappilla Outrages Act XX of 1859, of the Malabar War Knives Act XXIV of 1854 or of the Indian Railways Act IX of 1890 as the case may be.

No. 3.

The maximum punishment for the contravention of a regulation is that specified at the end of each regulation and an offender guilty of contravening a regulation may be sentenced either to that maximum punishment or to any less punishment authorized by these regulations.

No. 4.

Any person who attempts to contravene or abets the contravention of any of these regulations shall be punishable as if he had contravened that regulation.

No. 5.—Cancelled.

No. 6.

Every person who—

(*a*) sees or comes in contact with persons who are actively engaged in the present disorders, or

(*b*) comes to the knowledge of the whereabouts or of the gathering or movements or intended gathering or intended movements of such persons, or

(*c*) who knows or has reason to believe that any of his relatives or dependents have joined or are about to join such persons,

shall without delay give full information thereof to the nearest military or civil authority.

Maximum punishment—two years' imprisonment or Rs. 1,000 fine or both.

No. 7.

No person shall—

(*a*) in any way interfere with the working of the railway or canals, or

(*b*) damage or tamper with any material or property connected with railways or canals, or

(c) damage or interfere with telegraph or telephone lines or apparatus or any wireless telegraph installation, or

(d) tap, with the intention of reading messages, any telegraph or telephone lines.

Maximum punishment—five years' imprisonment or Rs. 1,000 fine or both.

No. 8.

No person shall, save under a permit issued by an administrator of Martial Law, or under his authority, convene or attend any meeting or procession of more than five persons, except in the case of :—

(a) a meeting *bona fide* held for religious purposes in a recognized place of worship, or

(b) a meeting of persons residing in one house and gathering in such house.

Maximum punishment—one year's imprisonment or Rs. 1,000 fine or both.

No. 9.

Where any orders have been issued under Martial Law regarding the control of travelling and movements, no person shall enter or leave the taluks to which Martial Law has been extended, or move to and fro within them, in contravention of such orders.

Maximum punishment—six months imprisonment or Rs. 1,000 fine or both.

No. 10.

No person shall escape from any prison or other custody in which he is for the time being confined or restrained under Martial Law.

Maximum punishment—one year's imprisonment or Rs. 1,000 fine or both.

No. 11.

No person shall (a) disobey or neglect to obey any order duly made and published in accordance with section 5 of the Martial Law Ordinance by a Magistrate or Officer duly empowered under that section, or

(b) obstruct, impede, or interfere in any manner with any such officer or any other person who is carrying out the orders of any authority administering Martial Law, or who is otherwise acting in the execution of his duty under Martial Law, or

(c) make any false statement, which he knows to be false, in order to obtain a pass issued under Martial Law.

Maximum punishment—two years' imprisonment or Rs. 1,000 fine or both.

No. 12.

No person shall disseminate false intelligence which he knows to be false, or spread reports calculated to create alarm or despondency.

Maximum punishment—two years' imprisonment or Rs. 1,000 fine or both.

No. 13.

No person shall destroy, deface, or in any way tamper with any notice exhibited under Martial Law while such notice is in force.

Maximum punishment—six months' imprisonment or Rs. 1,000 fine or both.

No. 14.

No person shall commit any act, or be guilty of any omission which is to the prejudice of good order or of the public safety.

Maximum punishment—two years' imprisonment or Rs. 1,000 fine or both.

No. 15.

Every administrator of Martial Law is hereby empowered to requisition such vehicles property and labour as may be necessary for the public service and to authorize other civil and military officers to do the same in his area and every person to whom such a requisition is addressed shall promptly comply with the same.

Maximum punishment—six months' imprisonment or Rs. 1,000 fine.

No. 15 (a).

Any person found in possession of property which there is reason to believe to have been taken by rebels or dacoits in the commission of crime in the Martial Law area or to be intended for supply to any rebels in the area shall if he fails to account satisfactorily for such possession be liable to a fine not exceeding Rs. 500 and the property or money concerned shall be confiscated.

No. 16.

1. Any person who contravenes or attempts to contravene or abets the contravention of any of the foregoing regulations or any Martial Law order or who commits or attempts to commit or abets the commission of any such offence against the Indian Penal Code or the other Acts as are referred to in Regulation No. 2 shall be liable to trial, by an officer empowered to exercise the powers of a summary court, or by a Special Tribunal, or by a Military court if the offence is one that is triable by such court.

2. A magistrate authorized to exercise the powers of a summary court under Martial Law may sentence an offender to imprisonment, simple or rigorous, which may extend to two years or to a fine not exceeding Rs. 1,000 or to both, and to imprisonment not exceeding six months in default of payment of fine, or if the offender has in the commission of the offence used criminal force within the meaning of the Indian Penal Code, and the offence is punishable with whipping under the ordinary law, to whipping.

No. 17.

For every offence against these Regulations the offender may be arrested with or without warrant, by any civil, military or police officer.

No. 18.

1. Whenever a person is summoned to appear, or is arrested under Martial Law, the charge against him shall be investigated in his presence by an officer empowered to exercise the powers of a summary court, or if the charge against him is for an offence triable by a Military court either by such an officer or by a Military or Police officer present, and the investigating officer shall dismiss the charge if he considers that no offence has been committed, or that the charge should not be proceeded with.

2. At the conclusion of the hearing, if this officer is of opinion that the charge ought to be proceeded with, he shall, without unnecessary delay—

(a) dispose of the case summarily under Martial Law, or

(b) if the offence is also one under the ordinary law, remand the accused for trial by a criminal court, or

(c) remand the accused, in custody or on bail, for a period not exceeding fifteen days, or

(d) remand the accused, for trial before the Special Tribunal, or

(e) remand the accused for the orders of an officer empowered to convene a Military court under section 4, or of the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921, if the offence is one triable by such court.

When an accused person has been remanded under the provisions of clause (c) of this paragraph he shall on the expiration of the period of remand ordered be forthwith either tried or discharged without trial (if no evidence is forthcoming) or remanded for trial by a Civil or Military court or by a Special Tribunal created under Ordinance No. II of 1921.

3. An officer investigating a charge under paragraph 1 may depute any Civil, Military or police officer to make such preliminary inquiries into the case as he may consider necessary.

4. Evey person accused of an offence before a summary court shall be entitled to be defended by a legal practitioner, provided the court shall not be required to grant an adjournment to secure the attendance of a legal practitioner if in the opinion of the court such adjournment would cause unreasonable delay in the disposal of the case.

CALICUT,
29th August 1921 *&* *31st October* 1921

E. T. HUMPHREYS,
Colonel.

NOTE.—For further details and notes see G.O. No. 841, Public, dated 20th October 1922.

SECTION F (ii)—WITHDRAWAL OF MARTIAL LAW.

I

Demi-official—from F. B. EVANS, Esq., I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, to the Special Commissioner for Malabar affairs, dated Malappuram, the 15th December 1921.

I enclose a copy of a letter which Humphreys has sent to the General on the subject of the withdrawal of Martial Law. It was written after discussion with Hitchcock and me, but I am not to be understood as endorsing everything in it. But I agree with it generally, and I am in favour of withdrawing Martial Law as soon as possible. Though I have persistently emphasised that too much stress should not really be laid on surrenders, I recognise that from the political point of view now that so many surrenders have been announced and now that it has been declared, rightly, that fighting gangs have dwindled very considerably and are fairly well located, it is undesirable to continue "Martial Law." I am aware that Martial Law is not war, but only a state of affairs in which military authority supersedes civil and the military assume the duty of taking such action as may be necessary to restore law and order; but the conditions in Malabar seem to me to have been rather different from the conditions envisaged by the compilers of the "Instructions relating to Martial Law"; we have been confronted partly with enemy gangs organised on a semi-military basis, fight a guerilla with scouts and snipers, etc., in a jungly country, and supported at least passively by the majority of the people left in the area; and when five battalions are employed in some twenty scattered posts or moving camps organised on a regular war basis in such a situation, the difference between such a state of affairs and regular active service is slight.

2. One obvious question is whether Martial Law should not first be withdrawn from certain restricted areas. I am on the whole against this. It will be seen that Humphreys does not recommend withdrawal at all until the A group gangs have become negligible as a fighting force; and it will also be seen that he puts A group gangs in three taluks, Calicut, Ernad and Walavanad. I have said before that Wynad and Kurumbranad are negligible from the military point of view, also Ponnani except that the military base at Tirur is in Ponnani taluk. But the withdrawal of martial law from Wynad and Kurumbranad would be mere camouflage; and I am not in favour of going below the taluk as a unit of area. When the fighting gangs have become negligible as a fighting force, and I think that will be quite soon, I should prefer to withdraw Martial Law altogether. Also it is clear as Humphreys has pointed out that we must have some provision ready for the continuance of the special courts before present ordinances can be withdrawn; and that will inevitably take time.

3. I will now make a few comments on Humphreys' letter—

Paragraphs 1 and 2.—I hardly think that the distinction between fighting gangs and dacoity gangs will practically hold now, and if it is made I should prefer to put (i) and (vii) of group B into group A. Also I think that B (ii) can be washed out and the numbers in B (iii), (iv), (v) and (vi) further reduced. The situation changes rapidly now and the details for Humphreys' letter were considered three days ago.

Paragraph 3.—I agree, and would hazard the guess for present purposes that two or three weeks should see the figting gangs reduced to negligibility. It may be less.

Paragraph 4.—I agree. The suggested places, temporarily, for the auxiliary police are Kunnamangalam area (Calicut taluk), Arikkod, Tirurangadi, Tirur, Kaipakkancheri area, Mannarghat and Perintalmanna (one company) and Pandalur area. That will exhaust the six companies.

I would emphasise the point that the retention of at least one battalion in addition to the Malappuram garrison is essential for the purpose of restoring confidence. Practically everyone I have spoken to would like more, and the restoration of confidence amongst Hindus including officials will be one of the most difficult tasks; but I consider Humphreys' proposal sufficient. How long this battalion may have to remain can hardly be said at present.

5. I agree that the duty of the troops that remain should be to act in aid of the civil power ; and mainly in practice to provide support and protection to the ordinary police when they go out to arrest rebels and dacoits. The duties of the auxiliary police will be the same.

The answers to the typical questions put by Humphreys are to be found in sections 45 and 127 to 132 of the Criminal Procedure Code and sections 96 to 106 of the Indian Penal Code; but I quite agreee that an adapted summary of these should be prepared for the present purpose, with specific illustrations chosen from situations that are likely to occur. Chapter 1 of the " Instructions relating to Martial Law " is directed too exclusively to unlawful assemblies.

I would also recommend that if, as I shall propose lower down, a new special ordinance is promulgated there should be some sort of clause similar to section 23 of the present Martial Law Ordinance.

6. I consider it essential that provision should be made for the continuance of the Special Tribunal and of the Special Magistrates' courts. I have no definite figures to quote, but I think that there can be no doubt that the cases that will remain to be tried for offences connected with the rebellion will employ all the present special courts for at least four or five months. I also think that it would be desirable to empower some authority to make such special regulations as may be necessary to provide for the public safety and the maintenance and restoration of order after Martial Law is withdrawn. I think that most of the present regulations framed by Humphreys might be dispensed with, but it might be useful to have a regulation about giving information (regulation 6) and about requisitioning (regulation 15) and also a regulation enabling authorities to make orders about food (regulation 11) as I am afraid that we must be prepared for semi-famine conditions in parts of Ernad at least.

I would therefore recommend for consideration the issuing of a new ordinance to take the place of the present Martial Law Ordinances; roughly it should empower the Special Commissioner to make regulations and issue orders, etc., in the same way as the Military Commander is now empowered. I think it might follow sections 4 to 23 of the principal ordinance fairly closely and embody the substance of the supplementary ordinance and of the Special Magistrates' Ordinance It would, I think, have to be made clear that the special courts can continue to try offences against the military regulations and against section 3 of the Military Courts Ordinance provided that they were committed while those regulations were in force.

7. I am sending a copy of Humphreys' letter and of this to Government as it is a matter which I should have to refer to in my daily letter and I do not want to have to repeat, and it may save some time. I think the settlement of the gist of the proposals raised is a matter of urgency, and I know you are busy with the " enquiry".

ENCLOSURE

Letter—from the Officer Commanding, Malabar, to the Headquarters, Madras District, Wellington, dated Malappuram, the 11th December 1921, No. B.M. 831.

The time seems to be approaching when the withdrawal of troops and discontinuance of Martial Law in the area will have to be considered. It is difficult accurately to estimate the number of rebels still in the field, but they may be subdivided into two groups as under :—

'A' Group.	Numbers.	Leader.	Remarks.
(i) Mannarghat ..	300	Sithi Koya	Asked for surrender on terms, but will possibly give in soon.
(ii) Kalamula	400	Chembrasseri Tangal Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji ? Abdu Haji ?	Thirty-five killed on 8th. Gang quarrelling. C.T. asked his chances of being shot if he surrenders.
(iii) N of Beypore R. ..	120	Konnara Tangal ..	....

'B' Group.		Numbers.	Leader.	Remarks.
(i) Omasseri	..	50	....	....
(ii) Chattalur (B-4)	..	50	....	....
(iii) Mattatur ..	..	60	....	....
(iv) Kaipakancheri	..	50	....	....
(v) Perintalmanna	..	100	....	In various places.
(vi) Pandalur ..	..	20	....	....
(vii) Nilambur ..	..	50	....	Very scattered.

2. As regards 'A' group, they may still be looked on as more or less fighting gangs, whereas 'B' group are more of the dacoity gang type. It is probable that the surrender infection will further deplete both gangs.

3. It is considered that military operations and therefore Martial Law should be continued until the 'A' group gangs have become negligible as a fighting force and that during this interim the groups under 'B' will have been still further reduced. No estimate can be given as to the length of time required to subjugate the 'A' group gangs owing to their elusiveness and unwillingness to fight, but a protracted period is not anticipated.

4. The first point to be considered when this period is reached is the number of troops that should remain in the area, and it is recommended that in addition to the British detachment at Malappuram and Calicut, forming the peace garrison, one Indian battalion should remain for a certain length of time—probably being distributed in the area Karuvarakundu-Nilambur-Wandur with headquarters at the latter place. In addition to this there would be the six companies of auxiliary police, stationed in such areas as the District Superintendent of Police thinks fit when the time arrives.

It is, of course, objectionable to detain more troops in the area than constitute the normal garrison, but an extra battalion is recommended temporarily because six companies of police are not considered sufficient to deal with the comparatively numerous small bands and individuals that are sure to remain out and still infest the large area in which recent operations have taken place.

It is also very essential to restore confidence in the area at the earliest possible moment and thus induce the Hindus to return to their homes. They will probably be too frightened to do this unless they know that either troops or police are near at hand.

5. The next point is the duties of the troops who remain in the area after Martial Law is withdrawn. They should not do police work pure and simple—but should provide support and protection to the local constables who will return to their former duties and stations and effect such arrests as may be ordered. But there is one point that will have to be made definitely clear to the troops and that is how far they are allowed to use force when supporting the constables.

Three situations can be envisaged, e.g.—

(i) A house is surrounded in which a rebel is known to be located. The constable goes to effect the arrest, but the rebel endeavours to bolt through the troops surrounding him but offers no further opposition. Are troops to use force to effect his arrest, and if the rebel is killed on account of the force used, are the troops liable to be tried for murder?

(ii) A house is surrounded in which a band of armed rebels is located. Resistance is offered either with firearms or swords. Can troops open fire in order to obviate danger to their own lives?

(iii) Are troops following up a party of rebels who refuse to stop or surrender when called upon justified in firing at them? In such cases it will not be possible to be certain whether the rebels are armed or otherwise.

The above are samples of the many situations that are likely to arise, and it is considered essential that definite instructions on the subject be issued, which are not liable to legal misconstruction.

6. The last point—the fact that the withdrawal of Martial Law means the cancelling of all orders and regulations; also the abolition of the Special Tribunal and Summary Courts. The cancellation of orders, etc., will not affect the situation, but the consequence of the abolition of the Special Tribunal, etc., is a point for the Government to consider.

7. Numerous other points, will arise, but it is considered essential to anticipate the effect of the abolition of the Martial Law on—

(*a*) the relation between the civil and the military authorities and the general use of the latter in aid of civil power;

(*b*) the trial of rebels after Martial Law has been abolished.

II

From Major-General J. T. Burnett-Stuart, General Officer Commanding, Madras District, to the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona, dated Wellington, the 20th December 1921, No. S. 250/644 G. 3.

The time is approaching when the withdrawal of troops and discontinuance of Martial Law in Malabar will have to be considered. It is difficult accurately to estimate the number of rebels still in the field, but they may be subdivided into two groups as under—

"A" Group.

	Numbers.	Leader.	Remarks.
(i) Mannarghat	300	Sithi Koya ..	Asked for surrender on terms, but will possibly give in soon.
(ii) Kalamula	400	* Chembrasseri Tangal, Abdul Haji (?), Kunhamad Haji (?)	Thirty-five killed on 8th. Gang quarrelling. C. T. asked his chances of being shot if he surrenders.
(iii) North of Beypore river.	120	Konnara Tangal ..	Now practically eliminated.

* Has now surrendered.

Note.—Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji, reported on 9th at Nirpuzha Mukka with very small following. He is apparently out of favour.

"B" Group.

(i) Omasseri	50	
(ii) Chattalur	50	
(iii) Mattatur	60	
(iv) Kaipakkancheri	50	
(v) Perintalmanna	100	In various places.
(vi) Pandalur	20	
(vii) Nilambur	50	Very scattered.

2. As regards "A" group, they may still be looked on as more or less fighting gangs, whereas "B" group are more of the dacoity gang type. It is probable that the surrender infection will further deplete both gangs.

3. As already reported, it is considered that military operations and therefore Martial Law must be continued until the "A" group gangs have become negligible as a fighting force and that during this interim the groups under "B" will have been still further reduced. No estimate can be given as to the length of time required to subjugate the "A" group gangs owing to their elusiveness and unwillingness to fight, but a protracted period is not anticipated.

4. The first point to be considered when this period is reached is the number of troops that should remain in the area, and it is considered that in addition to the British detachment at Malappuram and Calicut (two companies) forming the peace garrison, one Indian battalion should remain for a certain length of time—probably being distributed in the area Karuvarakundu-Nilambur-Wandur with headquarters at the latter place. In addition to this there would be the six companies of Auxiliary Police, stationed in such areas as the District Superintendent of Police thinks fit when the time arrives.

It is, of course, objectionable to detain more troops in the area than constitutes the normal garrison, but an extra battalion is required temporarily because the six companies of police are not considered sufficient to deal with the comparatively numerous small bands and individuals that are sure to remain out and infest the large area in which recent operations have taken place.

It is also very essential to restore confidence in the area at the earliest possible moment and thus induce the Hindus to return to their homes. They will probably be too frightened to do this unless they know that either troops or police are near at hand.

I have suggested that the battalion to be retained should be the 3/70th Chin Kachin Battalion. See my cipher Telegram No. S. 250/642 G.-3 of 19th December 1921.

5. *Troops available.*—If the recommendation put forward above is approved the following troops will be available to support the civil power :—

Two companies British Infantry.
One battalion Indian Infantry.
Six companies of Auxiliary Police.

6. *Dispositions.*—The following is the suggested distribution of the above forces in the first instance :—

British Infantry.—$1\frac{1}{2}$ companies	Malappuram.
$\frac{1}{2}$ company	Calicut
Indian infantry.—In Wandur area with posts at ..	Nilambur.
	Kalikavu.
	Karuvarakundu.
Special Police.—Companies at	Kunnamangalam.
	Arrikkod
	Tirurangadi.
	Tirur.
	Melattur.
	Perintalmanna and
	Mannarghat.

If an additional company is not forthcoming it is probable that one of these companies will have to be transferred to the Nilgiri Wynad.

7. *Supplies.*—The supply of British and Indian Infantry only need be considered as the Auxiliary Police arranges its own.

Tirur appears to be the most suitable railhead for the troops with the exception of the half company at Calicut, which will be supplied direct by rail under normal pre-rebellion arrangements.

Arrangements will be made to supply each of the abovementioned posts in the first instance with 17 days' rations for the troops intended to be based on it and for a further ten days' rations to be sent up from Tirur every ten days. This will allow of a seven days' reserve being maintained at each post.

8. *Transport.*—Posts will be supplied by using hired bandies from Tirur to all posts in the area (other than to Calicut). A statement is attached (Appendix I) showing the calculation on which the transport arrangements have been based.

It is not considered necessary for units to be fully equipped with first line transport mules. Only such mules are required as are necessary to carry machine and Lewis guns complete with their equipment. In lieu of the remainder it is desirable that sufficient carts be given units on a basis of one per company, i.e. :—

Malappuram—2, and Wandur area—4.

For administration purposes within the area the retention of the Ford vans is considered necessary.

9. *Medical.*—Hospitals will be established at Malappuram and Wandur, respectively. In order, however, to be in a position to evacuate cases to railhead when required, one Ford ambulance car is required. This will be stationed at Malappuram and serve both that place and the Wandur area.

10. *Motor transport workshops.*—In order to maintain the above motor transport in running order a small number of motor transport personnel will be required together with a reserve of spare parts, tools, etc. One British sergeant and two Indian fitters should be sufficient.

11. *Ammunition.*—The amount of ammunition to be carried on the man will be fifty rounds. It is not anticipated that much expenditure will take place and the load carried by the men must be reduced to a minimum. A reserve of 100 rounds per man in Malabar will be stored at Malappuram for issue as required. This is equivalent to approximately 100 boxes.

12. *Grenades.*—Hand grenades will be provided at the scale of one box per company.

13. *Accommodation.*—The British Infantry are accommodated in barracks. The Indian Infantry have their tents but as the weather gets warmer they will be uncomfortably hot. It is proposed therefore to provide the tents with chappars. This work will be carried out by the Sappers and Miners before they leave the area and will cost nothing.

14. *Command and communications.*—The Senior Officer present, who will normally be the Commanding Officer of the Indian Infantry Battalion, will be the tactical commander whenever operations are to be carried out by troops. He should therefore be in touch with the chief civil authority and receive from him all information regarding gangs of dacoits, etc., known to be in the district. Wandur is not now on the telegraph and there are three methods possible :—

(*a*) Move headquarters to Nilambur which is on the telegraph line.

(*b*) Extend the telegraph to Wandur.

(*c*) Establish wireless stations at Malappuram and Wandur ; the former is on the telegraph.

(*a*) is not recommended as Nilambur is both tactically and administratively ill-placed for the Wandur area.

Either (*b*) or (*c*) would be satisfactory. It is not known whether the civil telegraphs would be willing to extend the line for a short period, it being doubtful whether it would be a business proposition. As regards (*c*) the wireless machines now in Malabar are out of date and it is doubtful whether they are worth removing from this area. They would probably last for another six months if carefully looked after. It is requested therefore that the retention of two wireless sets with personnel may be sanctioned. For administration the troops will be under Madras District Headquarters in the case of the detachment of British Infantry through their headquarters at Wellington.

15. *Supply and Transport Personnel.*—The following Supply and Transport Personnel must be retained :—

Tirur.—One Supply and Transport Agent should combine this with his duties at Calicut.

Malappuram.—One British Warrant or Non-Commissioned Officer.
One Bakery } as at present.
One Butchery }

Wandur.—One Supply and Transport Agent.

16. *Discontinuance of Martial Law.*—(*a*) The discontinuance of Martial Law requires careful consideration. It involves—

(i) The automatic disappearance of the special tribunals and summary courts.

(ii) The cancelling of all Martial Law Regulations and orders.

(iii) The limiting of the action of troops to the normal action in aid of the civil power.

(*b*) (*a*) (i) is a matter for the Government to consider, and can be met I presume by an edict remanding all prisoners awaiting trial to Sessions or the ordinary courts, with a retrospective clause making offences committed under the Martial Law Ordinances while the latter were still in force punishable with the punishments laid down in the Ordinances.

(ii) is normal, but still requires some clause in the Ordinance abolishing Martial Law to enable certain offences committed against these orders and regulations while they were still in force to be tried after the orders and regulations have been rescinded. This again is a matter for the Government to deal with.

(iii) is a difficult point and one which directly affects troops in the area.

(*c*) The following are three typical situations which might arise :—

(i) A house is surrendered in which a rebel is known to be located. The constable goes to effect the arrest but the rebel endeavours to bolt through the troops surrounding him but offers no further opposition. Are troops to use force to effect his arrest and if the rebel is killed on account of the force used, are the troops liable to be tried for murder?

(ii) A house is surrounded in which a band of armed rebels is located. Resistance is offered either with firearms or swords. Can troops open fire in order to obviate danger to their own lives?

(iii) Are troops following up a party of rebels who refused to stop or surrender when called upon justified in firing at them? In such cases it will not be possible to be certain whether the rebels are armed or otherwise.

The above are samples of the many situations that are likely to arise and it is essential that definite instructions on the subject be issued, which are not liable to legal misconstruction.

I suggest that this point must be met by the grant of emergency powers to Officers Commanding troops, authorising them to use at all times such means as they, in consultation with the Police officers with whom they are acting, may consider necessary for suppression of dacoity and the arrest or elimination of armed malefactors. The troops should have the same freedom of action as the Special Armed Police must have for some time to come.

(*d*) With the above provisos I am strongly in favour of the lifting off of Martial Law in one act over the whole area and as strongly opposed to any withdrawal of Martial Law by sub-areas, or by such stages of severity as those by which it was imposed.

17. Though the time for the withdrawal of troops and the discontinuance of Martial Law has not yet arrived, it may come at any time, and I should be glad to be informed as soon as possible—

(*a*) Whether the above proposals regarding the retention and disposition of troops and material for the post-rebellion period is approved.

(*b*) What are your instructions for the disposal of the remaining troops and material not belonging to this district.

(*c*) What are the Government's intentions regarding the discontinuance of Martial Law when the time comes.

18. I presume that the privileges now enjoyed by the troops as the result of Field Service conditions will continue (either as they now are or in modified form) as long as they are employed in the area, ceasing only when the force is reduced to the normal peace garrison of two companies British Infantry; and that the cessation of the appointments of officers and other specially employed will be notified by me as and when I can let them go.

APPENDIX I.

Transport

Number of troops based on Tirur—

One and a half Companies, British Infantry at Malappuram, say 300.

One Battalion Indian Infantry at Wandur, say 800.

Note.—Indian Battalion will possibly have three outposts each of one company of say 200 each.

Rations—

Meat, Firewood, Vegetables } can be arranged for locally on contract.

Remainder of rations must come from Bangalore and is calculated to weigh 2 lb. per head for British or Indian soldiers.

	Per diem.	Per 10 days.
Maundage—		
For Malappuram 300 × 2	600	6,000
For Wandur 800 × 2	1,600	16,000
Wandur to each of three outposts 200 × 2	400	4,000

Distances—

Tirur-Malappuram, 18 miles.

Malappuram-Wandur, 19 miles via Manjeri and short cut to Edavanna-Wandur Road.

Wandur-outposts, approximately 8 miles each.

A. Government Transport.

Marches—

The following system has been found by experience to suit climatic conditions in Malabar :—

Tirur to Malappuram—
Out, loaded, in two marches.
Home, empty, in one march.
Halt one day for rest.
Round trip four days.

Malappuram to Wandur, same as above ; round trip four days.

Wandur to outposts. All three outposts could be worked by the transport sufficient for feeding one post be sending them to outposts on separate trips during the ten days.

Numbers required.

Place.	Working to	Weight to be carried.	Number of round trips in ten days	Number of carts required.	Rations for mules on journey and at posts.	Total carts required.
		LB.				
Tirur	Malappuram ..	22,000	2	14	14	28
Malappuram	Wandur ..	16,000	2	10	5	15
Wandur	Outposts ..	4,000	1	5	1	6
				Total carts required ..		49

It is probable that this number would require a slight addition to provide for sickness, etc. On the other hand if contracts for grass could be made locally a reduction would be possible.

B. Hired Transport.

Local carts carry 15 maunds each.

Cost of carts as at present arranged is—

Round trip from Tirur to Malappuram per cart Rs. 3.

Remainder of area—

3 annas per cart per mile outwards loaded.
$1\frac{1}{2}$ „ „ home empty.

Total .. $4\frac{1}{2}$ annas per cart per mile.

ESTIMATED COST INVOLVED.

From	To	Weight to be carried.	Number of carts required.	Cost per trip.	Number of trips.	Cost per month.
		LB.		RS. A. P.		RS. A. P.
Tirur	Malappuram ..	22,000	19	57 0 0	3	171 0 0
Malappuram	Wandur ..	16,000	14	74 13 0	3	224 7 0
Wandur	Outposts ..	4,000	4	9 0 0	9	81 0 0
					Total ..	476 7 0 per mensem.

It would no doubt be possible to arrange a maundage contract which would materially reduce the above estimated cost.

III

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 1624 Pol., dated the 30th December 1921.

With reference to correspondence ending with your letter No. M-194 of 28th November suggesting abrogation of Martial Law in certain areas. In view of what is contained in Malabar Force's weekly appreciation of the situation dated 24th December would it be possible to abrogate Martial Law now in any areas ? Please wire reply urgently.

III (a)

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M-216, dated the 4th January 1922.

Madras Government see no advantage in abrogating Martial Law piecemeal. There are still marauding gangs at large in Malabar and large numbers of prisoners await trial besides those who may be captured hereafter and Government cannot recommend withdrawal of Martial Law unless it is simultaneously replaced by an ordinance which will empower Local Government in place of Military Commander to make regulations for emergencies and will enable special courts to continue to function. If an ordinance substantially in accordance with a draft which follows by post can be promulgated so as to come into force simultaneously with withdrawal of Martial Law Madras Government will not object to withdrawal from the whole of Malabar from the 13th January.

IV

Letter—to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M-217, dated the 4th January 1922.

In confirmation of my telegram No. M-216 of this date and in reply to the Government of India, Home (Political) Department telegram No. 1624, dated 30th December, I am directed to state that the Government of Madras are averse to the withdrawal of Martial Law from parts only of the areas in Malabar in which it is now in force. There are certain areas in which little practical use is made of the provisions of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, but to withdraw those areas from the operation of the ordinance while leaving it in force in other areas would effect little or no real change in the methods of administration and might cause considerable inconvenience.

2. Conditions in Malabar cannot be said to have returned to the normal and though, as a fighting enemy, the Mapillas may at the moment cause little anxiety, much remains to be done for the restoration of law and order and there is no absolute certainty that fresh outbreaks will not occur. There are still several marauding gangs at large, though possibly some of them cannot be regarded as more than dacoits; one prominent leader of the rebels is still evading capture and if not captured shortly may at any time collect a following large enough to give serious trouble; although good progress has been made in recruiting for a special force of armed police, it is a matter of great difficulty to instil confidence into the people and persuade refugees to return to their homes; and the withdrawal of troops from any locality is always made the occasion of loud protests. The number of prisoners awaiting trial is very large; the actual number to be tried is not known yet and it will take some little time to ascertain against which individuals out of the thousands who have surrendered there are definite allegations of breaches of the law. Meanwhile it has been necessary to allow the great majority of these people to return to their own amsams— a fact which does not conduce to a sense of security among the Hindu inhabitants.

3. In view of these facts the Government of Madras would have preferred to defer consideration of the question of abrogating Martial Law. The military authorities consider however that the situation already admits of a diminution of the forces employed in Malabar and the Government of Madras must accept this opinion, though they would deprecate undue haste in bringing those forces down to the ordinary peace establishment. They have received a copy of letter No. S/250/644/G-3, addressed by the General Officer Commanding, Madras District, on the 20th December to Headquarters, Southern Command, in which the removal of the troops and the procedure to be adopted after the withdrawal of Martial Law are discussed. They are unable to agree with all the suggestions made in paragraph 16 of that letter (of which I am to append a copy) for reasons which will appear; but in view of General Burnett Stuart's opinion, confirmed on further consultation, and in deference to what they believe to be the wishes of the Government of India, they are prepared to agree to the withdrawal of Martial Law from the whole of the

Malabar area; but only if in substitution for and simultaneously with the withdrawal of, the Martial Law Ordinances of 1921, a fresh ordinance can be brought into force which will enable the civil officers to carry on the administration in some respects on the lines followed during the past four months of military control.

4. I am to append to this letter a draft of an ordinance which will, in the opinion of the Government of Madras, meet the requirements of the situation. The chief of these are that trials now proceeding before the courts established under the Martial Law Ordinance, the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance and the Martial Law (Special Magistrates) Ordinance shall not be interrupted; that courts with similar powers shall be retained for the purpose of dealing with the numerous offenders who have not yet been brought to trial; and that the Local Government should have power to make regulations having as their object the maintenance and restoration of law and order in the affected areas. It will be observed that it is proposed to continue the summary courts and the courts of Special Magistrates established under the first and the last of the ordinances, but to substitute special judges for the special tribunal set up under the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance. The powers of punishment conferred on the Special Tribunal by that Ordinance do not exceed those of a Sessions Judge under the Code of Criminal Procedure except in so far as there is no appeal against a sentence of less than ten years' imprisonment; the Special Magistrates have power to punish with imprisonment for a term which may extend to seven years; and the Government of Madras are of opinion that the powers given to the Special Tribunal may fittingly be entrusted to separate officers each of whom has acted as a Sessions Judge for not less than two years. The appointment of three Special Judges instead of a tribunal consisting of three Judges will do much to expedite the disposal of the work that remains. If all the offenders are to be brought to trial within a reasonable time, it is essential that all the courts should retain the summary powers conferred on the courts established under the Martial Law Ordinances.

5. It is equally essential that the Local Government should be given wide powers of making regulations and of making contravention of those regulations punishable—that they should in fact be given the powers accorded to the Military Commander under Martial Law. It is impossible to foresee all emergencies, but, as instances, regulations will probably be needed to ensure that undesirable persons are excluded from the area, that information is received promptly of the movements of gangs and single offenders, and that there shall be no tampering with railways, telegraphs or other means of communication.

6. A suitable date for the withdrawal of Martial Law would be the 13th January, the day on which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales arrives in Madras. The General Officer Commanding has been consulted and agrees to abrogation from that date; but the Madras Government wish it to be clearly understood that their consent is contingent entirely on the promulgation by that date of an ordinance according in substance with the draft appended.

7. The question will remain whether further measures will not be necessary to protect the troops in the performance of their duties in support of the civil Magistracy and the police. Instances are quoted in the extract of the General Officer Commanding's letter appended and though the provisions of chapter IV of the Indian Penal Code and section 46 of the Criminal Procedure Code provide a substantial measure of protection, cases may arise in which the position of the soldiers would be doubtful, but these are of a kind which will probably be common to all India. While therefore it might be possible to provide for them by regulations, the Government of Madras presume that the Government of India would prefer to deal with this matter themselves.

ENCLOSURE

Draft Ordinance.

Whereas Martial Law has been withdrawn by Notification from the areas specified in the schedule attached to this Ordinance and whereas in consequence of such withdrawal an emergencey has arisen which makes it necessary to authorise the trial by special courts of offences committed during the continuance of Martial Law and to provide for other matters connected with the maintenance and restoration of order in those areas.

Now therefore the Governor-General in exercise of the powers conferred by section 72 of the Government of India Act, is pleased to make and promulgate the following Ordinance :—

(1) This Ordinance may be called the Malabar (Restoration of Order) Ordinance, 1922.

(2) (i) Subject to the provisions of this Ordinance the Local Government shall have power to make regulations to provide for the public safety and the maintenance and restoration of order in the scheduled area.

(ii) Such regulations may provide that any contravention thereof or of any order issued thereunder shall be punishable with any punishment authorised by any law in force in any part of British India.

(iii) Such regulations shall be published in the *Fort St. George Gazette* and in such other manner as the Local Government may direct.

(3) (i) For the trial of offences in the scheduled area the Local Government may appoint—

(*a*) any magistrate to exercise the powers of a summary court,

(*b*) any magistrate who has exercised the powers of a first-class magistrate for not less than two years to be a special magistrate,

(*c*) any officer who has acted for a period of at least two years in the exercise of the powers of a sessions judge under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, to be a special judge.

(ii) The Local Government may by general or special order (*a*) prescribe what offences or classes of offences may be tried by the courts constituted under sub-section (1), and (*b*) fix the places at which such courts shall sit.

Explanation.—For the purposes of this Ordinance 'Offence' includes—

(*a*) any act which is punishable under sub-section (ii) of section (2), and

(*b*) any act which is or which under the provisions of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, is deemed to be an offence against a Regulation or a Martial Law Order.

(4) The Local Government or any authority empowered by it in this behalf may by general or special order give directions as to the distribution among the various courts of cases to be tried by them under this Ordinance and as to the transfer of cases from one court to another.

(5) A summary court established under section (3) may try any offence and may pass any sentence authorised by law or by regulations under this Ordinance.

Provided that no person shall be tried by such court for an offence which is punishable with imprisonment for a term exceeding five years.

Provided further that no such court shall pass a sentence of imprisonment for a term exceeding two years or of a fine exceeding Rs. 1,000.

(6) A special magistrate appointed under section 3 may try any offence except offences punishable with death and may pass any sentence which may be passed by the court of a magistrate specially empowered under section 30, Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

(7) A special judge appointed under section 3 may try any offence and may pass any sentence authorised by law or by regulations under this Ordinance.

(8) In the trial of cases under this Ordinance courts shall follow the procedure laid down in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for the trial of warrant cases and shall have all the powers conferred by the said Code on a magistrate in regard to the issue of processes to compel appearance and to compel the production of documents and other movable property.

Provided that the court shall not be required to record more than a memorandum of the evidence and shall not be bound to adjourn any trial for any purpose unless such adjournment is in its opinion necessary in the interests of justice.

Provided further that in the trial of any offence punishable with imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year the court may follow the procedure for the summary trial of cases in which an appeal lies as laid down in chapter XXII of the said Code.

(9) Notwithstanding the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, or of any other law for the time being in force or of anything having the force of law by whatsoever authority made or done, there shall, save as hereinafter provided, be no appeal from any order or sentence of a court constituted under section 3, and no court shall have authority to revise any such order or sentence or to transfer any case from a court so constituted or to make any order under section 491 of the said Code or have any jurisdiction of any kind in respect of any judicial proceedings under this Ordinance and no order of confirmation shall be necessary in the case of any such sentence.

(10) Where a special magistrate passes a sentence of transportation or of imprisonment for a term exceeding two years, an appeal shall lie to a special judge, who in disposing thereof shall follow the same procedure and exercise the same powers as an appellate court under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

Provided that no such appeal shall be entertained unless presented within seven days from the date of sentence.

(11) An appeal shall lie to the High Court in the case of any sentence passed by a special judge of death or of transportation for life or of imprisonment for a term of ten years or more and the provisions of the Indian Limitation Act, 1908, shall apply as though the appeal were an appeal to a High Court under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, from a sentence passed by a court of sessions.

(12) The power of the Governor-General in Council or the Local Government to make orders under section 401 or section 402 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, shall apply in respect of persons sentenced by courts constituted or continued under this Ordinance.

(13) No court constituted under this Ordinance shall pass a sentence of whipping for any offence against a Regulation or Martial Law Order except where the offender has in the commission of the offence used criminal force within the meaning of the Indian Penal Code.

(14) In the execution of any sentence of whipping passed by a summary court the provisions of sub-section (2) of section 392 and the provisions of sections 392 and 394 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, shall apply and every such sentence shall as far as possible be carried out in a place to which the public shall not be admitted.

(15) No sentence, finding or order passed by a court constituted under this Ordinance shall be invalid by reason only of any error, omission or irregularity in any proceedings before or during the trial unless such error, omission or irregularity has in fact occasioned a failure of justice.

(16) No suit, prosecution or other legal proceedings whatsoever shall lie against any person for, or on account of, or in respect of any act, matter or thing ordered or done or purporting to have been ordered or done under this Ordinance.

Provided that such person acted in good faith and in a reasonable belief that his action was necessary.

(17) In respect of cases pending before them on the 12th January 1922 the courts constituted under the Martial Law Ordinances, 1921, shall continue to exercise jurisdiction as if Martial Law was still in force unless and until such cases are transferred by competent authority to courts constituted under this Ordinance.

The schedule (*see sections* 2 *and* 3).

The areas comprised within the following taluks in the Malabar District of the Madras Presidency, namely, Walluvanad, Ponnani, Ernad, Calicut, Kurumbranad and Wynad.

V

Telegram—to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 6th January 1922, No. 218-M.

My telegram No. 216-M., and letter No. 217-M., dated 4th instant, Martial Law, Malabar. Large armed gang under Konnara Tangal has since appeared and in view of this development General Officer Commanding now asks that actual step shall not be taken without his final agreement and Special Commissioner's assurance that police are prepared to take over. Civil officers agree with him. Madras Government therefore request that withdrawal may not be notified pending further communication.

VI

Telegram—from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home (Political) Department, dated the 12th January 1922, No. 3920-D.

Martial Law. Government of India would be glad to know when they may expect further communication referred to in your telegram M-218 of 5th January.

VII

Telegram—to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 12th January 1922.

Your telegram No. 3920-D, Political, received 12th. Martial Law. It is impossible to make any recommendation till General Officer Commanding and Special Commissioner are satisfied that withdrawal is safe. They are unwilling to recommend while fighting gangs are at large. Meanwhile Madras Government would be glad to know whether Government of India are prepared to promulgate the ordinance a draft of which was sent with my letter No. 217-M., dated 4th January, simultaneously with withdrawal of Martial Law.

VIII

Telegram—to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 30th January 1922, No. 54-S.

My telegram dated 12th. Martial Law, promulgation of ordinance, and telegram No. 2302–50/50–A., from General Officer Commanding, Madras District, to Adjutant-General, Delhi. Madras Government would be glad to know when they can expect reply as General Officer Commanding states many hundreds of rebels awaiting trial and if delays in disposal are to be avoided it is necessary that several sessions judges with summary powers should be appointed.

IX

Telegram—from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 4th February 1922, No. 241–F/X-Pol.

Your telegram No. 54-S., dated 31st January 1922. Government of India consider that Martial Law should be withdrawn at the earliest date which, in the opinion of the Local Government and the military authorities, is consistent with public safety.

In order to provide for the transition period between Martial Law and normal conditions, and for the expeditious trial of offences, the Government of India propose to pass an ordinance, details of which are under consideration. In order to obviate objections which might reasonably be taken to the promulgation of an ordinance at a time when the legislature is in session the Government of India propose at as early a date as possible a discussion in the Assembly on the question of abrogating Martial Law and enactment of ordinance. Further communication will be sent to the Local Government after the discussion.

As regards telegram No. 2650 (?) from General Officer Commanding, Madras, to Adjutant-General, Delhi, General Officer Commanding is being instructed that no fresh cases should be sent for trial to the military courts, that sentences of death already passed by summary courts-martial must be dealt with by him in accordance with Ordinance 4 of 1921, but that the Local Government will give him any legal assistance which he may desire.

X

Telegram—to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 6th February 1922, No. 77-S.

Your telegram No. 241–F-X, Political of 4th. Martial Law in Malabar. Withdrawal impracticable without simultaneous substitution of effective ordinance. Government of Madras must press therefore that ordinance now under consideration shall provide safeguards in no respect less effective that those proposed in draft sent with their letter No. 217-M, dated 4th January and will be promulgated without undue delay in view of fact that Ordinance II of 1921 expires automatically on 25th instant. If any reduction of proposed safeguards is contemplated Madras Government must ask for opportunity of showing cause to contrary. They also wish to draw special attention to paragraph 7 of their letter in which emphasis was laid on the necessity of measures to protect soldiers after the withdrawal of martial law.

Note.—Copies of the above telegram and the telegram from the Government of India, to which it is a reply, were referred to Special Commissioner, Malabar, and General Officer Commanding, Madras District, with demi-official No. 79-S., dated 6th February 1922, for remarks.

XI

From the Special Commissioner, Malabar, dated the 7th February 1922.

Your secret demi-official 79-S., of yesterday.

I have no suggestion to make. Government's reply seems to me to meet the situation. I hope the Government of India will not delay for I am now convinced that the civil power, with the aid of the military, is better able to cope with the position than the Military Commander.

I am advised—from non-official sources—that the export of rice from the rebellion area which is now going on is likely to lead to a great shortage there and if this takes place we may expect distress and consequent unrest and crime. The process of settling down will be embarrassed and delayed. I am strongly urged to forbid such export. This of course I cannot do (though it is an interesting illustration of the arbitrary powers which the people of the districts even to-day look to Government to exercise). I do not much like the idea of interfering with the usual course of trade and the Government of India will certainly raise an objection on these grounds. But nevertheless, if Government will set aside the theoretical objection—and it is not too late—I should very much like to see power given in the new ordinance to regulate the distribution of foodstuffs and in particular to prohibit export from the rebellion area. Of course if the worst came to the worst we could buy grain and retail it, but this is always a troublesome business and prohibition of export would be simple and equally effective. In the meantime I shall try and persuade the Relief Committee to help by bringing up grain for future sale.

XII

From the General Officer Commanding dated Wellington, 9th February 1922.

Thank you for your Demi-Official 79-S., dated 6th February 1922, and enclosures. I have really no remarks to offer except to reiterate the hope that the transaction will be put through quickly. Knapp kindly came to see me last week and talked things over. We were in complete agreement.

The only trouble I foresee is that of the permanent garrison—or post-rebellion garrison.

I shall certainly only be allowed to keep the 39th Garhwalis for a very short time. In fact the Southern Command have informed me that their retention after the removal of Martial Law is not approved—and I have none to replace them with. This leaves one and half Coys. Suffolks at Malappuram and half Coy. at Calicut as the whole garrison. Personally I think that this will suffice if the efficiency of the Special Armed Police is maintained.

XIII

Telegram—to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home (Political) Department, dated the 10th February 1922, No. 96-S.

Continuation Madras Government's telegram No. 77-S., dated 5th. Ordinance in substitution of Martial Law.

Special Commissioner for Malabar brings to notice that considerable export of rice from rebellion area is now taking place. This is likely to result in local shortage and eventually distress, unrest and crime. Local Government therefore consider that new ordinance should give them power to make regulations regarding distribution of foodstuffs and in particular to prohibit export from the rebellion area.

XIV

Telegram—from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home (Political) Department, dated the 11th February 1922, No. F. 241-X (Political).

Correspondence ending your telegram No. 77-S. of the 6th February. Withdrawal of Martial Law. Following is text of Draft Ordinance which it is proposed to promulgate. Following points require explanation:—

(1) Actual withdrawal of Martial Law will be effected by means of notification of Governor-General in Council under section 2 of Martial Law Ordinance 2 of 1921 which will be issued simultaneously with promulgation of new Ordinance. Notification will issue and promulgation will be made as soon as Local Government's concurrence with terms of Draft Ordinance is received. In any event both must be made before 25th February.

(2) With reference to paragraph 7 of your letter No. M-217, of 4th January 1922, Government of India consider that wide power of making regulations conferred on Local Government by clause 3, sub-clauses (1) and (2) of draft ordinance, should afford sufficient protection for troops in performance of their

duties. It should be possible for Local Government to devise regulations in consultation with General Officer Commanding to cover contingencies mentioned in paragraph 16 of the latter's letter of 20th December 1921.

(3) Effect of proviso to clause 5 will be that offences against regulations or Martial Law orders made under old ordinance can only be tried if they are also offences under ordinary law or offences created by section 3 of Military Courts Ordinance, IV of 1921. In latter case offences must have been committed before withdrawal of Martial Law—see section 6 of General Clauses Act, 1897.

Please telegraph as soon as possible whether Local Government concur in draft ordinance or have any further remarks to offer.

ENCLOSURE.

Draft ordinance to provide for the speedy trial of certain offences committed during the period while Martial Law was in force.

Whereas Martial Law has been in force in certain areas in the Malabar district of the Madras Presidency and has now been withdrawn therefrom:

And whereas an emergecy has thereby arisen which makes it necessary to provide for the speedy trial of certain offences committed during the period while Martial Law was in force and also to enable the Local Government to take certain steps for the protection of law-abiding citizens and for the restoration and maintenance of order in those areas:

Now therefore the Governor-General in exercise of the powers conferred by section 72 of the Government of India Act is pleased to make and promulgate the following ordinance:—

(1) This ordinance may be called the Malabar (Restoration of Order) Ordinance, 1922.

(2) In this ordinance the "Local Government" means the "Local Government of Madras".

(3) (i) The Local Government may make regulations for the protection of law-abiding citizens and for the restoration and maintenance of order in the area specified in the schedule.

(ii) Without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power such regulations may provide for the circumstances in addition to the circumstances laid down in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, in which, and the purposes for which, military force may be utilized in the assistance of the civil authorities.

(iii) Such regulations may provide that any contravention thereof or of any order issued thereunder shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to two years or with fine or with both. Any person who contravenes any such regulation or order may be arrested without warrant.

(iv) Such regulations shall be published in the *Fort St. George Gazette* and in such other manner as the Local Government may direct and shall thereupon have effect as if enacted in this ordinance.

(4) (i) For the purposes of this ordinance, the Local Government may constitute the following classes of courts, namely:—

(*a*) summary courts,

(*b*) courts of special magistrates,

(*c*) courts of special judges.

(ii) The Local Government may appoint—

(*a*) any magistrate to exercise the powers of a summary court;

(*b*) any magistrate who has exercised the powers of a first-class magistrate for not less than two years to be a special magistrate;

(*c*) any officer who has acted for a period of at least two years in the exercise of the powers of a sessions judge under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, to be a special judge.

(5) Subject to the provisions of this ordinance, courts constituted under section 4 may try the following offences, namely:—

(*a*) any offence which might have been tried under the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, 1921, the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921, or the Martial Law (Special Magistrates) Ordinance, 1921, by courts constituted under those ordinances;

(*b*) any Act made punishable under sub-section (2) of section 3.

Provided that Courts constituted under section 4 shall not try any offence against a regulation or Martial Law Order made under the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921.

(6) (i) Subject to the provisions of this ordinance the Local Government or any officer authorized by it in this behalf may by general or special order give directions as to the distribution among the various courts constituted under this ordinance of cases triable thereunder and as to the transfer of cases from one court to another.

(ii) Courts constituted under this ordinance shall sit at such places as the Local Government may by general or special order determine.

(7) (i) A summary court may try any offence mentioned in section 5 other than an offence punishable with death or transportation or with imprisonment for a term exceeding five years.

(ii) No summary court shall pass a sentence of imprisonment for a term exceeding two years or of fine exceeding Rs. 1,000.

(8) A special magistrate may try any offence mentioned in section 5 other than an offence punishable with death and may pass any sentence which may be passed by a magistrate specially empowered under section 30 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

(9) A special judge may try any offence mentioned in section 5 and may pass any sentence authorized by law or by regulations under this ordinance.

(10) In the trial of cases under this ordinance the courts shall follow the procedure laid down in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for the trial of warrant cases and shall have all the powers conferred by the said Code on a magistrate in regard to the issue of processes to compel appearance and to compel the production of documents and other movable property.

Provided that a court shall not be required to record more than a memorandum of the evidence and shall not be bound to adjourn any trial for any purpose unless such adjournment is in its opinion necessary in the interests of justice.

Provided further that in the trial of any offence punishable with imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year a court may follow the procedure for the summary trial of cases in which an appeal lies laid down in Chapter XXII of the said Code.

(11) (i) An appeal shall lie from the judgment of a summary court to the court of a special judge empowered by the Local Government to hear appeals from the judgment of such summary court in any case where under the provisions of Chapter XXXI of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, an appeal would lie to a court of session if the summary court were the court of a magistrate of the first class.

(ii) An appeal shall lie from the judgment of a special magistrate to the court of a special judge empowered by the Local Government to hear appeals from the judgment of such special magistrate.

Provided that where in any case a special magistrate passes any sentence of imprisonment for a term exceeding four years or any sentence of transportation the appeal shall lie to the High Court.

(iii) An appeal shall lie under the said provisions from the judgment of a special judge and the provisions of sections 371 (3) and 374 of the said Code shall apply as if such judge were a sessions judge.

(iv) For the purpose of determining the period of limitation for any appeal under this section the provisions of Indian Limitation Act, 1908, shall apply as if such appeal were an appeal under the provisions of the Code and a court of a special judge were a court of session.

(v) A court disposing of an appeal under this section may exercise all the powers conferred on and shall, so far as may be, follow the procedure prescribed for an appellate court by provisions of chapter XXXI of the said Code.

(12) The powers of reference and revision conferred on courts by Chapter XXXII of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, shall be exercisable in respect of proceedings before courts constituted under this ordinance as if a summary court were the court of a magistrate of the first-class, a special magistrate were a magistrate specially empowered under section 30 of the said Code and a special judge were a sessions judge.

(13) The powers of the Governor-General in Council or the Local Government to make orders under section 401 or section 402 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, shall apply in respect of persons sentenced under this ordinance.

(14) Notwithstanding the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, or of any other Law for the time being in force or of anything having the force of law by whatsoever authority made or done save as provided in this ordinance :—

(*a*) There shall be no appeal from any sentence or order of a court constituted under section 4 ;

(*b*) no court shall have authority to transfer any case from a court so constituted or to make any order under section 491 of the said Code or have any jurisdiction of any kind in respect of any judicial proceedings under this ordinance; and

(*c*) no order of confirmation shall be necessary in the case of any such sentence.

(15) (1) The Local Government or any officer authorized by it in this behalf may by general or special order transfer any case which immediately prior to the cessation of Martial Law was pending before any court constituted under the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, 1921, or the Martial Law (Special Magistrates) Ordinance, 1921, to a court constituted under this ordinance having jurisdiction hereunder to try the same.

(2) Where any case has been transferred under the provisions of sub-section (1) the provisions of section 350 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, shall apply as if the courts constituted under any of the said ordinances were courts of magistrates exercising jurisdiction under the said Code :

Provided that where the person presiding over a court constituted under this ordinance is the person who presided over the court before which the proceedings began it shall not be necessary in any case for him to resummon and rehear any of the witnesses.

(3) The Local Government may direct that any case which immediately prior to the cessation of Martial Law was pending before a military court constituted under the provisions of the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921, shall be tried by a court constituted under this ordinance having jurisdiction hereunder to try the same and such court shall in every such case resummon and rehear the witnesses.

(4) A case in which a military court so constituted has recorded its finding and sentence before the cessation of Martial Law shall not be deemed to be pending within the meaning of sub-section (3) and in any such case all powers vested in a confirming authority or in any other authority whether by way of confirmation of the sentence or of mitigation, remission or commutation of the sentence or of pardon or otherwise shall be exercisable and any sentence confirmed or imposed by any such authority shall be carried in execution as if Martial Law had not ceased to be in force and as if the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921, had continued in force:

Provided that the confirming authority shall not have powers to order revision of the finding of sentence of a military court under section 100 of the Indian Army Act, 1911.

(16) No sentence, finding or order passed by a court constitued under this ordinance, shall be invalid by reason only of any error, omission or irregularity in any of the proceedings before or during the trial unless such error, omission or irregularity has in fact occasioned a failure of justice.

(17) No suit, prosecution or other legal proceedings whatsoever shall lie against any person for, on account of, or in respect of any act, matter or thing ordered or done or purporting to have been ordered or done in the exercise of any powers conferred by or under this ordinance:

Provided that nothing in this section shall prevent the institution of proceedings by or on behalf of the Government against any person in respect of any matter where such person has not acted in good faith and a reasonable belief that his action was necessary.

(18) The Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, 1921, the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921, and the Martial Law (Special Magistrates) Ordinance, 1921, are hereby repealed.

NOTE.—Repeated by telegram to Special Commissioner, Malabar, Special Civil Officer and General Officer Commanding Madras District.

XV

Telegram—from the Special Civil Officer, Malappuram, dated the 15th February 1922.

New Ordinance.—Section 3 (2) wording as telegraphed obscure. Presume intention is that regulations may extend beyond scope and limit of Chapter IX, Criminal Procedure Code. Section 5 wording complicated and likely to mislead. Regulation 2 framed by Military Commander made offences under Chapter VI, etc., Indian Penal Code offences under Martial Law punishable under the regulations; Would suggest that section 5(*a*) read: "Any offence directly connected with the events which necessitated Martial Law and punishable under Chapters VI, VII, VIII, XVI or XVII of the Indian Penal Code or section 3 of the Mapilla Outrages Act, 1859, or under the Mapilla War Knives Act, 1854, or under section 126 of the Indian Railways Act, 1890, or provided that it was committed before the date of this ordinance, under section 3 of the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921" and that the proviso be omitted. Section 11 (2)—strongly deprecate extension of appeal from special magistrates beyond what is allowed now; it will be most difficult to arrange for instructions in Madras and inevitable result will be to defeat speedy trial which preamble declares object of ordinance and which Mapilla prisoners themselves implore. Vast majority of cases tried by special magistrates are dacoities with simple evidence and no subtle points for High Court argument. Similarly would limit appeals from special judges to cases now appealable from tribunal. Consider it of first importance practically and politically to provide for really speedy final disposal of prisoners, cases. Section 15 (3)—not necessary as all courts-martial have finished.

XVI

Telegram—from the Special Commissioner for Malabar, dated the 15th February 1922.

Your telegram 14th, Restoration of Order Ordinance. Consider provisions generally suitable. Have following comments to make:—

Firstly.—Powers of special magistrates and judges should not be confined, as preamble proposes, to trial of offences committed during period of Martial Law, but should cover also offences arising out of the rebellion committed after withdrawal of Martial Law; if necessary, District Magistrate might certify that case falls under this category.

Secondly.—In clause 3 (2) do not understand precise effect of words "circumstances laid down in Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898" and suggest those words be omitted.

Thirdly.—With reference to proviso in clause 5 (*b*) consider that some provision should be made for continuance of trial of offences against Martial Law regulations or orders which are pending at the time when Martial Law withdrawn. Clause 15 (1) does not appear to provide for this except where offence is also an offence under new Government regulation.

Fourthly.—With reference to clause 10 (i) suggest that procedure for warrant cases be varied by providing for cross-examination of prosecution witnesses as they are examined and that postponement of cross-examination should only be with permission of court.

Fifthly.—In clause 11 (i) would suggest that appeal from judgment of summary court should lie to special magistrate and not to special judge. Desirable that latter should be free as far as possible to take up original cases.

Sixthly.—In clause 11 (4) I consider that period of limitation for appeal should be reduced in all cases to ten days.

Seventhly.—Clause 12 appears unworkable unless local jurisdiction is definitely given to special magistrates and special judges which so far as I know is not contemplated.

Lastly.—Would strongly recommend that power analogous to section 349, Criminal Procedure Code, be given to summary and special magistrates respectively to send up records to special magistrate or special judge nominated by Government in his behalf.

XVII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, dated the 16th February 1922, No. 2302/57/A-3.

Your number nil, 14th. I concur in proposed ordinance. Action of troops appears covered by sections forty-two and forty-six, Criminal Procedure Code, and by Local Government's power to make special regulations in which connexion letter follows.

XVIII

Letter—from the General Officer Commanding, dated Wellington, the 16th/18th February 1922, No. 2302/58/A. 3.

[Malabar (Restoration of Order) Ordinance.]

I have the honour to refer to my telegram No. 2302/57/A-3 of date and to say that while I am of opinion that the action of the troops is covered by the sections of the Code of Criminal Procedure therein quoted, I consider it desirable that a decree or regulation be published to the effect that all Mapillas implicated in the rebellion who have not surrendered, and who are still out, stand accused of *waging war*, and that troops and Police may use every means at their disposal to effect arrests, including shooting.

That similar conditions apply to all Mapillas who have surrendered and who may be called on to stand trial for any crime and who resist or endeavour to evade arrest.

XIX

Telegram—from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 14th February 1922, No. 379, Pol.

Your telegram 96-S of 10th February.

We propose to provide for the point there mentioned by the addition to clause (3), sub-clause (2) of draft ordinance terms of which were communicated to you in our telegram F. 24 of 11th February of the following words "(*b*) or control of the distribution of foodstuffs within the area specified in the schedule, (*c*) for the prohibition of the export of foodstuffs from that area."

XX

Demi-official—to the General Officer Commanding Madras District / Special Commissioner for Malabar Affairs / Special Civil Officer, Malabar, dated the 15th February, 1922, No. 112-S.

In continuation of my telegram of the 14th sending you the draft of the proposed ordinance to take the place of Martial Law, I am to send you herewith copy of a further telegram making an addition to clause 3 (2) and I am to request you to prepare in consultation with Knapp and Evans / Evans and the General Officer Commanding / Knapp and the General Officer Commanding, a set of such regulations and orders as may be necessary to prevent any breach of continuity in the law and trial machinery on the cessation of Martial Law. The new ordinance will probably be promulgated on 24th February and we must have the new regulations issued the same day.

I am further to direct your particular attention to the proviso to section 5 of the proposed ordinance, which prevents the courts constituted under section 4 from trying offences against regulations or Martial Law orders made under the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921. Whether this should be objected to or not seems to depend chiefly on whether there are pending many cases of offences against such regulations orders which are not offences against the ordinary law but which it is not desirable to drop. I am to ask for your views on this last point by wire.

XXI

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, dated the 18th February 1922, No. 2302/59/A. 3.

Your demi-official 112-S. of 15th. Have no objection to proviso to section 5 of ordinance. So far as I know no cases pending against regulations.

XXII

Telegram—from the Special Civil Officer, Malappuram, dated the 17th February 1922.

Your demi-official 112-S., 15th. No objection to proviso to section 5, if it can be read as referring only to new offences treated by Military Commander's regulations other than offences under the ordinary law which regulation 2 made punishable under Martial Law, but consider wording bad as stated in my previous telegram.

XXIII

Telegram—from Special Officer, Malappuram, dated 18th February 1922.

New Malabar Ordinance. Am not sure whether section 15 (1) will cover appeals from special magistrates pending with tribunal on cessation of Martial Law. There will, I think, be many, and suggest, if necessary, additions be made. Presumably appeal against a special magistrate's sentence of over four years will have to be transferred to High Court.

XXIV

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, dated 21st February 1922, No. 128-S.

Your telegram * No. F/241/X, Political, dated 11th February, as supplemented by telegram † No. 379, Political, dated 14th. Draft ordinance in substitution Martial Law, Malabar.

* XIV. † XIX.

Government of Madras urge—

(1) Addition to preamble of words "and offences committed subsequently but arising out of the circumstances which rendered the enforcement of Martial Law necessary." This required in view of fact that much of area affected is still not completely pacified.

(2) For similar reason addition to sub-clause (*a*) of clause 5 of words "and any offence committed subsequently to the repeal of Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, which the District Magistrate may certify to have arisen out of the circumstances which rendered the enforcement of Martial Law necessary."

(3) That sub-clause (*b*) of clause 5 should run as follows :—

"Any act or omission made punishable under sub-section (3) of section 3",

(4) That proviso to clause 5 should run as follows :—

"Provided that courts constituted under section 4 shall not try as an offence any act or omission which is an offence only by reason that it constituted a contravention of a regulation or Martial Law order made under the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921."

(5) Insertion in clause 10 of further proviso that cross-examination of witnesses shall take place immediately after examination-in-chief and that witnesses shall not be summoned afresh for cross-examination without special permission of court.

(6) That in clause 11, sub-clause (1), appeal from conviction by summary court should lie to special magistrate and not to special judge in view of desirability that special judge should be free as far as possible to take up original cases.

(7) That power analogous to section 349, Code of Criminal Procedure, be given to summary courts and special magistrates respectively to send up records to special magistrates and special judges nominated by Government in this behalf.

(8) That clause 12 be omitted or that power of reference and revision with regard to proceedings of any special magistrate or summary court should be exercisable only by such special judge as may be nominated by Local Government since these judges will not have separate local jurisdiction.

With reference to clause 11, sub clause (4)—Government of Madras urge strongly retention of present period of limitation, namely, seven days for appeals from convictions by special magistrates and application of similar period of limitation to appeals from convictions by summary courts. Number of cases remaining to be disposed of runs to thousands and it is most undesirable to prolong proceedings indefinitely.

Subject to above emendations Government of Madras agree to promulgation of new ordinance on 24th February.

XXV

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 440 Pol., dated 24th February 1922.

Intimating the publication of the following ordinance :—

ORDINANCE No. I OF 1922.

An Ordinance to provide for the speedy trial of certain offences committed during the period while Martial Law was in force, or arising out of the circumstances which necessitated the enforcement of continuance of Martial Law, in certain areas in the Malabar district of the Madras Presidency, and also to enable the Local Government to take certain steps for the protection of law—abiding citizens and for the restoration and maintenance of order in those areas.

WHEREAS Martial Law has been in force in certain areas in the Malabar district of the Madras Presidency and has now been withdrawn therefrom and whereas an emergency has thereby arisen which makes it necessary to provide for the speedy trial of certain offences committed during the period while Martial Law was in force or arising out of the circumstances which necessitated the enforcement or continuance of Martial Law and also to enable the Local Government to take certain steps for the protection of law-abiding citizens and for the restoration and maintenance of order in those areas :

Now THEREFORE the Governor-General, in exercise of the powers conferred by section 72 of the Government of India Act, is pleased to make and promulgate the following Ordinance:

1. This Ordinance may be called the Malabar (Restoration of Order) Ordinance, 1922.

2. In this Ordinance the "Local Government" means the Local Government of Madras.

3. (1) The Local Government may make regulations for the protection of law-abiding citizens and for the restoration and maintenance of order in the area specified in the schedule (hereinafter referred to as the scheduled area).

(2) Without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power such regulations may provide

(*a*) for the circumstances, in addition to the circumstances laid down in the Code of Criminal Precedure, 1898, in which, and the purposes for which, military force may be utilized in the assistance of the civil authorities;

(*b*) for control of the distribution of foodstuffs within the scheduled area;

(*c*) for the prohibition of the export of foodstuffs from the scheduled area.

(3) Such regulations may provide that any contravention thereof, or of any order issued thereunder shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both. Any person who contravenes any such regulation or order may be arrested without warrant.

(4) Such regulations shall be published in the *Fort St. George Gazette* and in such other manner as the Local Government may direct, and shall thereupon have effect as if enacted in this Ordinance.

4. (1) For the purposes of this Ordinance the Local Government may constitute the following classes of courts, namely:—

(*a*) Summary Courts.

(*b*) Courts of Special Magistrates.

(*c*) Courts of Special Judges.

(2) The Local Government may appoint

(*a*) Any Magistrate to exercise the powers of a Summary Court,

(*b*) Any Magistrate who has exercised the powers of a First-class Magistrate for not less than two years to be a Special Magistrate.

(*c*) Any officer who has acted for a period of at least two years in the exercise of the powers of a Sessions Judge under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, to be a Special Judge.

5. Subject to the provisions of this Ordinance, courts constituted under section 4 may try the following offences, namely:—

(*a*) Any offence which might have been tried under the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, 1921, the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921, or the Martial Law (Special Magistrates) Ordinance, 1921, by Courts constituted under those Ordinances,

(*b*) Any act made punishable under sub-section (3) of section 3,

(*c*) Any offence committed in the scheduled area after the cessation of Martial Law which the District Magistrate may certify to have arisen out of the circumstances which necessitated the enforcement of continuance of Martial Law, provided that Courts constituted under section 4 shall not try as an offence any act which is an offence by reason only of the fact that it constituted a contravention of a Regulation or Martial Law order made under the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921.

6. (1) Subject to the provisions of this Ordinance, the Local Government or any officer authorized by it in this behalf may, by general or special order, give directions as to the distribution among the various Courts constituted under this Ordinance of cases triable thereunder and as to the transfer of cases from one Court to another.

(2) Courts constituted under this Ordinance shall sit at such places as the Local Government may, by general or special order, determine.

7. (1) A Summary Court may try any offence mentioned in clause (*a*), clause (*b*) or clause (*c*) of section 5 other than an offence punishable with death or transportation or with imprisonment for a term exceeding five years.

(2) No Summary Court shall pass a sentence of imprisonment for a term exceeding two years or of fine exceeding one thousand rupees.

8. A Special Magistrate may try any offence mentioned in clause (*a*), clause (*b*) or clause (*c*) of section 5 other than an offence punishable with death, and may pass any sentence which may be passed by a Magistrate specially empowered under section 30 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

9. A Special Judge may try any offence mentioned in clause (*a*), clause (*b*) or clause (*c*) of section 5, and may pass any sentence authorized by law or by regulations under this Ordinance.

10. In the trial of cases under this Ordinance the Courts shall follow the procedure laid down in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, for the trial of warrant cases, and shall have all the powers conferred by the said Code on a Magistrate in regard to the issue of processes to compel appearance and to compel the production of documents and other movable property :

Provided that

(*a*) a Court shall not be required to record more than a memorandum of the evidence and shall not be bound to adjourn any trial for any purpose, unless such adjournment is in its opinion necessary in the interests of justice,

(*b*) in the trial of any offence punishable with imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year, a Court may follow the procedure for the summary trial of cases in which an appeal lies, laid down in Chapter XXII of the said Code, and

(*c*) where the accused has cross-examined, or had the opportunity of cross-examining, any witness, a Court shall not be bound to recall such witness for the purpose of cross-examination.

11. (1) An appeal shall lie from the judgment of a Summary Court to the Court of a Special Judge empowered by the Local Government to hear appeals from the judgment of such Summary Court in any case where under the provisions of Chapter XXXI of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, an appeal would lie to a Court of Sessions if the Summary Court were the Court of a Magistrate of the first class.

(2) An appeal shall lie from the judgment of a Special Magistrate to the Court of a Special Judge empowered by the Local Government to hear appeals from the judgment of such Special Magistrate :

Provided that, where in any case a Special Magistrate passes any sentence of imprisonment for a term exceeding four years or any sentence of transportation, the appeal shall lie to the High Court.

(3) An appeal shall lie under the said provisions from the judgment of a Special Judge and the provisions of sections 371 (3) and 374 of the said Code shall apply as if such Judge were a Sessions Judge

(4) The period within which an appeal under this section shall be preferred shall be, in the case of an appeal against a sentence of death, seven days, and in any other case, fifteen days from the date of the sentence.

(5) A court disposing of an appeal under this section may exercise all the powers conferred on, and shall, so far as may be, follow the procedure prescribed for an appellate court by the provisions of Chapter XXXI of the said Code.

12. The powers of reference and revision conferred on courts by Chapter XXXII of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, shall be exercisable in respect of proceedings before courts constituted under this Ordinance as if a summary court were the court of a Magistrate of the first class, a Special Magistrate were a Magistrate especially empowered under section 30 of the said Code and a Special Judge were a Sessions Judge :

Provided that the powers conferred by this section shall be exercisable only by such Special Judge as has been empowered by order in writing by the Local Government in this behalf.

13. The powers of the Governor-General in Council or the Local Government to make orders under section 401 or section 402 of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898, shall apply in respect of persons sentenced under this Ordinance.

14. Notwithstanding the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, or of any other law for the time being in force or of anything having the force of law by whatsoever authority made or done, save as provided in this Ordinance,

(*a*) there shall be no appeal from any sentence or order of a court constituted under section 4,

(*b*) no court shall have authority to transfer any case from a court so constituted, or to make any order under section 491 of the said Code, or have any jurisdiction of any kind in respect of any judicial proceedings under this Ordinance, and

(*c*) no order of confirmation shall be necessary in the case of any such sentence.

15. (1) The Local Government or any officer authorized by it in this behalf may, by general or special order, transfer any case which, immediately prior to the cessation of Martial Law, was pending before any court constituted under the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, 1921, or the Martial Law (Special Magistrates) Ordinance, 1921, to a court constituted under this Ordinance, having jurisdiction hereunder to try the same.

(2) Where any case has been transferred under the provisions of sub-section (1), the provisions of section 350 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, shall apply as if the courts constituted under any of the said Ordinances were courts of Magistrates exercising jurisdiction under the said Code:

Provided that, where the person presiding over a court constituted under this Ordinance is the person who presided over the court before which the proceedings began, it shall not be necessary in any case for him to resummon and rehear any of the witnesses.

(3) The Local Government may direct that any case which, immediately prior to the cessation of Martial Law, was pending before a Military Court constituted under the provisions of the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921, shall be tried by a court constituted under this Ordinance having jurisdiction hereunder to try the same, and such court shall in every such case resummon and rehear the witnesses.

(4) A case in which a Military Court so constituted has recorded its finding and sentence before the cessation of Martial Law shall not be deemed to be pending within the meaning of sub-section (3), and in any such case all powers vested in a confirming authority or in any other authority, whether by way of confirmation of the sentence or of mitigation, remission or commutation of the sentence or of pardon or otherwise shall be exercisable, and any sentence confirmed or imposed by any such authority shall be carried into execution as if Martial Law had not ceased to be in force and as if the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921, had continued in force, provided that the confirming authority shall not have power to order revision of the finding or sentence of a Military Court under section 100 of the Indian Army Act, 1911.

16. No sentence, finding or order passed by a court constituted under this Ordinance shall be invalid by reason only of an error, omission or irregularity in any of the proceedings before or during the trial unless such error, omission or irregularity has in fact occasioned a failure of justice.

17. No suit, prosecution or other legal proceedings whatsoever shall lie against any person for, or on account of, or in respect of any Act, matter or thing ordered or done, or purporting to have been ordered or done, in the exercise of any powers conferred by or under this Ordinance:

Provided that nothing in this section shall prevent the institution of proceedings by, or on behalf of, the Government against any person in respect of any matter where such person has not acted in good faith and a reasonable belief that his action was necessary.

18. The Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, the Martial Law (Supplementary) Ordinance, 1921, the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921, and the Martial Law (Special Magistrates) Ordinance, 1921, are hereby repealed.

THE SCHEDULE.

(*See Section* 3.)

The area comprised within the following taluks in the Malabar district of the Madras Presidency, namely, Walluvanad, Ponnani, Ernad and Calicut.

READING,
Viceroy and Governor-General.

XXVI

G.O. No. 174, Public, dated 25th February 1922.

The Malabar (Restoration of Order) Ordinance, 1922, as received by telegraph, is printed as an annexure to this order and will be published in an extraordinary issue of the *Fort St. George Gazette.*

(By order of the Governor in Council).

R. A. GRAHAM,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the Special Commissioner for Malabar.
,, District Magistrate, Malabar.
,, Special Civil Officer, Malabar.
,, General Officer Commanding, Madras District (with C.L.).
,, Hon'ble the Chief Justice (with C.L.).
,, Inspector-General of Police.
,, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D. and Railways.
,, Publicity Officer.
,, Superintendent, Government Press (for publication of the Ordinance in Gazette Extraordinary).
Editors' Table.

XXVII

G.O. No. 175, Public, dated 25th February 1922.

Under the power conferred by section 3 of the Malabar (Restoration of Order) Ordinance, 1922, His Excellency the Governor in Council is pleased to make the following regulations :—

(1) The powers of arrest conferred on a police officer by section 54 of the Code of Criminal Procedure may be exercised by any officer or other rank in command of any body of troops or by any one acting under his orders.

(2) In the absence of a magistrate or a commissioned officer the senior officer or other rank present in command of any body of troops or armed police shall have all the powers of a magistrate or commissioned officer under chapter IX of the Code of Criminal Procedure.

(3) It shall be lawful for any magistrate or, commissioned officer or, in the absence of such, the senior officer or other rank present in command of any body of troops or armed police to use such force as may be necessary to effect the capture, or prevent the escape, of any person with arms or of any person reasonably believed to have been concerned in, or to be making preparations for the commission of, any murder or dacoity or any offence under section 121 of the Indian Penal Code or any offence described in section 3 of the Mapilla Outrages Act, 1859 ; and such force may extend to causing death.

(4) The District Magistrate or Subdivisional Magistrate may prohibit the holding of meetings within any specified area or of any particular meeting, festival or procession if he considers such prohibition necessary in order to prevent a breach of the peace or a disturbance of the public tranquillity.

(5) The District Magistrate may prohibit the entry of any person into, or the departure of any person from, the scheduled area or may restrict the movements of any person within the scheduled area if he considers such prohibition or restriction desirable in the interests of the public tranquillity.

(6) The District Magistrate may prohibit the export of any foodstuffs from the scheduled area or any part thereof and may issue orders to regulate the distribution or sale of foodstuffs within the scheduled area.

(7) On complaint made by any person that he has subsequently to the 20th August 1921 been dispossessed without his consent of any immovable property otherwise than in due course of law, any magistrate, if on making a summary enquiry he is satisfied that the complainant was so dispossessed, may direct that the person found

in occupation of such property shall be evicted and the complainant placed in possession thereof. Nothing in this regulation shall bar any person from suing to establish his title to such property and recover possession thereof.

(8) When any person has been notified by the District Magistrate as an offender who has been actively concerned in the recent disorders, no person shall harbour such offender or assist him in any way to evade apprehension, and every person who obtains information regarding the whereabouts of any such notified offender shall forthwith communicate the same to the nearest magistrate or police officer.

(9) Any person who disobeys or contravenes any of these regulations or any order duly issued under them shall be liable on conviction to be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine which may extend to Rs. 1,000, or with both.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

R. A. Graham,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the District Magistrate, Malabar.
,, Special Commissioner for Malabar Affairs.
,, General Officer Commanding, Madras District (with C.L.).
,, Hon'ble the Chief Justice (with C.L.).
,, Inspector-General of Police.
,, Deputy-Inspector-General of Police, C.I.D. and Railways.
,, Publicity Officer.
,, Superintendent, Government Press (for publication of notification in Gazette Extraordinary).
Editors' Table.

XXVIII

G.O. No. 176, Public, dated 25th February 1922.

Under section 4 of the Malabar (Restoration of Order) Ordinance, 1922, His Excellency the Governor in Council is pleased—

(1) to declare that the Summary Courts constituted and the Special Magistrates appointed under the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, and the Martial Law (Special Magistrates) Ordinance, 1921, respectively, shall continue as Summary Courts and Special Magistrates under the said Ordinance;

(2) to appoint Mr. J. W. Hughes, I.C.S., Mr. A. Edgington, I.C.S., and Mr. R. Narayana Ayyar, I.C.S., to be Special Judges.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

R. A. Graham,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the Special Commissioner for Malabar.
,, the District Magistrate, Malabar.
,, the General Officer Commanding, Madras District (with C.L.).
,, the Special Civil Officer.
,, J. W. Hughes, Esq., I.C.S., Calicut.
,, A. Edgington, Esq., I.C.S., Calicut.
,, R. Narayana Ayyar, Esq., I.C.S., Calicut.

Copy to the Hon'ble the Chief Justice (with C.L.).
,, Finance Department.
,, Accountant-General.

Gazette (Order).
Editors' Table.

XXIX

Memorandum No. 2110-1, Public, dated 27th February 1922.

Under sub-section (4) of section 3 of the Malabar (Restoration of Order) Ordinance 1922, the District Magistrate, Malabar, is directed to publish the Ordinance in the District Gazette and in such other manner as may be necessary.

(By order)

G. R. F. Tottenham,
Under Secretary to Government.

Note.—For further details and notes, see G.O. No. 842, Public, dated 20th October 1922.

SECTION G—RETURNS OF SUMMARY TRIALS.

I

1st to 9th SEPTEMBER 1921.

Cases disposed of and committed to Special Tribunal.

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences. 2 years.	18 months.	1 year.	6 months.	Number committed to Special Tribunal.	Number acquitted.
Sections 149 and 379, Indian Penal Code, and Regulation 2, Martial Law Ordinance (all triable under section 395, Indian Penal Code, but taken summarily).	..	306	306	251	52	3*	..	..	..
Regulation 7, Martial Law Ordinance (all triable under section 126, Indian Railways Act).	..	60	60	60	..	..	..	..	..
Section, 149, Indian Penal Code (triable under section 121, Indian Penal Code).	..	35	35	35	..	..	..	..	..
Section 2, Malabar Act, XXII of 1854	..	2	2	..	..	..	2	..	..
Sections 149 and 384, Indian Penal Code, and Regulation 2 of Martial Law Ordinance.	..	2	2	† 2	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 14	..	4	4	4	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 121, 149 and 302, Indian Penal Code, and Regulations 8 and 14.	..	38	..	..	..	..	..	38	..
Total ..	43	447	409	352	52	3	2	38	..

* Also fine of Rs. 1,000 in two cases. † Minimum three years but taken summarily.

II

9th to 15th SEPTEMBER 1921.

Section (i)—*Cases disposed of.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences. 2 years.	18 months.	1 year.	6 months.	3 months.	Number acquitted.
* Sections 149 and 379, Indian Penal Code, and Regulation 2, Martial Law Ordinance.	..	140	140	126	2	12	..	..	..
* Sections 149, 379 and 427, Indian Penal Code, and Regulation 2, Martial Law Ordinance.	..	101	101	98	3	..	..	..	..
Sections 143 and 431, Indian Penal Code	..	12	11	11	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 7 and section 149, Indian Penal Code.	..	19	19	18	..	1	..	..	1
† Regulation 7, Martial Law Ordinance	..	16	16	15	..	1	..	..	..
Regulation 12, Martial Law Ordinance	..	2	2	1	..	..	..	1	..
Regulation 14, Martial Law Ordinance	..	5	5	2	..	2	1	..	..
Total ..	28	295	294	271	5	16	1	1	1

* All triable under section 395, Indian Penal Code, but taken summarily.
† Triable under section 126, Indian Railways Act.

Section (ii)—*Cases committed to Special Tribunal.*

	Number of cases.	Number accused.
Sections 149, 380 and 436, Indian Penal Code, and Regulation 2	..	7
Sections 149, 379 and 307, Indian Penal Code ..	..	1
Sections 149, 379 and 395, Indian Penal Code ..	..	6
Regulation 7	..	20
Regulation 7 and section 395, Indian Penal Code ..	..	37
Section 397, Indian Penal Code	..	1
Section 121, Indian Penal Code, with Mapilla Outrages Act	..	1
Sections 149 and 436, Indian Penal Code, and Regulation 2	..	1
Sections 149, 380, 307 and 436, Indian Penal Code, and Regulation 2	..	1
Total ..	11	75

III

15TH TO 19TH SEPTEMBER 1921.

SECTION (i)—*Cases disposed of.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences. 2 years.	18 months.	1 year.	6 months.	2 months.	Whipping.	Number acquitted.
Regulation 2 and sections 149, 379 and 427, Indian Penal Code.	..	51	51	50	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143 and 431, Indian Penal Code	..	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143 and 384, Indian Penal Code	..	30	30	15	14	1	..	..	..	..
Sections 143 and 379, Indian Penal Code	..	38	38	33*	..	4	..	..	1†	..
Sections 143, 149 and 426, Indian Penal Code	..	17	17	..	..	..	17	..	..	..
Sections 149 and 379, Indian Penal Code	..	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 144, 149, 426, 447 and 385, Indian Penal Code.	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 12 and sections 426 and 116, Indian Penal Code.	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Section 147, Indian Penal Code	..	5	5	4	..	..	1‡	..	..	..
Sections 149 and 427, Indian Penal Code	..	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	
Sections 147 and 379, Indian Penal Code	..	3	3	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
Section 379, Indian Penal Code	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Regulation 12	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1‡	..	..
Sections 55, 550, Criminal Procedure Code	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Total	26	161	158	114	18	5	19	1	1	3

* Also fine of Rs. 500 in two cases, Rs. 200 in two cases and Rs. 300 in three cases.
† Fourteen stripes.
‡ Simple imprisonment.

SECTION (ii)—*Cases committed to Special Tribunal.*

	Number of cases.	Number accused.
Sections 149 and 395, Indian Penal Code	..	95
Sections 149 and 436, Indian Penal Code	..	17
Sections 149, 380, 435 and 436, Indian Penal Code	..	10
Sections 122 and 145, Indian Penal Code	..	1
Sections 147 and 395, Indian Penal Code, and section 126, Indian Railways Act	..	1
Section 149, Indian Penal Code and section 126, Indian Railways Act	..	27
Sections 149 and 379, Indian Penal Code	..	1
Sections 149, 379 and 436, Indian Penal Code	..	13
Section 122, Indian Penal Code	..	1
Sections 109 and 436, Indian Penal Code	..	2
Section 143, Indian Penal Code, and Regulation 7	..	6
Total	20	714

IV

19TH TO 22ND SEPTEMBER 1921.

SECTION (i)—*Cases disposed of.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences. 2 years.	18 months.	1 year.	6 months.	4 months.	—	Number acquitted.
Regulation 2 and sections 130 and 279, Indian Penal Code.	..	124	124	113	..	11	..	..	..	..
Sections 439, 378 and 426, Indian Penal Code	..	2	2	..	..	..	* 2	..	..	..
Section 431, Indian Penal Code	..	4	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Section 147, Indian Penal Code	..	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 7, Martial Law Ordinance	..	17	17	11	6	..	..	..	..	..
Do. 9 do.	..	2	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Do. 12 do.	..	5	5	..	..	3	1	† 1	..	..
Do. 14 do.	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	21	157	157	131	6	14	4	1	..	1

* Simple imprisonment. † Also fine Rs. 50

SECTION (ii)—*Cases committed to Special Tribunal.*

	Number of cases.	Number accused.
Sections 395 and 436, Indian Penal Code, and section 126, Indian Railways Act	..	16
Sections 149, 379 and 427, Indian Penal Code ..	..	7
Sections 149 and 431, Indian Penal Code	..	2
Section 395, Indian Penal Code	..	15
Sections 395 and 436, Indian Penal Code	..	17
Sections 149 and 436, Indian Penal Code	..	10
Sections 148 and 452, Indian Penal Code	..	1
Section 126, Indian Railways Act, and Regulation 7	..	4
Section 147, Indian Penal Code, and Regulation 5	..	1
Section 431, Indian Penal Code	..	2
Total ..	15	75

V

22ND TO 26TH SEPTEMBER 1921.

SECTION (i)—*Cases disposed of.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences. 2 years.	20 months.	18 months.				Number acquitted.
Regulation 2 and section 431, Indian Penal Code.	..	8	8	4	..	4				..
Section 395, Indian Penal Code	..	20	20	12	..	8				..
Section 147, Indian Penal Code	..	2	2	2	..	..				..
Sections 149 and 427, Indian Penal Code ..	..	11	11	2	9	..				..
Section 384, Indian Penal Code	..	12	12	..	..	12				..
Sections 149, 379 and 427, Indian Penal Code.	..	17	17	17	..	..				..
Sections 144 and 379, Indian Penal Code ..	..	24	24	24	..	..				..
Regulations 4 and 5, Martial Law Ordinance ..	..	2	2	2	..	..				..
Total ..	12	96	96	63	9	24				..

SECTION (ii)—*Cases committed to Special Tribunal.*

	Number of cases.	Number accused.
Regulation 2 and sections 149, 431, 380, 435 and 436, Indian Penal Code.	..	54
Section 379, Indian Penal Code	..	1
Section 148, Indian Penal Code	..	3
Sections 147 and 431, Indian Penal Code	..	1
Sections 144 and 436, Indian Penal Code	..	7
Sections 395 and 436, Indian Penal Code	..	71
Sections 149 and 436, Indian Penal Code	..	14
Sections 149, 426 and 436, Indian Penal Code ..	..	8
Regulation 7	..	1
Total ..	14	160

VI

26TH TO 29TH SEPTEMBER 1921.

SECTION (i)—*Cases disposed of.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number of accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences.						Number acquitted.
				2 years.	18 months.	1 year.	9 months.	6 months.	3 months.	
Regulation 2 and sections 143 and 370, Indian Penal Code.	..	11	11	..	* 5	* 6	..	..	..	..
Sections 143 and 353, Indian Penal Code.	..	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 144 and 427, Indian Penal Code.	..	22	22	18	..	4	..	..	..	..
Sections 147, 427, 448 and 379, Indian Penal Code.	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143 and 426, Indian Penal Code.	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Sections 144, 149 and 427, Indian Penal Code, and Regulation 7.*	..	15	15	14	..	1	..	..	..	..
Sections 144, 149 and 427, Indian Penal Code.	..	29	29	27	1	1	..	..	..	..
Sections 144, 427 and 448, Indian Penal Code.	..	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Section 384, Indian Penal Code ..	..	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 149 and 379, Indian Penal Code.	..	77	72	11	..	34	21	6	..	† 5
Sections 149, 379 and 426, Indian Penal Code.	..	45	45	45	..	..	..	..	..	..
Section 148, Indian Penal Code ..	..	4	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	† 1
Regulations 4 and 5	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 7	..	13	13	13	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	33	225	219	139	6	46	21	6	1	6

* Also fine. † Discharged.

SECTION (ii)—*Cases committed to Special Tribunal.*

	Number of cases.	Number accused.
Sections 143, 448 and 435, Indian Penal Code ..	..	1
Section 395, Indian Penal Code	..	41
Section 126, Railways Act and Regulation 7	..	29
Sections 149, 379 and 436, Indian Penal Code	..	8
Sections 149 and 379, Indian Penal Code	..	7
Section 126, Railways Act, and 395, Indian Penal Code..	..	2
Section 126, Railways Act	..	2
Sections 395 and 436, Indian Penal Code	..	7
Section 436, Indian Penal Code	..	6
Sections 395, 426 and 436, Indian Penal Code	..	14
Sections 149, 436 and 426, Indian Penal Code	..	8
Section 392, Indian Penal Code	..	1
Sections 143, 149, 426 and 436, Indian Penal Code ..	..	11
Sections 144 and 436, Indian Penal Code	..	28
Regulations 8 and 12	..	4
Total ..	28	169

VII

29th SEPTEMBER to 3rd OCTOBER 1921.

Section (i)—*Cases disposed of.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences.					Number acquitted.
				2 years.	18 months.	1 year.	9 months.	6 months.	
Regulation 2 and sections 94, 149 and 379, Indian Penal Code.	..	103	103	55	35	13	..	..	..
Sections 149 and 384, Indian Penal Code	..	14	14	..	14	..	..	..	..
Sections 143 and 431 ,, ..	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143 and 379 ,, ...	..	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143 and 384 ,, ...	..	11	11	6	..	5	..	..	..
Section 379, Indian Penal Code	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
Section 144 ,, ...	..	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..
Section 143 ,, ...	..	6	6	..	..	..	..	6	..
Section 147, Indian Penal Code and Regulation 16 ..	..	2	2	..	2	..	..	..	..
Regulation 16	..	8	7	2	..	5	..	..	1
Regulations 8 and 12	..	5	5	..	..	5	..	..	..
Regulation 5	..	4	4	..	..	1	3	..	..
Regulations 4 and 5	..	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 7	..	8	8	8	..	..	..	..	..
Section 2, War Knives Act and Regulation 11	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
Regulation	..	3	8	..	..	3	..	..	..
Total ..	26	180	179	85	52	32	3	7	1

Section (ii)—*Cases committed to Special Tribunal.*

	Number of cases.	Number accused.
Section 395, Indian Penal Code	..	26
Section 379 ,, ...	..	1
Sections 454, 461 and 380, Indian Penal Code ..	..	12
Sections 149, 431, 380 and 435, Indian Penal Code	..	69
Section 126, Railway Act	..	2
Total ..	14	110

VIII

2nd to 6th OCTOBER 1921.

Section (i)—*Cases disposed of.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences.		Number acquitted.
				2 years.	3 months.	
Regulation 2, sections 149 and 379, Indian Penal Code.	12	296	296	* 296	..	..
Regulation 2, section 383	5	9	9	9	..	..
,, ,, 435	1	1	1	1	..	..
,, sections 149 and 431	1	3	3	† 3	..	..
,, ,, 143 and 379	6	33	32	32	..	1
Regulation 12	1	1	1	..	1	..
Total ..	26	343	342	‡ 341	1	1

* Fine also in the case of one accused. † Fine also in one case. ‡ Fine also in two cases.

Section (ii)—*Cases committed to Special Tribunal.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.
Regulation 2, sections 149, 380 and 435	2	62
,, ,, 149 and 431	3	145
,, ,, 149 and 436	2	70
,, section 397	2	75
,, ,, 435	1	1
Total ...	10	353

IX

7th to 12th OCTOBER 1921.

Section (i)—*Cases disposed of.*

Offences.	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences.									Number acquitted.	Remarks.
				2 years		18 months.	1 year.	9 months.	6 months.	2 months.	1 month.	Fine Rs. 1,000.		
				Rigorous imprisonment.	Simple imprisonment.									
Regulation 2, sections 144, 379, 384, Indian Penal Code.	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
,, ,, 149, 379 ,,	8	66	66	* 66	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	* 5 fine also.
,, ,, 149, 435 ,,	2	26	26	† 26	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	† 2 fine also.
,, ,, 149, 379, 426 ,,	23	158	151	140	..	8	3	..	..	..	..	..	7	
,, ,, 144, 149, 427 ,,	3	33	33	32	..	.	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	
,, ,, 143, 379 ,,	4	25	25	25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
,, ,, 143, 384 ,,	3	19	19	18	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
,, ,, 149, 379, 431 ,,	3	52	52	52	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
,, section 147 ,, ...	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
,, ,, 143, Regulation 7 ,, ...	1	32	32	32	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Regulations 8 and 16, M.L.O.	1	10	10	7	..	..	3	..	..	..	..		..	
Regulation 8 ,, ...	2	19	18	8	..	..	9	..	1	..	..	..	1	
,, 14 ,, ...	3	26	26	‡ 25	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	‡2 fine also.
Regulations 4 and 5 ,, ...	3	6	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Regulation 5 ,, ...	5	§ 1	14	11	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	§ fine also.
,, 6 ,, ...	2	24	24	23	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	
,, 9 ,, ...	1	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	‖5	..	..	..	..	‖ fine also.
Total ..	66	518	509	473	1	8	18	..	6	1	1	1	9	

Section (ii)—*Cases committed to Special Tribunal.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.
Section 395	10	29
Section 121	1	1
Sections 149, 436 and 426	6	87
Sections 395, 436 and 426	1	8
Sections 144 and 436	2	8
Sections 149 and 431	2	34
Sections 149 and 436	4	15
Total ...	26	182

X

13TH TO 21ST OCTOBER 1921.

SECTION (i)—*Cases disposed of.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences.								Number acquitted.
				2 years.	18 months.	1 year.	9 months.	6 months.	4 months.	2 months.	1 month.	
Regulation 2, sections 147, 431, I.P.C. ..	1	12	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
,, sections 149, 384 ,, ..	10	96	91	72	17	2	..	..	..	..	..	5
,, sections 144, 384 ,, ..	4	19	19	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, sections 143, 384 ,, ..	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, sections 147, 426 ,, ..	1	2	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
,, section 384 ,, ..	2	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, sections 149, 379 ,, ..	15	376	376	376	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, sections 143, 431 ,, ..	1	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, sections 143, 427 ,, ..	2	6	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, sections 143, 426 ,, ..	1	2	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
,, sections 143, 379 ,, ..	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, sections 149, 427 ,, ..	6	281	281	*281	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, section 431 ,, ..	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, sections 379, 384 ,, ..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Regulations 4 and 5	4	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 5	5	9	8	7	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Regulations 8 and 12	2	7	7	5	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2 and 8	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 9	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
,, 12	2	8	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, 14	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Section 2, War Knives Act	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Total ..	66	846	834	*804	17	5	2	3	1	1	1	12

* Fine also in five cases.

SECTION (ii)—*Committed to Special Tribunal.*

Offences.				Number of cases.	Number accused.
Sections 149 and 436,	I.P.C.	...	...	3	35
Section 121	,,	...	...	2	2
Section 431	,,	...	...	1	4
Section 395	,,	...	...	15	51
Sections 379, 426	,,	...	...	1	1
Sections 149, 426, 436	,,	...	...	7	47
Sections 149, 380, 435, 454, 461	,,	...	...	1	6
Sections 149, 380, 435, 436	,,	...	...	1	1
Sections 149, 436, 426, 395	,,	...	...	1	3
Sections 395, 457, 380	,,	...	...	1	7
		Total	...	33	157

XI

22ND TO 28TH OCTOBER 1921.

SECTION (i)—*Cases disposed of.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences. 2 years.	18 months.	1 year.	9 months.	6 months.	3 months.	2 months.	Number acquitted or discharged.
Regulation 2, sections 149, 379, 426 ..	9	61	59	53	..	4	..	* 2	..	..	2
„ „ 149, 380, 511 ..	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ „ 149, 379 ..	4	6	3	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	3
„ section 147	3	14	14	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ „ 380	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ „ 384	2	4	4	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
„ „ 395	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 5 of the L. Regulations ..	4	9	8	2	2	..	..	4	..	..	1
Order No. 1, Regulation 5 of the L. Regulations.	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	† 1	..
Regulation 8	1	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 12	2	14	14	..	2	12	..	..	..	..	..
„ 14	8	14	12	2	..	1	3	1	5	..	2
Total ..	37	133	125	83	6	19	4	7	5	1	8

* Simple imprisonment. † Summary trial and fine of Rs. 25.

SECTION (ii)—*Cases committed to Special Tribunal.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.
Section 379, Indian Penal Code	1	1
Section 395, Indian Penal Code	3	7
Sections 149 and 302, Indian Penal Code	1	1
Sections 149, 454 and 384, Indian Penal Code	1	10
Total ..	6	19

XII

28TH OCTOBER TO 3RD NOVEMBER 1921.

SECTION (i)—*Cases disposed of.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number of persons concerned.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences. 2 years.	18 months.	1 year.	6 months.	2 months.	Whipping.	Number acquitted.
Regulation 2, M.L.O., and sections 149, 384	16	116	116	76	13	26	1	..	..	..
„ 2 „ „ 149, 379, 384	2	18	18	..	18	..	..	..	..	..
„ 2 „ „ 149, 384, 426	1	3	3	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
„ 2 „ and section 147	3	7	7	5	..	2	..	..	..	..
„ 2 „ „ 395	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 2 „ „ 411	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 2 „ and sections 144, 147, 427	2	9	9	7	..	2	..	..	..	..
„ 2 „ „ 149, 447, 426, 285 ..	1	3	3	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 2 „ „ 149, 426, 448	2	3	3	..	..	3	..	..	..	..
„ 2 „ and section 431	4	20	20	20	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 2 „ „ 379	4	13	13	*13	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 2 „ and sections 143, 379, 431	1	12	11	..	..	..	‡11	..	..	1
„ 2 „ „ 149, 448, 427	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 2 „ „ 149, 353..	1	1	1	†1	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 2 „ „ 143, 379	3	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
„ 9 „	5	6	6	..	..	..	3	1	2	..
„ 12	3	3	3	2	..	1	..	..	..	..
„ 5	4	5	5	3	..	2	..	..	..	..
„ 8	1	2	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..
„ 14	2	8	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	58	238	237	147	36	36	15	1	2	1

* Fine also in two cases. † Fine also in all cases. ‡ Fine also.

SECTION (ii)—*Cases committed to Special Tribunal.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.
Section 395, Indian Penal Code	13	51
Sections 147, 431, Indian Penal Code	5	14
Sections 149, 454, 330, Indian Penal Code	3	50
Sections 144, 436, Indian Penal Code	4	42
Sections 149, 380, 435, 454, 461, Indian Penal Code.	1	4
Regulation 7	3	9
Sections 148, 380, Indian Penal Code	1	14
Sections 149, 302 ,, ...	2	2
Sections 149, 378 ,, ...	1	1
Section 307 ,, ...	1	1
Sections 395, 121 ,, ...	1	2
Sections 395, 431 ,, ...	1	1
Total ..	36	191

XIII

3RD TO 12TH NOVEMBER 1921.

SECTION (i)—*Cases disposed of.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number of persons concerned.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences. Imprisonment. 2 years.	1 year.	6 months.	4 months.	Fine. Rs. 25.	Rs. 15.	Whipping.	Number acquitted.
Regulation 2, M.L.O., sections 143 and 379, I.P.C.	6	34	34	34	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24, War Knives Act	4	4	4	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..
Regulation 9, M.L.O.	3	3	3	.	..	2	..	..	1	..	..
,, 5 ,, ...	6	11	11	*11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143 and 347, I.P.C.	2	2	2	† 2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 149 and 379 ,, ...	8	18	18	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143 and 384 ,, ...	11	37	34	33	1	..	..	..	..	..	3
Sections 143 and 431 ,, ...	8	33	33	30	..	1	..	..	..	‡ 2	..
Regulation 7 (b), M.L.O.	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, 6	1	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Section 379, I.P.C.	4	4	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 12, M.L.O.	3	12	12	9	..	1	..	2	..	..	..
,, 14 ,, ...	2	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Section 147, I.P.C. ..	2	3	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Sections 149, 454 and 427 ,, ..	1	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 149, 379 and 426 ,, ..	11	49	41	39	2	..	..	..	..	..	8
Sections 149, 426 and 451 ,, ..	1	8	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Section 384 ,, ..	2	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 149 and 461 ,, ..	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	77	231	217	201	3	7	1	2	1	2	14

* Fine also in three cases. † Fine also in one case. ‡ Twelve stripes.

SECTION (ii)—*Cases committed to Special Tribunal.*

	Number of cases.	Number accused.
Sections 147 and 436	1	1
Sections 143, 380 and 435	2	14
Section 395	2	3
Sections 149, 436 and 426	2	11
Sections 144 and 436	1	1
Sections 149 and 379	1	1
Section 126, Railway Act	1	8
Section 121, Indian Penal Code	1	1
Total ..	11	40

XIV

13TH TO 22ND NOVEMBER 1921.

SECTION (i)—*Cases disposed of.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number of persons concerned.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences. 2 years' R.I.	2 years' S.I.	1 year.	6 months.	2 months.	Number discharged.
Regulation 2, sections 149 and 383, Indian Penal Code.	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2, sections 149 and 427 ,,	2	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2, sections 149 and 379 ,,	29	128	128	* 125	..	..	3	..	..
,, 2, sections 149, 379 and 427, Indian Penal Code.	1	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2, sections 149 and 384, Indian Penal Code.	3	19	19	15	..	4	..	..	..
,, 2, sections 149, 448 and 427, Indian Penal Code.	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2, sections 149 and 353, Indian Penal Code.	1	1	1	† 1	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2, section 431 ,,	1	6	6	6	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2, section 147 ,,	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2, sections 454 and 380 ,,	2	22	20	17	3	..	..	..	2
,, 2, section 144 ,,	1	3	3	2	1	..	..	..	..
,, 2, sections 143 and 347 ,,	2	9	9	9	..	..	..	..	..
,, 6, M.L.O.	7	8	7	‡5	..	2	..	..	1
,, 7 ,, ...	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
,, 9 ,, ...	1	5	5	..	..	..	..	5	..
,, 14 ,, ...	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Section 3 (4) of Ordinance No. 4	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Total ..	57	217	212	194	4	6	3	5	5

* Fine also in nine cases as follows :—
Rs. 1,000 in 4 cases.
,, 500 in 5 ,,

† Fine of Rs. 100 also.

‡ Fine of Rs. 100 also in one case.

SECTION (ii)—*Cases committed to Special Tribunal.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.
Sections 436 and 395, Indian Penal Code	2	7
Sections 149 and 435 ,, ...	1	3
Sections 149, 454, 380 and 435 ,, ...	1	2
Sections 149, 380 and 436 ,, ...	1	1
Sections 146 and 436 ,, ...	1	1
Section 395 ,, ...	4	4
Section 126, Railway Act	1	12
Total ..	11	30

XV

23RD NOVEMBER TO 2ND DECEMBER 1921.

SECTION (i)—*Cases disposed of.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences. Imprisonment. 2 years.	1 year.	6 months.	3 months.	2 months.	Imprisonment till rising of Court.	Fine. Rs. 100.	Rs. 50.	Number acquitted.
Regulation 2, sections 149, 429, 457.	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2, sections 143, 149, 426, 448.	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2, sections 144, 149, 427.	1	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2, sections 149, 426..	2	6	6	4	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2, sections 149, 379 ..	42	462	462	456	..	..	..	4	*1	1	..	..
,, 2, section 384 ..	11	126	125	124	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
,, 2, sections 149, 379, 384.	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.
,, 2, sections 143, 347 ..	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2, sections 149, 371 ..	1	36	36	34	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2, sections 149, 353 ..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2, section 144 ..	1	7	7	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2, section 395 ..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, 2, sections 149, 431..	1	10	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Section 3 (4) of Ordinance No. 4..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
,, 2 of War Knives Act ..	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 11, M.L.O. ..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, 12 ,, ..	3	3	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
,, 6 ,, ..	6	13	13	7	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
,, 9 ,, ..	5	5	5	..	..	2	3	..	..	..	..	..
Regulations 4, 5 and 11 ,, ..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Regulation 5 ,, ..	1	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	2
,, 14 ,, ..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total ..	85	691	683	655	10	5	4	4	1	3	1	8

* A juvenile who is not in a fit state to receive stripes.

SECTION (ii)—*Cases committed to Special Tribunal.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.
Sections 295 and 436	1	6
Sections 143, 436 and 426	4	8
Sections 144 and 436	2	2
Sections 147 and 395	1	1
Sections 144, 149, 426, 436 and 395	1	28
Section 3, Mapilla Outrages Act	1	1
Total ..	10	46

XVI

3rd to 12th DECEMBER 1921.

Section (i)—*Cases disposed of.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentence. 2 years.	18 months.	1 year.	6 months.	Rs. 100 fine.	Number acquitted.
Sections 149, 379 and 426, Indian Penal Code	19	63	62	* 62	..	..	..	..	1
,, 143, 379 and 384 ,, ...	2	24	24	24	..	..	..	..	..
,, 143, 379 and 506 ,, ...	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
,, 149 and 379 ,, ...	51	353	343	341	1	2	..	1	10
,, 149 and 431 ,, ...	3	6	6	6	..	..	..	..	..
,, 379 and 511 ,, ...	1	2	2	..	† 2	..	..	..	..
,, 384 and 511 ,, ...	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
,, 149 and 384 ,, ...	3	28	25	25	..	..	..	..	3
,, 224 and 353 ,, ...	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Section 148, Indian Penal Code	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 9	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
,, 14	2	2	2	1	..	1	..	..	..
Section 2, War Knives Act	7	11	11	..	..	..	‡ 11	..	..
Total ..	93	498	484	465	3	3	12	1	14

* Rs. 1,000 fine also in the case of one and Rs. 500 in case of another.
† Rs. 500 fine also in the case of both.
‡ Fine of Rs. 50 each in the case of four accused.

Section (ii)—*Cases committed to the Special Tribunal.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.
Sections 395, 511 and 307	1	1

XVII

13th to 24th DECEMBER 1921.

Section (i)—*Cases disposed of.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences. Imprisonment. 2 years.	18 months.	1 year.	6 months.	4 months.	1 month.	Fine. Rs. 200.	Rs. 50.	Rs. 25.	Whipping.	Number acquitted.
Sections 144, 149 and 427, Indian Penal Code.	1	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Sections 143, 379 and 506, Indian Penal Code.	3	23	23	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143, 379 and 384, Indian Penal Code.	1	11	11	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143, 440 and 379, Indian Penal Code.	1	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143, 454 and 380, Indian Penal Code.	2	4	4	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 149 and 379, Indian Penal Code.	45	477	471	428	17	18	† 5	..	..	2	..	..	1	6
Sections 143 and 384, Indian Penal Code.	8	61	61	* 61	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 149 and 431, Indian Penal Code.	1	13	13	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 149 and 427, Indian Penal Code.	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 9, M.L.O. ..	4	4	4	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..
Regulation 6 ,, ..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 12 ,, ..	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Section 7, War Knives Act.	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	70	602	595	544	18	20	6	1	1	2	1	1	1	7

* Fine of Rs. 100 also in seven cases. † Fine of Rs. 100 also in three cases.

Section (ii)—*Committed to Special Tribunal.*

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.
Section 395, Indian Penal Code	1	1
Sections 149 and 396, Indian Penal Code	1	5
Sections 395 and 511, Indian Penal Code	1	1
Total ..	3	7

XVIII

SUMMARY TRIALS.

25th DECEMBER 1921 to 7th JANUARY 1922.

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentence. Imprisonment. 2 years.	18 months	1 year.	6 months.	4 months.	3 months.	2 months.	Fine. Rs. 50.	Rs. 25.	Rs. 10.	Number acquitted.
Section 395 ..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Section 399 ..	2	11	11	* 11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Section 379 ..	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143 and 379	35	243	243	† 239	..	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 144 and 379	9	49	49	44	..	..	..	2	2	1	..	..	..	..
Sections 149 and 379	47	430	430	418	..	11	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Sections 149 and 384	4	29	29	27	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 144 and 506	1	3	3	‡ 3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143 and 426	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 149 and 431	1	2	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 149 and 427	2	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 149, 384 and 379.	1	6	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 144, 454 and 380.	1	2	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143, 379 and 426.	1	6	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 147, 457 and 379.	1	2	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Section 379 and Regulation 15 (*a*) M.L. Regulation.	1	4	4	..	§ 2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
Sections 506 and 2 of War Knives Act.	1	21	21	21	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Section 2, War Knives Act.	2	3	3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 12 of M.L. Regulation.	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Regulation 9 of M.L. Regulation.	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Total ..	114	818	817	777	6	18	5	2	3	2	1	2	1	1

* Seven fined Rs. 100 also, 4 fined Rs. 50 also. † One accused fined Rs. 100 also.
‡ All the accused fined Rs. 100 each. § Each fined Rs. 25 also.

XIX

SUMMARY TRIALS.

7TH TO 18TH JANUARY 1922.

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentence. Imprisonment. 2 years.	18 months.	1 year.	6 months.	4 months.	3 months.	Fine. Rs. 100.	Rs. 50.	Number acquitted.
Section 379, Indian Penal Code.	5	10	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143 and 379	27	184	184	184	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143 and 384	1	8	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143, 384 and 379 ..	1	8	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 380 and 454	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 6	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Sections 143 and 506	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Section 324	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total ..	38	216	215	215	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

REMARKS.—One fined Rs. 100 and fourteen fined Rs. 50.

XX

SUMMARY TRIALS.

18TH JANUARY TO 2ND FEBRUARY 1922.

Offence.	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number of conviction.	Distribution of sentence. Imprisonment. 2 years.	18 months.	1 year.	6 months.	Whipping. 12 stripes.	Fine. Rs. 300.	Rs. 100.	Rs. 50.	Rs. 80.	Rs. 200.	Discharged or acquitted.
Sections 143 and 379, Indian Penal Code.	16	177	177	167	2	..	..	1	..	..	7	..	..	..
Section 379, Indian Penal Code.	2	8	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..
Sections 143 and 384, Indian Penal Code.	1	8	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 143, 384 and 379, Indian Penal Code.	1	8	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 323 and 393, Indian Penal Code.	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Sections 148, 225 and 224, Indian Penal Code.	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
Sections 144, 380 and 454, Indian Penal Code.	1	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	..
Sections 379 and 411.	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 149 and 379.	15	66	54	54	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Regulation 2 of M.L.O. 11.	1	8	7	..	4	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Regulation 9 of M.L.O. 11.	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 5 of Ordinance 3.	3	3	3	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
Regulation 10 of Ordinance 11.	2	3	3	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Total ..	46	296	277	252	7	6	3	1	1	1	8	3	3	19

XXI

SUMMARY TRIALS.

2nd to 12th FEBRUARY 1922.

Sections.	Number of cases.	Nnmber accused.	Number of convictions.	Distribution of sentence.												Number acquitted.
				Imprisonment.					Whipping.		Fine.					
				1 year.	18 months.	1 year.	6 months.	2 months.			Rs. 300.	Rs. 100.	Rs. 20.	Rs. 10.	Rs. 5.	
Sections 143 and 379	32	159	140	135	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	19
Section 379	22	36	34	32	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Sections 143 and 384	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Section 584 ..	10	13	13	11	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Section 324 ..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sections 149 and 379.	14	21	19	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Sections 143 and 380.	12	45	42	42	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Sections 143 and 149.	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Sections 343 and 506.	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Section 395 ..	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Regulation 5 ..	1	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..
Regulation 6 (a) ..	3	4	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Regulation 9 ..	1	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	2
Regulation 12 ..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Regulation 15 (a)..	2	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	2	..	..
Total ..	104	307	274	249	5	2	1	1	..	..	1	4	8	2	3	33

XXII

SUMMARY TRIALS.

12th to 26th February 1922.

—	Number of cases.	Number accused.	Number convicted.	Distribution of sentences.									Number acquitted.
				Imprisonment.			Whipping.	Fine.					
				2 years.	18 months.	1 year.		Rs. 250	Rs. 100.	Rs. 50.	Rs. 20.	Rs. 10.	
Sections—													
143 and 379	21	62	58	37	21	..	..	2	2	5	..	..	4
143 and 380	18	38	36	36	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
379	3	10	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
144 and 379	7	33	32	32	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
448	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
143, 380 and 426 ..	1	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
143 and 506	1	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
149 and 379	1	6	6	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
149 and 384	2	2	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
149, 384 and 426 ..	1	7	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
384	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Martial Law Regulation to A.	2	10	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	2	..
Total ..	59	177	160	119	21	10	..	3	2	5	8	2	17

SECTION H.—SPECIAL POLICE FORCE.

I

Letter—from E. F. THOMAS, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate of Malabar, No. 286, dated the Calicut, 7th September 1921.

I—XVII 1st Detachment.

The position in the Martial Law area is briefly this. Calicut town and taluk are quiet. Columns have marched up to Pandikkad and to Perintalmanna from Malappuram : the former has returned, the latter is proceeding, I believe, to Mannarghat. These columns have met with no resistance though one band led by the notorious Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji and possibly others retain more or less of cohesion. I hope they will be met and destroyed in the near future. The country is quiet in the area already traversed by these columns. The question is how to keep it quiet. Effective occupation is the only way. This can, and I presume will, be carried out by the troops now in the district, but we must look forward to a time when the bulk of the troops will be removed after Martial Law has been withdrawn. They may have to be withdrawn before the rounding up of rebels and criminals is completed, while Military occupation is necessarily very expensive.

2. I cannot forecast the future. All I can say is that the merest prudence requires that we should provide against a relapse on the part of the Mapillas. It seems to me that when peace is restored or nearly restored it should be possible—it will certainly be necessary—to have armed posts in addition to a British detachment at Malappuram situated at a few central places in the area of Ernad and Walluvanad. Four at least will be required at Tirurangadi, Tirur, Perintalmanna and Pandikkad. These posts should consist of 70 men each and they should have a headquarters maintained in a state of defence against outlaws. The rank and file could be recruited from men picked from the large number of Hindu sepoys demobilized from the Carnatic Regiment and Malabar Infantry. Mr. Hitchcock can lay his hands on enough reliable men of the kind we require. It will clearly be necessary to restore Malappuram as a Military station and hold it with a strong garrison. The headquarters of the police force which may be called Auxiliary Police will be Malappuram where a detachment should be maintained in readiness to proceed to any area whether in support of one of the four posts or outside their sphere of influence. The whole force will be under the control of the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Malappuram.

They should be armed with magazine rifles. The force I contemplate is in effect a Military Police which will be officered by its own Indian officers supported by European sergeants and inspectors. The force will be costly but nothing like so costly as half their number of British soldiers, while their mobility will be much greater.

Under their protection the ordinary police will be able to resume their duties and get on with the arrest of the rebels who are evading capture. The necessity for some such arrangement is illustrated by a report I have just received from a Nayar of Trikolam, the amsam in which is situated the office of the Deputy Tahsildar of Tirurangadi. The Mapillas who left the place on the approach of the troops are drifting back, some in no chastened mood.

I make this recommendation now as it will take time to organize the force and select suitable buildings in which to locate the detachments.

3. Another matter of perhaps more pressing importance is this : we have now long lists of names of persons wanted for outrage : the lists are being added to daily, and there will soon be few amsams in Ernad, Walluvanad and North Ponnani unrepresented in the tally of men wanted. The difficulty is to catch them. On the appearance of the troops they fade away into the jungles and in the present insecure condition of most of the country it would be insane to send police in twos and threes to look for warrantees. I think therefore that the most feasible way of tackling the problem is for me to paper the amsams concerned with proclamations

under section 10 of the Mappilla Outrages Act (XX of 1859) and fine the Mapillas of each amsam concerned up to five thousand rupees in the event of their failing to produce the men wanted. This requires the sanction of the Governor in Council, but I presume the sanction can be a general one. The law provides this remedy, and it should have the effect of bringing home to the Mapilla his communal responsibility for a rebellion in which there are few not implicated. I presume that Government intends to make full use of the provisions of section 9 of the same Act for the levy of compensation even if it takes ten years to collect the very much large amount that will be required, and it will do no harm if the levy starts with a fine on amsams directly concerned in outrages for failure to deliver up criminals. Mr. Evans and Colonel Humphreys agree generally with me in this suggestion though the way of putting it is mine.

II

Endorsement to the Inspector-General of Police, No. 4263-1, Judicial, dated 14th September 1921.

Abstract.—Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the letter from the District Magistrate only referred to the Inspector-General of Police for very early remarks.

III

Letter—from F. Armitage, Esq., Acting Inspector-General of Police, Madras, No. A-74-1, dated the 16th September 1921.

I have the honour to reply to Judicial Department endorsement No. 4263-1, dated the 14th September 1921.

As the reference is marked very urgent, I have not delayed to examine it in detail which would require a consultation with the Deputy Inspector-General and Superintendent of Police. I can, however, say at once that I agree generally with the District Magistrate's proposals. Undoubtedly Malappuram must be restored as a military station, and certain armed posts, to be manned by police, established in the Ernad and Walluvanad area. This police force must be properly equipped. Magazine rifles are essential, and probably it should have Lewis guns also.

2. I also agree with the District Magistrate as to the desirability of requiring the Mapillas of the amsams concerned to bring in absconders under pain of a heavy fine.

IV

Letter—from F. Armitage, Esq., Acting Inspector-General of Police, Madras, No. R/76, dated the 26th September 1921.

Further to my letter No. A/74-1, dated 16th September 1921, regarding a special police force for South Malabar, I have the honour to forward a copy of a letter from Mr. Hitchcock.

2. He desires to be allowed to constitute immediately a military police force consisting of 12 sub-inspectors (present pay Rs. 65—3—110 and 115—5—125), 30 head constables and 300 constables. This force would be recruited mostly from ex military men, Nayars and Tiyyars. It would be assembled at Cannanore where it would be equipped and trained under Mr. Tottenham's supervision. It is estimated that the force would be raised and ready for service within a month of being sanctioned. At first it would be used as a striking force for dealing with parties of Mapillas still in open rebellion. Later on it would be located in defensible posts. A *sine qua non* of its efficiency is that it should be armed with magazine rifles. It has been found impossible to employ the Malappuram Special Force as a striking force under the present conditions owing to the absence of magazine rifles and proper equipment.

3. It will be noticed that European inspectors and sergeants are not recommended. It is thought that with the material available as sub-inspectors the force will be quite efficiently officered without them and on the other hand they are inclined to detract from the mobility of the force, while their presence may actually invite a fanatical attack. The Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Western Range, supports the proposals.

4. At present the parties of rebels appear to be eluding the British troops whose movements are necessarily less free and rapid than those of the proposed force would be, and it cannot be said how long this state of affairs will last.

It appears, therefore, that the speedy formation of this Police Force is likely to be an economy in the long run.

I would, therefore, recommend that its formation and the necessary supply of magazine rifles, ammunition and webbing equipment be sanctioned as soon as possible.

Upon receipt of orders the other details will be worked out and the Force constituted without delay.

ENCLOSURE.

Letter—from R. H. HITCHCOCK, Esq., Superintendent of Police, South Malabar, to the Inspector-General of Police, dated Calicut, the 24th September 1921.

With reference to Chief Office Endorsement No. A. 74–2, dated 16th September 1921, on the letter from the District Magistrate, I have the honour to report that I have consulted the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, the District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police, North Malabar, and the Officer Commanding, Calicut. I have delayed my report in order to do so and to be able to give details of our actual requirements. It is imperative that we should have our Force immediately both for the purpose of assisting in quelling the rebellion and to enable the District Police to carry on in safety as soon as troops are removed. Steps to enrol men have already been taken, but it is absolutely useless having the Force unless we are armed with a magazine rifle and webbing equipment. The rebels still number several thousands and it is impossible for a hundred police to take on any large number with a single shot rifle, the rebels being armed. We require 300 men, 30 head constables, 8 fifth-grade sub-inspectors and 4 first-grade sub-inspectors and an Assistant Superintendent of Police; for the present an Assistant Superintendent of Police is not essential. They must be armed with a ·303 rifle and equipped with webbing equipment and really good boots, six sets of signalling apparatus are also required, helio lamps, flags, telescopes; until the rebellion is quelled I propose keeping these men together as an offensive Force, subsequently dividing them into four posts as suggested by the Deputy Inspector-General.

They must be given an assurance that the dependents of those killed or permanently disabled will be given a pension.

If the Force is sanctioned I hope to be able to raise it within a week. Three weeks' intensive training would suffice, most of the men being trained. For equipment and training I propose sending the Force to Cannanore to be immediately under Mr. Tottenham who has very kindly undertaken this important work and who knows exactly what is required. The head constables will all be non-commissioned officers of the Malabar Infantry or the 75th Carnatic Infantry who saw active service in Aden, the sub-inspectors will almost all be demobilized Indian officers of these regiments.

I, therefore, have the honour to request that sanction to raise this Force may be sent by wire, and that clothing, equipment, arms and ammunition may be sent simultaneously to the Superintendent of Police, North Malabar, at Cannanore.

I will write again giving full details of the posts required and their strength and the communications necessary between them but our immediate need is for a striking Force.

V

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 141, dated the 29th September 1921.

ABSTRACT.—Asking for sanction for the issue of 350 magazine rifles with webbing equipment and ammunition, in pursuance of the order in Council of the same date.

VI

G.O. No. 694, Judicial, dated 30th September 1921.

The Government approve generally of the proposals of the District Magistrate for the formation of an additional Force of armed police to be stationed at the places he mentions.

2. The Inspector-General of Police is requested to work out and submit detailed proposals in the matter with the least practicable delay and in the meantime to proceed with the enrolment and equipment of recruits for the Force. Proposals for their temporary accommodation pending the construction of more permanent buildings should also be made.

3. Paragraph 3 of the District Magistrate's letter will be dealt with separately.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

N. E. Marjoribanks,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the District Magistrate, Malabar.
,, Inspector-General of Police.
Copy to the General Officer Commanding.
,, Special Civil Officer.
,, Finance Department.

VII

Telegram—from F. B. Evans, Esq., I.C.S., Calicut, dated the 5th October 1921.

Has sanction for magazine rifle for Military Police been received yet? Their equipment very urgent.

Telegram No. M. 146, dated the 5th October 1921, to the Government of India, to remind them and asking for very early orders.

VIII

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/370-G, dated the 6th October 1921.

Organization and training of Special Armed Police in Malabar being held up by non-issue of rifles. Military plans are based on Police being available early. Is there any action which you would like this headquarters to take to expedite provision? Orders sanction for issue must come from Army headquarters.

IX

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/315-G, dated the 6th October 1921.

Your wire of to-day regarding Police rifles. General authorizes exigency rifles Calicut being used by Special Police for drill purposes pending issue rifles asked for. Rifles to be issued under supervision of Commanding Calicut and returned to store immediately after parade. Addressed Malabar Force, Tirur; repeated Commanding Calicut; Madras, Madras.

X

Telegram—to the General Officer Commanding, No. M. 152, dated the 7th October 1921.

Your telegram No. S. 250/370-G. of 6th instant. Police rifles. India were addressed by telegram on September 29th and were reminded by telegram on October 5th. Orders not yet received. Would be obliged if you could wire to Army headquarters representing urgency from military point of view.

XI

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. S. 250/377-A, dated the 8th October 1921.

Madras Government anxiously awaiting sanction Government of India to arm new Special Police, Malabar, with magazine rifles. Important military point of view organization and training this Police be expedited. Can you assist to obtain necessary sanction? Addressed Chief Genstaff, Simla; repeated Southcom, Poona; Madras, Madras.

XII

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department (Police), No. F. 342, dated the 8th October 1921.

Your telegram No. M. 141, dated 29th September. Government of India sanction supply of 350 Lee Enfield rifles with necessary equipment and 300 rounds per rifle for Military Police. Orders were issued on 30th September to Ordnance, Madras, to supply weapons on demand by civil authorities, Madras.

XIII

Telegram—from the Chief of the General Staff, No. 9185/D/MOI, dated the 11th October 1921.

Your No. S. 250-377-A of 8th. Ordnance, Madras, given orders on 30th September to issue rifles on demand. Home Department wired Government of India sanction on 8th October to Government, Madras. Addressed Madist; repeated Southcom and Madras.

XIV

Telegram—from F. B. Evans, Esq., I.C.S., Special Civil Officer, Malabar, dated the 14th October 1921.

Definite answer about police rifles imperative by to-morrow. Delay or refusal will involve change of plan for Gurkhas who are due 16th.

XV

Telegram—to F. B. Evans, Esq., I.C.S., No. M. 158, dated the 14th October 1921.

Your clear line telegram to-day. Police rifles go by mail train to Calicut to-night.

XVI

Telegram—from the General Officer Commanding, No. J. 118/90, dated the 17th October 1921.

Reference my No. J. 109/90 of 11th regarding Special Police Force being raised at Calicut. Malabar Force reports position still the same. Operations depend on co-operation of this Force and I would ask that its equipping be accelerated. Request know what has been and is to be done.

XVII

G.O. No. 818-A, Judicial, dated 31st October 1921.

Recorded.

(By order of the Governor in Council).

N. E. Marjoribanks,
Acting Chief Secretary.

Note.—For notes see also G.O. No. 818-A, Judicial, dated 31st October 1921.

XVIII

Telegram (extract)—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 850, dated the 11th October 1921.

XVIII
XXII Second
Detachment.

Government of India attach great importance to strengthening of the Police in the area of the rebellion and the effective occupation by the police of the area cleared by the troops. They had already on September 30th sanctioned the issue of the three hundred and fifty rifles asked for by Madras Government and will sanction issue of such further armament as the Local Government consider to be required.

XIX

Letter[1]—from F. B. Evans, Esq., I C.S., Special Civil Officer, Malappuram, dated the 25th October 1921.

[Malabar rebellion—Police—Additional armed force.]

[G.O. No. 694, Judicial, dated 30th September 1921.]

I have the honour to recommend that sanction be given now to raise the following force of police armed with magazine rifles :—

British officers, 6 ;	Havildars, 60 ;
Subadars, 8 ;	Men, 600.
Jamadars, 16 ;	

2. Since Mr. Thomas made the proposals which the Government approved generally in the Government Order quoted, the position, as the Government are aware, has not improved, but the contrary. The military force at present employed in the Martial Law area amounts to about four battalions of infantry, and two more battalions have been asked for and are likely to arrive shortly. When Mr. Thomas wrote there were not quite two battalions in the area, and it was not expected that there would be such difficulty in tackling the militant gangs as has proved to be the case. The work on which Colonel Humphreys wants to employ the new police,

when he has his full strength of troops, is to take over definite areas, working probably from the coast inland, as the troops complete the work of rounding up the main fighting gangs. In one such area at least, the Kaipakancheri Kattuparutti area, including the country between the Tirur-Malappuram road and the Ponnani river, a company of police could be employed at once; the two regular police stations which were re-opened in the middle of September after troops had marched through, have both had to be abandoned and troops have had to visit the tract again; they have not succeeded in making all the necessary arrests, but the rebels that remain are mostly small parties of dacoits who can be tackled better by armed police than by soldiers. It will probably take a company of the new police, working in small parties at least a month to make all the necessary arrests in this area; and then it will probably be necessary to leave a post of about fifty for some months before confidence is fully restored. The second area ready to be taken over by the armed police is the country between the Tirurangadi-Parappanangadi road and the Beypore river; the third area will probably be the country living between the first two and extending up to Malappuram, and in this last at least a strong permanent post (probably a full company) will be required for some years. The fourth will probably be Mannarghat. But for the present it has been thought desirable to send all the 300 police to Kondotti and Arikkod. There have been murders and dacoities there and disturbances have spread from Arikkod into the neighbouring amsams in the Calicut taluk. The police may be able to nip this in the bud. If not, and if as is not improbable, there is a rally at Arikkod of the remainder of the Pukkottur gangs with possibly some of Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji's, it will be work for the troops, but troops will not be easily available until the new reinforcements have arrived.

3. I do not intend in the preceding paragraph to give even an approximate programme; it is not possible to frame one that would be of use; I only wish to illustrate the following statements which are made after full consideration and discussion with Colonel Humphreys, and which I hope that Government will accept without further argument:—

(*a*) Full use can be made *immediately* of the armed police force of 300 that has so far been recruited.

(*b*) As soon as the further military reinforcements have arrived and got to work, the armed police force will begin to take over definite areas to settle, behind the troops: and I think it is obvious that this will provide more than ample work for a force of 600.

(*c*) A permanent force of 600 will be by no means too large to restore confidence and keep the peace in Ernad and the affected parts of Walluvanad and Ponnani. Whether it will be more advisable to put them in six posts of 100, or in four main company posts with attached outposts, is a question that may be left open for the present; but I am inclined to the latter. In addition to the four posts which were suggested before, I think that later developments indicate the necessity of a post in the north of Ernad at Wandur or Nilambur for example or possibly at Arikkod, and of another at Mannarghat or between it and Melattur.

4. The scale suggested in paragraph 1 has been recommended by Mr. Hitchcock after consideration of the average strength of an Indian Infantry battalion. The latter has twelve British officers. Mr. Hitchcock proposes only six for his force, partly for reasons of economy and the practical difficulties of getting suitable men quickly, but mainly because he proposes, I think rightly, that eventually the permanent posts should be in charge of Indian officers and there should then not be more than perhaps two British officers for the whole force. It would, I think, certainly be waste to have a British officer for each permanent post, while for the immediate work and for the work on which the force will be employed for the next year or more a complement of six British officers will be none too many. An infantry battalion has nine Subadars (including a subadar major and ten jamadars including a jamadar adjutant and a Quarter-Master jamadar). Mr. Hitchcock proposes eight subadars and sixteen jamadars, the increase in the number of jamadars being to compensate for the decreased number of British officers. An infantry battalion has 40 havildars and 40 naiks; Mr. Hitchcock proposes sixty havildars altogether for his 600 men. His proposals seem to me well considered and I support them.

5. As regards pay, Mr. Hitchcock's proposals are again modelled on the Indian battalion, but he has taken into consideration first the fact that the soldier gets free food and firewood, which the policeman will not get; and secondly, the fact that the police will only serve in their own district. His proposed scale of pay is as follows:—

	RS.
Eight subadars	125—5—150
Sixteen jamadars	65—5— 80
Sixty non-commissioned officers	30—2— 40
Six-hundred constables..	20—1— 25

In the army a subadar gets Rs. 130—10—160, a jamadar Rs. 75—5—100, a havildar Rs. 26 with an increase of Rs. 2 after two years, and a sepoy Rs. 16 with an increase of Re. 1 after two years. I think Mr. Hitchcock's scale is reasonable, and I recommend it for acceptance. For the present of course it will generally be necessary for the force to draw military rations, as they are now doing; and necessary deductions may be made from the fixed scale.

6. Finally, Mr. Hitchcock recommends, and I agree, that recruits for the new force should be taken on for ten years, and that they should be entitled to a gratuity on the army scale at the end of ten years, and to a pension after fifteen years' service.

7. For the first 300 Mr. Hitchcock has succeeded in recruiting entirely picked ex-sepoys. He can probably get another 100 similar men at once, but the remaining 200 will probably be raw and will require more training. It will naturally help if we can announce *definite* terms of service at once; but it is most important to go on enlisting at once, and I would therefore request that if the Government accept these proposals generally they will wire to me at once authorizing Mr. Hitchcock to proceed with his recruiting, to make up the numbers specified in paragraph 1 above.

XX

G.O. No. 809, Judicial, dated 28th October 1921.

In Government Order read again above [G.O. No. 694, Judicial, dated 30th September 1921], the Government approved of the raising of a force of special armed police in Malabar to supplement the operations of the military. This force was to consist of four parties of seventy men each with the necessary complement of petty officers. The Inspector-General of Police was requested to submit detailed proposals and in the meantime to proceed with the enrolment and equipment of the recruits.

2. The Government of India have sanctioned the supply of 350 Lee Enfield magazine rifles for this force, and it is understood that the force has been raised and equipped.

3. As a result of a conference of officers in Malabar, the Government are strongly advised to issue orders at once for raising the strength of this special force so as to constitute six detachments of hundred men each. His Excellency the Governor in Council agrees that conditions in Malabar render this increase necessary and accordingly directs the Inspector-General of Police to take immediate steps to enrol and equip additional men required to constitute six parties of hundred each with the necessary number of petty officers. Detailed proposals should be submitted in due course.

4. The Government of India will be asked to sanction the issue of 350 additional Lee Enfield magazine rifles with necessary equipment and ammunitions.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

N. E. Marjoribanks,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the Inspector-General of Police.
" District Magistrate, Malabar.

Copy to the General Officer Commanding.
" Special Civil Officer, Malabar.
" Finance Department.

XXI

G.O. No. 891, Judicial, dated 21st November 1921.

In the Government Orders read again above [G.O. No. 694, Judicial, dated 30th September 1921, and G.O. No. 809, Judicial, dated 28th October 1921], the Government approved of the raising of a force of special armed police in Malabar consisting of six parties of 100 men each with the necessary number of petty officers and the Inspector-General of Police was asked to submit detailed proposals as to the constitution of the force and the terms of service of the officers and men. The Government are now pleased to issue the following further orders in the matter.

2. The numbers and rates of pay proposed by Mr. Evans for all ranks as shown in the margin are approved subject to the following modifications :—

Rank.	Number.	Pay proposed. RS.
Subadar ..	8	125—5—150
Jamadar ..	16	65—5—80
Non-commissioned officers ..	60	30—2—40
Constables ..	600	20—1—25

(*a*) increments should be biennial instead of annual as proposed in all cases,

(*b*) so long as the force draws military rations, deductions on account of the food supplied to them should be made at rates fixed for each rank as in the regular army and not on the basis of actual cost.

3. The Secretary of State will be addressed for permission to give the officers and men the same terms as regards gratuities, pensions and family pensions to dependents of men killed or disabled as are granted to officers and men of the regular army while on active service.

4. The provision of eight officers for the force as a temporary measure is approved. In view of the increase in the number of officers, the Inspector-General of Police is requested to examine whether a reduction can be made in the number of jamadars originally proposed.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

N. E. MARJORIBANKS,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the District Magistrate, Malabar.
,, Special Civil Officer, Malappuram.
,, Inspector-General of Police.
,, Accountant-General.

Copy to the Finance Department.
,, General Officer Commanding, Wellington (with C.L.).
,, Special Civil Commissioner.

XXII

G.O. No. 1060, Judicial, dated 20th December 1921.

The Government of India have sanctioned the grant of compensation to all police officers and men or officers employed as such, whether permanent or temporary, who may be wounded during the present operations while Martial Law lasts on the same terms as officers and men of the regular army of the same service.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

R. A. GRAHAM,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the Inspector-General of Police.
,, District Magistrate, Malabar.
,, Special Civil Officer, Malabar.
,, Finance Department.
,, Accountant-General (through Finance).

[*Note.*—For further details connected with Nos. XIX to XXII see office file connected with G.O. No. 1090, Judicial, dated 29th December 1921.]

XXIII

G.O. No. 263, Judicial, dated 23rd February 1922.

XXIII—XXIV Final Distribution.

The Government accept the joint conclusions of the Inspector-General of Police, the Special Civil Officer and the Special Commissioner for Malabar Affairs that five of the six companies of the Malabar Special Police Force should be stationed at Nilambur, Karuvarakundu, Perintalmanna, Arikkod and Tirurangadi.

2. Further orders will issue as to the exact location of the station at Nilambur.

3. The Inspector-General of Police is requested to submit recommendations in consultation with the District Magistrate, Malabar, the Special Civil Officer and the Special Commissioner in regard to the location of the sixth company of the Special Force at an early date.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

R. A. GRAHAM,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the Special Civil Officer.
,, Special Commissioner for Malabar Affairs.
,, Inspector-General of Police.
,, District Magistrate, Malabar.

Copy to the Public Works Department.
,, ,, Chief Conservator of Forests.

[*Note.*—For further details see office file bearing this number.]

XXIV

G.O. No. 375, Judicial, dated 20th March 1922.

The location of the sixth company of the Malabar Special Police Force at Vayilattur is approved.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

R. A. GRAHAM,
Acting Chief Secretry.

To the Inspector-General of Police.
,, District Magistrate, Malabar.
,, Special Commissioner for Malabar Affairs.

Copy to the Public Works Department.

[*Note.*—For further details see office file bearing this number.]

XXV

G.O. No. 643, Judicial, dated 18th May 1922.

Post rebellion re-allocation of District Police.

The Inspector-General's proposals for the reallocation of police stations in the South Malabar district and the addition to the district strength of one sub-inspector, one head constable (third grade) and six constables are approved. This sanction has been registered as No. 57 of 1922–23.

2. The Inspector-General is requested to meet the extra expenditure in 1922–23 by reappropriation. If the whole cost cannot thus be met, the Inspector-General should consider whether at least the constables, and perhaps the head constable, cannot be transferred from the strength of some other part of the district or from North Malabar. No additional grant can be made for the purpose.

3. The following notifications will be published in the *Fort St. George Gazette* :—

NOTIFICATIONS.

I

In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (*s*) of sub-section (1) of section 4 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor in Council is pleased to declare that, with effect from the 1st June 1922, the amsams noted in column (3) of the schedule hereto appended shall cease

to be included in the local area of the police stations noted in column (2) and that the places named in column (5) shall be police stations including within their local area the amsams noted in column (3) of the schedule :—

SCHEDULE.

Circle in which at present included. (1)	Police station to which at present attached. (2)	Name of amsams. (3)	Circle in which hereafter included. (4)	Police station to which hereafter attached. (5)
Tirurangadi. Ernad ..	Kondotti .. .. .. Manjeri.	1. Cheruvayur, 2. Vilayil and 3. Chikkod, 4. Pulliyakkod, 5 Trippanacchi, 6 Arikkod, 7. Kavannur, 8. Irivetti, 9. Kizhuparamba and 10. Urangattiri.	Ernad ..	Arikkod.
Do. ..	Wandur	Vellayur	Do. ..	Kalikavu.

II

In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (s) of sub-section (1) of section 4 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor in Council is pleased to abolish, with effect from 1st June 1922, the police station named in column (2) of the schedule hereto appended and to declare that with effect from the said date the place named in column (5) shall be a police station including within its local area the amsams noted in column (3) of the schedule :—

SCHEDULE.

Circle in which at present included. (1)	Police station to which at present attached. (2)	Name of amsams. (3)	Circle in which hereafter included. (4)	Police station to which hereafter attached. (5)
Ernad ..	Karuvarakundu	Tuvvur, Karuvarakundu and Kalikavu ..	Ernad ..	Kalikavu.

III

In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (s) of sub-section (1) of section 4 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Governor in Council is pleased to declare that, with effect from 1st June 1922, the amsam noted in column (3) of the schedule hereto appended shall cease to be included in the local area of the police station noted in column (2) and shall form part of the local area of the police station noted in column (5) :—

SCHEDULE.

Circle in which at present included. (1)	Police station to which at present attached. (2)	Name of amsam. (3)	Circle in which hereafter included. (4)	Police station to which hereafter attached. (5)
Ernad ..	Manjeri	Mankada-Pallipuram	Walavanad.	Angadipuram.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

R. A. GRAHAM,
Chief Secretary.

To the Inspector-General of Police.
„ Accountant-General.
„ District Magistrate, Malabar.
„ Law (Legislative) Department.
„ Superintendent, Government Press (for publication of notifications).
„ Finance Department.

Copy to the Publicity Officer.

[*Note.*—For further details see office file bearing this number.]

XXVI

Letter—to the Director of Wireless, Simla, No. 6487–1, dated the 13th December 1921.

XXVI—XXXIII Wireless.

The Mapilla rebellion in Malabar has clearly demonstrated the inadequacy of the ordinary telegraph as the sole means of communication in areas liable to disturbances of this kind. One of the first acts of the rebels was to cut the wires thus completely dislocating the ordinary means of communication.

2. In connexion with the rehabilitation of the disturbed areas and for its better security in future it will probably be necessary to establish and maintain military police outposts for a considerable length of time and it has been strongly represented that it would be desirable to connect these outposts with wireless installations of a kind which could be used both as telephone or telegraph. The military wireless officer now in Malabar states that an apparatus of the above description was used by the police in Ireland. I am directed to request you to let this Government know whether apparatus of the most modern kind could be obtained for the use of the police in Malabar and what the approximate cost is of a complete set. I am also to ask whether there would be any objection to training Indian officers of the Malabar Special Police Force to use the apparatus and what the ordinary period of training is. If there is no objection, and if the military authorities agree, this Government would like to start training operators at once with the wireless sets now used by the military in Malabar.

XXVII

Letter—from the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, No. W. 941, dated the 3rd January 1922.

In reply to your letter No. 6487–1, dated 13th December 1921, I have the honour to inform you that the question of erecting small wireless sets in British India has been considered and I understand that Government are about to forward to all Local Governments a memorandum setting out the general conditions and estimates of such sets.

2. I may add however that this memorandum is not exhaustive and it is most desirable that the conditions of each locality should be studied separately.

3. The points raised in your letter under reply may be briefly replied to as follows:—

(*a*) Suitable apparatus of the most modern kind is obtainable from England at short notice. There are several types of standard sets which would be eminently suitable.

(*b*) The cost depends greatly on the power of the set, whether it is fixed or portable and the number of men it is proposed to employ.

An efficient telephone (wireless) set can be carried in the back of the ordinary Ford car and brought into use in a few minutes; can be obtained for about £200.

(*c*) There would be no objection to training the Malabar Special Police Force and this could be arranged at the Indian Government Wireless Establishment at Karachi. For a purely telephone operator about four weeks would suffice. A Morse operator will require about three months.

(*d*) As far as I am aware there would be no objection to the Madras Government commencing to train operators with the sets now used by the Military, in fact in my opinion this would be most valuable, especially if the men can be given training in Morse.

4. Personally I am most anxious to do everything possible to develop the use of wireless by Local Governments and shall be grateful if, when the memorandum referred to above has been received, you will afford an opportunity of discussing the requirements of Madras.

5. It is proposed to give a demonstration in Delhi in February next showing a number of small sets suitable for use by Local Governments.

XXVIII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 5th May 1922.

The Mapilla rebellion has clearly demonstrated inadequacy of ordinary telegraph as sole means of communication in area liable to disturbances as first act of the rebels was to cut wires and dislocate ordinary means of communication. As precautionary measure and for better security of disturbed area Madras Government propose to establish armed police outposts in six places in Malabar and connect them by wireless installations. They have been corresponding with Director-General of Wireless, Simla, since January last and in telegram dated 27th April have requested him to depute suitable officer to proceed to Malabar, see conditions for himself and advise as to suitable installations with range between twenty to thirty miles. System is intended for police and military use only but Government would have no objection to public use on satisfactory terms if Director-General of Wireless will take over. Presume India will raise no objection to proposal. Government consider matter most urgent and important.

XXIX

Letter—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 1711-5, dated the 6th May 1922.

[Wireless Stations—Installation of — in Malabar.]

In continuation and confirmation of my telegram, dated 5th May 1922, I am directed to address the Government of India with regard to the installation of wireless stations in the Malabar district of this Presidency. The Mapilla rebellion has clearly demonstrated the inadequacy of the ordinary telegraph as the sole means of communication in an area liable to disturbances of this kind. One of the first acts of the rebels was to cut the wires, thus completely dislocating the ordinary means of communication. As a precautionary measure for some time to come and for the better security of the disturbed area, the Madras Government propose to establish and maintain armed police outposts in six places in the disturbed area and they consider that it is essential to connect these outposts by wireless installations if possible of a kind which could be used both as telephone or telegraph. They originally asked the advice of the military wireless officer working in Malabar during the rebellion and after he left Malabar his proposals were referred to the Director of Wireless, Simla, with a request for his advice and assistance in the matter. In his letters noted in the margin the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs (wireless branch) while offering to render all the assistance possible suggested that the matter might now be referred to the Government of India for their orders, as the general question of the installation of small wireless stations is at present under their consideration. The Director-General also asked for information on certain points of detail and this Government telegraphed to him on April 27th suggesting that it would greatly facilitate the completion of the whole project if an experienced officer could be deputed to proceed to Malabar and see conditions for himself. At the same time they have informed the Director-General that it was not at present contemplated that this small wireless system should be open to the public but that it was intended merely for communication between the police and military outposts within a range of 20 to 30 miles of each other. If however the Director-General is prepared to instal wireless posts at the places selected for use by the general public, the Madras Government would be ready to fall in with the scheme. The Madras Government have provided a sum of Rs. 20,000 in the current year's budget for the scheme and they are most anxious that it should be initiated and put in working order with the least practicable delay. They presume that the Government of India will have no objection to the scheme and they understand that there are no great difficulties in the way. Judging from the very large number of private wireless sets which are said to be used with great success in America and other countries they consider that it should be an easy matter to provide the necessary installations and to start training the necessary complement of operators at once.

No. W. 941, dated 13th April 1922.
No. W. 941, dated 17th April 1922. } [Not printed.]

They would add that from the point of view of internal security, it would be most useful if the military detachments at Malappuram and Calicut could be similarly connected by wireless telegraphy and they trust that the Army Department will see its way to considering this aspect of the matter favourably.

Finally I am to say that His Excellency the Governor in Council trusts that the Government of India will realize that this is a matter in which the Local Government must depend upon their assistance and is convinced that every effort will be made to deal with the matter promptly and effectively.

Copy to the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs with reference to his letter No. W. 941, dated 17th April 1922.

XXX

Telegram—from the Government of India, Home Department, No. 241–25-Pol., dated the 31st May 1922.

Proposed wireless stations in Malabar. Your letter 1711–5, dated 6th May and telegram fifth idem. Director of Wireless will visit Madras in July. No officer can be spared earlier. Meanwhile Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs (Wireless) is prepared to give all possible assistance. Advice has already been given by him to Government of Madras which it is understood should enable Local Government to procure and instal sets. Government of India have no objection to scheme contemplated, provided that installations are to be used, as they understand, for communication between police and military outposts. They cannot however agree to public use of stations pending a decision of general scheme of installations by Local Government of subsidiary wireless stations now under consideration. Suggestion for connexion of military detachments at Malappuram and Calicut by wireless is being separately considered.

XXXI

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 1711–5, dated the 5th June 1922.

[Reference your telegram No. 241–25, Political, dated 31st May—Wireless Installations, Malabar.]

Madras Government are already in touch with Marconi company whose representative contemplates visiting Ootacamund shortly. Government agree to use the installation only for police and military communications for the present.

XXXII

G.O. No. 756, Judicial, dated the 12th June 1922.

After consultation with the Managing Director of the Indian States and Eastern Agency, Bombay, agents for the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company, Limited, the Government have decided to instal seven sets of the wireless telephone known as type X.A.I.—subscribers set of the equipment No. 2 type—at Malappuram and the six outposts of the Malabar Special Police at Arikkod, Nilambur, Karuvarakundu, Perintalmanna, Vylathur and Tirurangadi.

The cost of each set (£320 C.I.F. Bombay) plus the cost of one charging plant (£82 C.I.F. Bombay) will be met from the existing budget provision of Rs. 20,000, the balance being provided in next year's budget and paid before 10th April 1923.

The following letter will be addressed to the Managing Director of the Indian States and Eastern Agency, Bombay.

XXXIII

Letter—to the Managing Director of the Indian States and Eastern Agency, Bombay, No. 1711-5, dated the 12th June 1922.

[Wireless sets for Malabar.]

In confirmation of our conversation this morning I am directed to request that you will supply this Government as early as possible with seven wireless telephone sets of the type X.A.I.—subscribers set of the equipment No. 2 type — and one charging plant for the same at a sterling cost of £2,322—C.I.F. Bombay.

Rupees 20,000 will be paid to you on delivery of these sets and the balance will be paid on or before 10th April 1923.

I understand that your representative, Major Binning, will personally superintend the installation of these sets and will explain their working to those concerned in Malabar. I also understand that a trained man will be required at the outset to be in charge of the charging plant and I am to request that you will secure the services of a suitable man for this purpose for this Government and inform me of the salary that he should be paid.

[*Note.*—For further details connected with numbers XXVI to XXXIII see office file connected with G.O. No. 756, Judicial, dated 12th June 1922.]

SECTION J.—JAIL ARRANGEMENTS.

I

Telegram—to the Inspector-General of Police, No. M. 47, Shoranur, dated the 26th August 1921.

Arrangements made for reception of Malabar prisoners in Coimbatore Central Jail.

II

Telegram—to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Ootacamund, No. M. 48, dated the 26th August 1921.

Government authorize detention in Coimbatore Central Jail of all prisoners remanded to that jail from Malabar. Please instruct Superintendent, Central Jail.

III

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 116, dated the 27th August 1921.

Question of prisoners requires immediate consideration. Already about 100 arrested including 40 taken Tirurangadi. We shall have to arrest thousands probably. Cannanore cannot accommodate many more with safety. They should be considered prisoners of war not ordinary criminals under remand. Impossible apply Criminal Procedure Code or Mapilla Act. Suggest prisoners of war camp outside district say Bellary. Railway expected to be open very soon.

IV

Telegram—to (1) the Inspector-General of Prisons, Ootacamund. (2) the District Magistrate, Calicut. (3) Evans, Special Civil Officer, Tirur., No. M. 67, dated the 29th August 1921.

Accommodation necessary for large number ultimately perhaps one thousand prisoners from Malabar. Please arrange in Cannanore and Coimbatore Central Jails by transfer existing inmates so far as practicable.

Addressed Inspector-General of Prisons, Ootacamund. Repeated District Magistrate, Calicut and Special Civil Officer, Tirur.

V

Letter—from Major G. W. MACONACHIE, I.M.S., Acting Inspector-General of Prisons, No. C.G. 703, dated the 31st August 1921.

With reference to Government's telegram No. M. 67, dated the 29th August 1921, regarding accommodation required for Malabar prisoners, I have the honour to state that Cannanore Central Jail can accommodate about 350 and Coimbatore Central Jail can arrange to take 250. A larger number cannot be accommodated in Coimbatore without grave financial loss, by dislocation of industries. The Superintendent reports that he could take 500 by putting more than one prisoner in a cell, but this is undesirable.

I desire to point out that I consider it unsafe to concentrate such a large number of rioters in an ordinary jail. I would suggest that not more than 200 or so should be allocated to any large jail and that if large numbers have to be dealt with, a portion should be transferred to Vellore and Penitentiary, Madras. I presume that the prisoners will be remands and I solicit the orders of Government to committing magistrates to direct them to commit a portion of the prisoners to the various jails mentioned. It would be possible in dealing with large numbers to transfer them for trial later by means of special train.

In any case, there is considerable danger in concentrating even these numbers of riotous prisoners in criminal jail, under ordinary warder guards. As the prisoners are of the nature of prisoners of war, taken in military action, I would strongly urge that they be accommodated in a special prisoners of war camp under military supervision until such time as they have been tried and their excitement has had time to cool.

VI

Telegram—to the Inspector-General of Prisons, No. M. 104, dated the 15th September 1921.

ABSTRACT.—Asking him to come to Madras to discuss question of jail accommodation.

VII

Telegram—from the Inspector-General of Prisons, Madras, dated the 16th September 1921.

Your wire yesterday. Leaving for Madras to-day's mail.

VIII

Telegram—to the Government of India, Home Department, No. M. 113, dated the 17th September 1921.

Your telegram No. 627, Political, of September 9. Situation reports Malabar. Nothing further to report beyond information contained in military telegrams to Chief General Staff. Owing lack ordinary jail accommodation will probably be necessary to form special jail out of Turkish prisoners camp at Bellary. Matter being investigated by Inspector-General of Prisons. General Officer Commanding has been asked to stop dismantlement this camp.

IX

The Inspector-General of Prisons consulted in Madras and directed to proceed to Bellary to inspect the Prisoners camp there to see whether it can be used for Malabar prisoners.

Demi-official No. M-110, dated September 17, to District Magistrate (copy to Mr. Evans) saying that limit of jail accommodation had almost been reached, that the Inspector-General of Prisons was going to Bellary and in the meantime asking him to slow down the number of convictions.

See Sections E (b) V, E (e) XVI.

X

Telegram—from the District Magistrate, Malabar, No. 455, dated the 23rd September 1921.

Number convicted by summary courts to date, 1,107. Most given eighteen months or more. Number committed special tribunal 451. Police have registered over five thousand names persons against whom criminal complaints made, more lists coming in daily. This figure includes many persons already convicted but not all. Hitchcock estimates quite ten thousand implicated in crimes against person and property including men now killed in action or with rebels in field. These figures submitted to show Government probable requirements prison accommodation.

XI

Demi-official—to the District Magistrate of Malabar, dated the 25th September 1921, No. M. 134.

Your demi-official * of 22nd September 1921, and in continuation of my demi-official No. M/110 of the 17th.

Jail accommodation.

I am to say that the arrangements for forming a Mapilla Prisoners camp at Bellary will be pushed through as quickly as possible. In the meanwhile I am to request that for the present you should cease arresting the less important offenders except where it is unavoidable owing to complaints by private persons.

* E (b) VI.

XII

Demi-official—from E. F. THOMAS, Esq., I.C.S., District Magistrate, Malabar, dated Calicut, the 27th September 1921.

Your demi-official No. M. 134 of the 25th.

I will pass on your request to Hitchcock and the Special Magistrates for compliance but it is not going to be easy to comply. For practically all the arrests now being made are of persons against whom there are complaints by private persons. Would it not be possible to sanction the construction of a prisoners' cage locally or at Coimbatore for the detention of prisoners until room can be made for them elsewhere? The sort of thing I mean is the cage that was used for the custody of prisoners of war just behind the front lines in France. Or cutcha accommodation could be provided in the Cannanore fort for prisoners under trial where they could be guarded by the Cannanore reserve.

I would also like to suggest, though it is rather outside my province, that when the prisoners' camp is formed at Bellary the convicts might perhaps be most usefully employed in digging irrigation or drinking water tanks or other useful public works in the vicinity.

NOTE.—On receipt of the official proposals of the Inspector-General of Prisons and after some telegraphic correspondence with the Military authorities, the subject of jail accommodation was formed into a separate file and transferred to Law for disposal on 24th September 1921.

SECTION K.—MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE WITH PRIVATE PERSONS, ETC.

I

Telegram—from the Secretary, the United Planters' Association of Southern India, dated Bangalore, the 26th August 1921.

Mapilla rebellion. United Planters' Association general meeting asks information regarding whereabouts Eaton and Browne reported missing. Demand assurance action has been taken to safeguard planters and families in disturbed area. Have adequate safeguards been taken to keep open communications between Wynad and Ootacamund. I—IV Planters.

II

Telegram—to the United Planters' Association of Southern India, No. M. 50, dated the 26th August 1921.

Your telegram 25th. Browne, Colebrook officially reported safe at Ootacamund. Regret Eaton reported killed. No official intimation yet regarding others. Letter follows.

III

Memorandum—to the Secretary, United Planters' Association of Southern India, Coimbatore, No. M. 49, dated Fort St. George, the 26th August 1921.

In reply to their telegram of the 25th the United Planters' Association of Southern India are informed that the planters in the Ernad taluk were warned by the District Magistrate about August 10th of the possibility of a Mapilla outbreak. There was then no reason to suppose that the outbreak would extend beyond the limits of the Malabar district. The outbreak occurred suddenly on the 20th and spread rapidly, the situation passing at once out of the control of the Civil authorities. Martial Law now prevails *de facto* in the taluks of Ernad, Walavanad, Calicut and Ponnani, and the Military authorities are doing all that is possible with the resources at their disposal to restore law and order. H.M.S. *Comus* is also lying off Calicut to assist in the protection of life and property. Inquiries are being made as to the fate of individual planters reported to have been exposed to danger. The latest report from the District Magistrate is to the effect that Mr. Browne of Kerala estate has escaped, but that Mr. Eaton of Pullangode was killed. Both Mrs. Browne and Mrs. Eaton are safe in Calicut. The District Magistrate also reports that Mr. Tippetts of Calicut estate has escaped and a rescue party has been sent for Mr. Norman of Kinalur estate. Mr. Colebrook is also reported to have escaped to Ootacamund and this is being verified.

IV

Letter—from Major C. H. Brock, O.B.E., V.D., Acting Secretary, United Planters' Association of Southern India, Coimbatore, No. 2679, dated the 29th August 1921.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt with thanks your telegram dated the 26th instant and your Memorandum No. M.-49 of the same date with reference to planters in the Ernad taluk. I am sending copies of the same to the Executive Committee.

V

Telegram—from M.R.Ry. C. Rajagopala Achari, General Secretary, Congress Committee, Tanjore, to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor, dated Salem, the 26th August 1921.

As soon as physically practicable desire going affected area Malabar with reliable Malayalam-knowing friend. Excellency probably aware my views extent limitations usefulness; yet feel it duty reach area and press cessation violence. Please request Excellency and inform if can go. Am ignorant nature of orders passed regarding ingress and movement in area. Would like obey lawful orders. V—VI. Rajagopala Achariyar, C.

100

VI

Telegram—to M.R.Ry. C. RAJAGOPALA ACHARI, General Secretary, Congress, Tanjore, the 26th August 1921.

Reference your telegram to Private Secretary of to-day. I am to say that affected area is under Martial Law. Government can give you no advice as to possibility of proceeding.

VII

VII—XI Miscellaneous.

Telegram—from Vellodi, Deputy Collector, dated Kallakurichi, the 29th August 1921.

Respectfully offer humble services any capacity disturbed areas Malabar.

VIII

Telegram—from the Managing Director, Eastern News Agency, Simla, No. 207, dated the 31st August 1921.

Can you kindly wire us any further details of fight at Pukkottur on 26th. It is desirable that fuller version should be published and no detailed account is available here.

IX

Telegram—to the Eastern News Agency, Simla, No. M. 86, dated the 2nd September 1921.

Your telegram August 31st. Regret no other authentic details available than those already published.

X

Telegram—from RAE to RICHARDSON, c/o McIVER, Riverlands, dated the 31st August 1921.

Wire from Wilkie Forbes, asking if you arranged Travancore Government protection Peermade families.

XI

Telegram—to the British Resident, Trivandrum, No. M. 84, dated the 1st September 1921.

Richardson states that Wilkie Forbes wired to him to arrange for protection Peermade families. Uncertain what the danger is, but Government would be glad if you could arrange with Darbar to reassure planters, Peermade.

XII

Telegram—from the Central Publicity Bureau, Simla, to the Madras Publicity Bureau, dated the 1st September 1921.

XII—XVI Photographs.

Can you kindly arrange for photographs of the damage done by Mapilla rioters and of any other subjects which throw light upon the nature of the disturbances. Any pictures of temples, churches or private houses desecrated or damaged will be of service as will photographs of scenes of fighting.

XIII

Telegram—to the District Magistrate, Malabar. Repeated to Special Civil Officer, Tirur, No. M. 87, dated the 2nd September 1921.

(Text as above with addendum). "Do what you can with permission of the Military Commander."

XIV

Letter—from District Magistrate of Malabar, No. 401, dated the 16th September 1921.

With reference to your telegram, dated 2nd September 1921, I have the honour to forward two copies of photographs taken so far of the buildings shown below damaged by Mapilla rebels, for submission to the Government of India.

ENCLOSURE

At Tirurangadi.

1. Sub-Magistrate's Court, sub-jail and police station, all combined (front view).
2. Do. do. (back view).
3. Do. do. (side view).
4. Sub-Registrar's office.
5. Trikkulam amsam cutcherry.

At Parappanangadi.

6. District Munsif's Court (front view).
7. Do. (back view).

I am forwarding copies to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor demi-officially.

XV

Letter—from G. R. F. TOTTENHAM, Esq., I.C.S., Under Secretary to Government, Public Department, to Dr. L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, M.A., Director, Central Bureau of Information, No. 4848-1, dated the 23rd September 1921.

[Malabar disturbance—Photos—Your telegram dated 1st September 1921.]

I am directed to forward herewith seven photographs of some scenes of Mapilla outrages in Malabar.

XVI

Letter—from L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, Esq., O.B.E., Director, Central Bureau of Information, Government of India, Home Department, No. 4157, dated Simla, the 29th September 1921.

I have to thank you for your No. 4848-1, Public, dated 23rd September 1921, enclosing photographs of the Malabar outbreak.

XVII

Telegram—from M.R.Ry. C. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR, dated the 20th September 1921.

Working Committee Indian National Congress voted funds for immediately distributing relief among sufferers disturbed area Malabar. As General Secretary am asked personally to distribute such relief. Propose to carry mission with aid local men namely K. P. Kesava Menon, K. Madhava Nayar, A. Karunakara Menon. To remove misapprehension am prepared give undertaking on behalf myself and above-named that we shall not do any political propaganda work whilst distributing relief. Pray favour early reply whether Government prepared give necessary permission facilities. XVII—XIX Rajagopala Achariyar, C.

XVIII

Telegram—to M.R.Ry. C. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR, Congress Office, Trichinopoly, No. M. 117, dated the 21st September 1919.

Your telegram 20th. Your application should be made to the Military Commander whose headquarters are Tirur. Government cannot advise you in the matter but would deprecate multiplication of relief agencies. Government understand a relief fund administered by non-official committee has been already started at Calicut.

XIX

Telegram—from C. RAJAGOPALA ACHARIYAR, dated the 22nd September 1921.

Regret your decision. In view thereof consider it useless approach military. Had hoped in matter of humanitarian relief Government would have allowed donors select their own agencies of relief especially when relations between Government and Congress are strained.

XX

Letter—from the Under Secretary to Government, Public Department, to the Editor of *Hindu*, No. M. 118, dated the 21st September 1921.

In enclosing herewith to-day's Press Communiqué on the Malabar affairs I am directed to send you a copy of the appeal issued by Mr. E. F. Thomas, Collector of Malabar, on behalf of the Malabar Relief fund, as it does not appear to have been published in your paper. *Hindu.*

XXI

Letter—from Major C. H. Brock, O.B.E., V.D., Acting Secretary, United Planters' Association of Southern India, Coimbatore, No. 4517, dated the 3rd November 1921.

XXI—XXIII Planters.

I have the honour to inform you that in accordance with telegrams received from members of this Association I have to-day telegraphed to you as follows:—

"The United Planters' Association of Southern India requests Government to keep Calicut-Vayitri road open and safe for transport of goods, and requests assurance that Military Authorities are taking every precaution to protect planters and estates in Wynad. Addressed, Madras, Public Department, Madras, repeated General, Madras district, Wellington."

News has reached this office of cart-loads of tea and other produce, en route to Calicut from Vayitri, having been looted by Mapilla rebels, and I have the honour to point out that, as this road is practically the only way by which Wynad planters can send their produce of tea and coffee to the coast, it is of the utmost importance to them that it should be protected as far as is practicable from the depredations of the rebels.

Further if the district itself is invaded by rebels, estates will lose their labour, (to say nothing of possible damage to property, etc.) and if that happens all work will be at a standstill for possibly months.

XXII

Letter—from T. M. Gwynn, Esq., Honorary Secretary, Wynad Planters' Association, dated the 3rd November 1921.

I have the honour to enclose herewith confirmation of telegram sent you to-day. You are doubtless aware of the fact that Mapilla rebels are close to the Calicut-Vayitri road and that this road is considered to be dangerous. The coolies coming to the estates and the carts which bring the weekly provisions from Calicut cannot in consequence use the road if protection is not afforded to them. The Collector of Malabar has been asked to provide an escort for the carts but he has replied that this cannot be done meantime though he hopes to provide one in a few days' time. If an escort is not provided to-day or to-morrow or Military outposts placed at Tamarasseri and Puthupadi, the district will be without provisions on Sunday the 6th instant which is Bazaar day. As this is a serious matter and one in which we require immediate help I was instructed at a general meeting of this Association yesterday to send you a copy of the telegram I sent to the Collector to-day with the hope that you will use your good offices on our behalf.

Enclosure

Telegram—from the Secretary, Wynad Planters' Association, dated the 3rd November 1921.

Following telegram sent to Collector, Malabar. Planters in general meeting strongly urge that Military outposts be placed at Tamarasseri and Puthupadi to ensure safety of coolies and supplies coming to Wynad and allay panic. Coast labour position being seriously affected and all transport seriously interfered with.

XXIII

Letter—from G. R. F. Tottenham, Esq., I.C.S., Under Secretary to Government, Public Department, to $\frac{\text{the Secretary, United Planters' Association of Southern India}}{\text{the Secretary, Wynad Planters' Association.}}$, dated the 7th November 1921.

[*Mapilla rebellion—Military out-posts—Calicut-Vayitri Road.*]

Your letter $\frac{\text{No. 4517, dated 3rd November 1911}}{\text{dated 3rd November 1911}}$, I am directed to inform you that a copy of your letter *has been forwarded to the General Officer Commanding, Madras district. It is understood that the embodiment of light motor patrols to guard the Calicut-Vayitri Road has already been sanctioned and the Military authorities have been asked to take such further action as may be feasible and necessary.

* See B (i), LXXXVII.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL COMMISSIONER FOR MALABAR AFFAIRS.

I

Demi-official—from E. C. SMITH, Esq., Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor, dated Ootacamund, the 23rd September 1921, No. D-178-1.

I am to write and let you know that His Excellency has seen Knapp and it has been settled that he should go to Malabar as Commissioner.

II

G.O. No. 726, Public, dated the 24th October 1921.

The Mapilla rebellion in Malabar now in process of being quelled has given rise to several difficult administrative problems which require early investigation and solution. His Excellency the Governor in Council has decided to appoint a senior officer on special duty to study these matters locally and to propose remedies.

2. The Hon'ble Mr. Knapp, C.B.E., I.C.S., is therefore appointed Special Commissioner for Malabar Affairs to examine and deal with all questions arising out of the rebellion in the Martial Law area. All civil officers of this Government in the area will be under Mr. Knapp's orders and he will report direct to Government on matters requiring their consideration.

3. During the period of his special duty Mr. Knapp will receive a salary of Rs. 4,000 per mensem and draw travelling allowance as a Member of the Board of Revenue. The Government of India have been requested to sanction in addition the concession of the use of a reserved carriage to Mr. Knapp while travelling by railway.

4. The following are some of the more important matters that will engage the attention of the Special Commissioner :—

(i) In consultation with the Military authorities the Special Commissioner should decide the steps by which ordinary civil administration should be resumed in the Martial Law area and propose accordingly from time to time the withdrawal of Martial Law from those parts of the area where civil contact has been re-established.

(ii) The rebellion has rendered a large proportion of the inhabitants homeless and destitute : certain relief measures have been planned chiefly by private agencies. The Special Commissioner will, in consultation with the military authorities, devise facilities for giving effect to their operations in the most efficient way and should consider whether further assistance is necessary.

(iii) A great deal of damage has been done to public buildings and to roads and bridges. A scheme for their permanent restoration (with the help in the case of roads and bridges of a grant from State funds) should be drawn up with the necessary plans and estimates. The Special Commissioner will apply for such engineering assistance as he may require for this purpose.

(iv) The question of compensation to private persons for their losses should be examined, together with the question of the source from which such compensation might be met. Connected therewith is the question whether it is expedient and practicable to levy fines on the Mapilla inhabitants of amsams in the area affected.

(v) The progress in the trial of prisoners arrested for offences in the Martial Law area should be considered. The Government understand that the Special Tribunal as at present constituted is unlikely to be able to dispose of the pending list for many months. Proposals should be made for expediting disposal whether by the appointment of additional tribunals or by a change in the constitution or powers of the existing tribunal.

(vi) The problem of the future garrison of the area should also be considered in due course both as regards police and military. Police proposals should be detailed with estimates of the cost.

(vii) The widespread destruction of the contents of Registration offices and of private documents raises questions of great difficulty. Careful inquiries should be made as to the extent to which these documents are irreplaceable and as to whether any special commission of inquiry and the introduction of any special legislation will be necessary to safeguard private rights in land.

(viii) The destruction of revenue records raises similar questions regarding the future determination and collection of the Government revenue. These will require very early settlement with reference to the collection of the current year's revenue. The principles on which remissions of revenue, if any, should be granted will need formulation.

(ix) The Special Commissioner is requested to give his attention to the early restoration of forest administration. This is a matter of great importance. The Nilambur forests are of great value, the standing plantations being worth probably a crore of rupees, and at the moment run great risks of wholesale mischief and theft. The Conservator, Western Circle, will go to Malabar as soon as conditions admit and the Special Commissioner is requested to keep in touch with him and give his proposals for reconstruction every assistance.

(x) Another question which does not immediately arise, but may become of great importance, once law and order is restored, is the probable future attitude of the Mapilla population to (*a*) Government officials, (*b*) Hindus generally and more particularly those Hindus who have been forcibly 'converted'. It should be considered whether any special measures of protection will be needed and the form they should take.

(xi) A very large number of Mapillas have already been convicted and there will probably be considerable additions to the number. The ordinary jails of the Presidency are overcrowded with these convicts and a special jail has been opened at Bellary. The Special Commissioner should examine the possibility and expediency of employing these men on large extra mural public works in the district.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

N. E. MARJORIBANKS,
Acting Chief Secretary.

To the Hon'ble Mr. A. R. Knapp, C.B.E., I.C.S.
,, District Magistrate, Malabar.
,, Special Officer, Malappuram.
,, General Officer Commanding, Madras district.
,, Finance Department.
,, Accountant-General.

III

Demi-official—to A. R. KNAPP, Esq., C.B.E., I.C.S., Special Officer for Malabar Affairs, dated the 27th October 1921.

The Government will be glad if you would compile a careful history of the genesis of the Malabar Rebellion going back at least as far as the Provincial Congress at Manjeri on or about May 1920 (or further back if you think there is reason to do so and find materials) and of the preventive measures adopted by Government and District Officers. In addition to material in the Secretariat (Criminal Investigation Department and fortnightly reports, the Yakub Hasan and the Legislative Council debate of February 1921 and the Special Tribunal's judgments), there must be much information in the district and in the possession of Hitchcock and Thomas. The Government feel sure that if all these were sifted and arranged it would be of great historial value and would incidentally provide a complete defence of the Government policy and an effective criticism of the Government of India's policy on non-co-operation. Two notes compiled by Tottenham from the material in the Secretariat one on the situation in Malabar generally since the beginning of this year and the other on removal of British troops from Malappuram may be of assistance to you in this connexion.

IV

Note by the Special Commissioner for Malabar Affairs (Mr. A. R. Knapp, C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S., dated 30th March 1922).

My special appointment in connexion with Malabar Affairs will terminate in the course of the next few days and although circumstances have made it impossible to make much more than a start on the work of reconstruction, I think it desirable to submit a brief note at this stage on the work which has been done and upon the

conditions now prevailing in the district. When my appointment was made in October last, it was, I think, anticipated that actual fighting in the rebellion area would very shortly terminate. This hope was not realized. Martial Law continued until the 25th of February and the extra battalion of Indian Infantry which has been retained in the area, as well as a portion of the Auxiliary Police, are still engaged in completing the suppression of the rebellion. Although schemes for the resumption of normal life and normal administration in the area have been under consideration during the whole period of my special duty, it was not until Martial Law was removed that any attempt could be made to put them into actual execution. Up to that date the administration of the rebellion area was in the hands of the Military Commander.

2. G.O. No. 726, Public, dated 24th of October 1921, specified under eleven different heads the more important matters which were to engage my attention. I note below the present position in regard to these matters:—

(i) *Resumption of ordinary civil administration.*—This has been effected from the 25th of February 1922, when Martial Law was withdrawn but special provision has had to be made by the Malabar (Restoration of Order) Ordinance, 1922, for the maintenance of the peace, for the capture by armed force of any rebels who may remain and for the speedy trial of the very large number of criminal cases arising out of the rebellion. The powers conferred by the new ordinance promise to be sufficient for the purpose for which they were intended.

(ii) *Housing and relief for homeless and destitute sufferers.*—Of the many thousand persons who fled from the rebellion area a large number left the district and took refuge in the adjoining Cochin State where the Darbar generously afforded them relief. The relief of the rest was undertaken by the Malabar Central Relief Committee which organized camps in Calicut, Palghat and other centres. A report on the work of this Committee is being separately prepared by its Secretaries. I will not anticipate its publication but will merely say that having been throughout in close touch with the Committee and its officers I should like to record my admiration of the excellent work which they have done. Relief in the shape of doles of rice was also administered under the auspices of the Congress Committee but I have no details of the extent of their work.

Questions were from time to time raised as to the reason why the relief afforded was apparently confined to Hindus and Christians and ignored the Mapilla population. It was, perhaps not unnaturally, assumed that the military operations carried on over a large area implied the cessation of all ordinary occupation and that the relatives of the rebel Mapillas, as well as Mapilla males who took no part in the rebellion, must necessarily be in distress. Up to the end of last year any detailed inquiry into the condition of the Mapilla residents was well-nigh impossible seeing that large areas were actually in the hands of the rebel forces, but such official inquiries as were found practicable disclosed no such distress as was assumed. A few Mapilla women and children found their way to Calicut at the outset of the rebellion and were relieved by the Congress Committee. A few more were admitted later into the Relief Committee's camp at Quilandy, but there was nothing whatever to support the stories which were spread early in December of thousands of starving Mapilla women and children concentrated at various points in the rebellion area. On the contrary, the observation of those who were most in touch with actual conditions in Ernad led to the conclusion that the Mapillas as a whole were more than usually prosperous. A large amount of loot both in the shape of money and grain had fallen into their hands. Cultivation in those parts which were accessible for inspection was proceeding in the ordinary way.

It was all along anticipated that when the stocks of grain were exhausted and the looted money spent some at least of the Mapillas would begin to feel the pinch but it was calculated, on the best information available, that this would hardly be before February or March at the earliest. The stories of Mapilla destitution however continued to be circulated and it was for this reason that I determined, early in January, to appoint a committee of Muhammadan gentlemen who would inspect as much of the rebellion area as possible and advise me as to the conditions there. The Military Commander kindly granted them facilities for their tour of inspection.

The Committee's inquiries were unfortunately not so detailed as I contemplated and wished, but on a cursory examination they came to the conclusion that the time was approaching when relief would be needed by a large number of Mapilla women and children whose men folk had been either killed or imprisoned. This conclusion was communicated to the Relief Committee which has since formed a special sub-committee to deal with Mapilla relief. The extraordinary rapidity with which in many amsams normal conditions are restoring themselves leads me to hope that the demand for relief in this direction will be less than the Committee anticipated : but the detailed investigation in the various amsams which is now being made through the agency of the Relief Committee must be awaited before any final* opinion can be formed upon this subject. In the meantime the Committee are administering relief in cases where it is found necessary.

Of the Hindus who fled from the rebellion area a considerable number, mainly janmis, have not yet returned. Of the rest many have gone back to their amsams to find their houses either wholly or partially destroyed. Immediately on the removal of Martial Law I took steps to enable these sufferers to start at once on the restoration of their houses. Under a scheme which I submitted for the sanction of Government advances under the Agriculturists Loans Act are being made to all such sufferers for the purpose of rebuilding. The money is granted free of interest for a year in the first instance. An establishment consisting of two superintendents of reconstruction with a staff of seven supervisors is at work and will by the end of this month have dealt with half the affected area. The restoration of houses had already commenced on my last visit to Ernad and save in the case of the larger houses will be completed well before the monsoon. In addition to money lent for the restoration of buildings, advances are also being made for the purchase of seed and implements and also for the maintenance of the applicant and his family until the next harvest.

It was suggested in some quarters that the most suitable method of providing the funds necessary to repair the rebellion losses was by means of co-operative societies and the possibility of this was carefully explored in consultation with the local co-operative bodies. But it was not found possible to devise any satisfactory scheme, capable of immediate application, and the system of Government advances was therefore adopted on the understanding that an attempt should be made during the course of a year to organize societies which might take over the loans.

A difficult question arose in connexion with the restoration of the houses of Mapilla rebels which in the course of military operations had been destroyed by the troops. It seemed at first sight inappropriate that public money should be expended on restoring a house which had been occupied as a rebel stronghold and in consequence destroyed, but on further reflection it appeared to me that the restoration of normal conditions of life in the amsams at the earliest possible date was so imperative a necessity as to override all other considerations. It was impossible to expect the Mapilla population to settle down to their ordinary avocations until their houses had been repaired and though a very large number of them have already begun, from their own resources, to make the necessary restoration there are probably other cases, particularly where the male members of a family had been removed, in which some assistance will be called for. I have, therefore, with the approval of Government arranged that loans may be granted in such cases also but with this difference that they will be granted under the ordinary terms of the Agriculturists Loans Act, the special concession of exemption from interest for a year not being allowed. Where, however, it is known that the Mapilla owner has remained loyal to the Government he is treated in precisely the same way as the Hindu sufferer.

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* *Note.*—I am thankful to say that neither my own observation in the course of an extended tour through the area nor the information furnished me by people on the spot confirm the highly coloured picture of present Mapilla suffering which was laid before a meeting held in Madras on the 26th of March. I have seen no Mapilla women "in rags and almost naked for want of clothing," while the idea that the Mapilla females everywhere are in acute distress for want of food or employment is not borne out by our experiences in connexion with the classes for instruction in weaving and mat-making which I have instituted for the purpose of finding them an occupation. Neither class has been able to obtain any pupils even though the mat-making instructors were sent to a place at which, according to reports which I received from Mr. Andrews, a large number of starving Mapilla women were to be found. The Malabar Relief Committee which had placed money at my disposal for this latter experiment have now asked for its return on the ground that the scheme has proved unsuccessful.

(iii) *Damage to public buildings, roads and bridges.*—Preliminary arrangements were made in November last for the reconstruction of the more important of the Government buildings. Work on some of them has begun but the progress has not been so great as I could have wished. Detailed plans and estimates have not yet been prepared in all cases but a rough calculation gives the cost of restoration at 1·25 lakhs. This excludes the Forest buildings at Nilambur which have been very badly damaged. The question whether they should be rebuilt on their present site is engaging the attention of the Forest Department.

The repair of the damaged bridges is being undertaken by the district board whose President is fully alive to the necessity for their restoration before the monsoon. He has promised to furnish me with a list of such works and an estimate of cost of restoration. I have not however received this information and am unable therefore at present to make any recommendation as to the amount of State aid, if any, which will be needed, but I understand that the expenditure required at least for temporary restoration will not be very* great. The roads themselves are in far better order than I should have expected and as soon as rain falls and allows the spreading of the metal which was already collected last year there is no reason why they should not quickly return to their normal condition.

* About Rs. 50,000.

(iv) *Compensation to private persons.*—The Government have decided that no legal obligation lies upon them to compensate persons who have suffered loss. The correctness of this view has not been seriously questioned. The position therefore is that unless it should be found expedient and practicable to levy fines under the Mapilla Outrages Act, no compensation will be legally claimable. But it has also been decided that all fines and confiscations of property ordered by the courts in cases arising out of the rebellion will be set apart to be given as an act of grace to those who have suffered from the rebellion. The amount of fines hitherto imposed has not been very considerable; the latest total reported to me is Rs. 50,000. But the amount available to be thus given in compensation will be very greatly enhanced if success attends a scheme for which I have recently obtained the sanction of Government. Under this a large number of Mapillas who are accused of having participated in a minor degree in crimes committed during the rebellion will be brought to trial and if convicted will have their sentence of imprisonment suspended on condition that they remain of good behaviour and pay punctually the fine which will be imposed upon them and which they will be given time to pay. My present expectation is that the fines thus realized will provide a fund which will go a long way to meet the loss actually suffered. I have received a large number of claims for compensation. Their total at present amounts to Rs. 21 lakhs, but of this over Rs. 7 lakhs represents claims put in by Mapillas many of whom are probably rebels. Of the balance a great many claims are almost certainly exaggerated. In practical proof of this I have the experience of my Reconstruction Superintendents who find that the amount which an applicant is willing to take as a loan for the purpose of restoring his house is usually a very small fraction of the amount which he has claimed in the form of compensation for the damage.

(v) *Progress of the trial of prisoners.*—The arrangements made under the new Restoration of Order Ordinance and notably the substitution for the Tribunal of three separate courts has resulted in quickening up the disposal of cases. More Special Magistrates are, however, needed and for them application has been made. In connexion with the special scheme for dealing with minor offenders alluded to in the last paragraph I am proposing to employ sixteen Summary Magistrates of whom eight have already been appointed. A great difficulty in connexion with the trial of offenders has arisen out of the want of jail accommodation both for convicts and for under-trial prisoners. Even with the special enclosures which were constructed at the military posts the sub-jail accommodation was strained to sometimes almost dangerous limits and I found it necessary to appoint a Special Officer to take this matter up and organize despatches from jail to jail. The cessation of actual fighting has left the police more free to make arrests and the problem of disposing of under-trial prisoners has become greater than ever. I have however been able to arrange for a temporary extension of the sub-jail at Palghat and for the constitution of new temporary sub-jails at Calicut and Cannanore. These, I hope, will provide for

nearly a thousand prisoners and will allow of the arrest of a large number of persons wanted for serious crimes whom the police have been obliged to leave unarrested in their amsams for want of sub-jail accommodation.

As regards covicts the ordinary central jails were full and the Bellary camp jail had nearly reached its complement when it was temporarily closed. The prospect of there being no room in the jails for convicted prisoners at one time retarded the disposal of cases but Colonel Cameron has now in hand and is pushing on with schemes which promise to supply all the accommodation needed and I anticipate no further trouble in this direction. The removal to the Andamans of a large number of persons sentenced to transportation will further relieve the position.

(vi) *Destruction of registration and private documents.*—The question whether any special commission of inquiry or any special legislation is called for by reason of the destruction of documents is still under discussion with Government. In regard to registration I made recommendations in my letter of the 8th of February. Certain proposals put forward by the Calicut bar have, with my opinion thereon, also been submitted to Government and Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar, I understand, intends shortly to examine them in person in Malabar. I have, therefore, nothing to say at present upon these points beyond remarking that the whole problem involved seems to me upon investigation to be very much less serious than was originally contemplated.

(vii) *Destruction of revenue records and principle upon which remission of revenue shall be granted.*—The re-writing of revenue records was begun under my orders in December last and so far it does not appear that any great difficulty has been experienced in reproducing those which are essential to the collection of the revenue. The results of this year's jamabandi must however be awaited before it can be decided whether any special measures are required in this connexion. As regards remission of revenue there was at first a general demand that the whole of the revenue in the rebellion area should be remitted. This of course was out of the question, for it was known that over a great part of the area cultivation was proceeding as usual and there was no reason why a ryot who had raised his usual crop should be exempted from the payment of the Government revenue on his lands. The arrangement which I made, and which was accepted as suitable by many janmis and others whom I consulted, was that the village officers should ask for their kists in the usual course, but that no kind of compulsion should be applied without the personal orders of the Divisional Officer who was instructed not to resort to coercive process in any case in which suspension or remission was reasonably called for. I have had no complaints. On the contrary the revenue in Ernad has been collected with comparative ease. In one amsam, prominent as a rebel centre, the whole of the March kist was paid by the due date. In Walluvanad the collections in the earlier kist months amounted to 75 per cent of the normal and this percentage, I am told, will probably be exceeded in March. The question of granting remission or suspension in such isolated cases as may require it may be left for the Collector to deal with.

(viii) *Forest administration.*—The wholesale mischief and theft which the Government feared in connexion with the Nilambur forests has happily been avoided. There has been a loss of forest revenue owing to the impossibility of conveying timber to the coast, but beyond the destruction of buildings there has, I understand, been no material damage.

(ix) *Probable future attitude of the Mapilla population.*—It would be premature at present to make any prediction as to the future relations of the Mapilla population towards Government officials on the one hand and Hindus on the other. Even in parts of the area where the rebellion has been completely suppressed, as for instance in the neighbourhood of such important centres as Malappuram and Perintalmanna, many Hindus are still unwilling to live in their amsams and confine themselves to visiting their property during the day time. On the other hand the Mapillas while they remain in uncertainty as to how many of them are going to be arrested are unable to settle down. Until the police have been able to arrest and send for trial persons accused of serious offences and to deal with the minor offenders in the manner now proposed it would be useless to expect either the complete

restoration of confidence among the Hindus or the return of the Mapillas to their normal life, and until both these conditions have been fulfilled it is impossible to form any confident opinion as to what the future relations of the two communities will be.

I may here make it plain that the scheme for dealing with the minor offenders by suspending their sentences and subjecting them to a fine will only apply to persons whose return to their homes is not regarded as in any way a danger to the peace. Others, that is to say, the persons who are accused of more serious crimes and whose freedom from arrest is one of the causes which prevents Hindus from returning to their homes, will be shown no concession but will be put up for trial in the ordinary course. Similarly although inquiries are being made as to the possibility of releasing from jail and subjecting to a fine some of the persons already convicted of minor offences it is not for a moment intended to apply this treatment to any person whose return to his home can reasonably cause apprehension among the Hindu population. I may add that though doubts have been expressed in the Legislative Council as to the safety and propriety of the policy which is being adopted, local Hindu opinion even among those who have themselves suffered and whose resentment against the Mapillas is still strong, is not opposed to the policy. It is realized that the confinement in jail of the very large number of persons against whom charges have been made is, on the score of accommodation, outside the realm of practical politics and that the only feasible alternative to the policy now adopted would be that which has actually been proposed, but which for good reasons has been rejected, namely, a general amnesty to all except the leaders in crime.

It is not yet possible to say finally what steps, if any, should be taken to protect the forcibly converted Hindu from future Mapilla violence. There are some amsams to which the forcible converts can certainly not at present return and many of them are being kept in Calicut in a relief camp specially provided. Proposals for the deportation under the Mapilla Outrages Act of the ring-leaders in these acts of forcible conversions are being made by the District Magistrate. The present hope is that with the removal of these ring-leaders the danger of violence by Mapillas against the converts who have since reverted to Hinduism will be greatly reduced. Efforts are also being made to find some way of bringing home to the Mapillas the fact that the forcible conversions in which he indulges are not recognized by other Muhammadans as consonant with the true principles of Islam. So far the best method of effecting this has not been discovered, and I can at present say no more on this point.

(x) *Possibility and expediency of employing Mapilla prisoners on extra-mural public works.*—I have investigated a large number of schemes but most of these have unfortunately proved impracticable. The proposal to employ Mapillas on the Rameswaram Canal, which seemed the most promising of all, disappears with the refusal of the Legislative Council to sanction funds for that scheme. A project for using Mapilla prisoners in the construction of the Pollachi-Udumalpet Railway is in abeyance pending the sanction of the Railway Board to the commencement of work. A scheme for the employment of five hundred Mapillas in the quarries of Pallavaram is in the last stages of investigation and will, I hope, be put into effect at a very early date. I had hoped that the construction of the Shoranur-Nilambur Railway might afford employment for a large number of these prisoners, but the scheme, I find, must, on financial grounds, be considered as too far-off to offer at present a practical solution of the problem. This is much to be regretted because, as I have separately reported, I attach very great importance indeed to the construction of this railway as a pacifying and stabilising factor in the rebellion area. I have under correspondence a scheme for employing Mapilla deportees in the Middle Island of the Andamans, where forest development work is in progress.

Had my special appointment continued I should have had various proposals to make for the future treatment of the Mapilla problem ; but these must now be postponed to another occasion The immediate work of economic restoration has been well started and may be left, under the direction of Government, in the hands of the Collector, who should, however, be given a senior officer as his Personal Assistant for the purpose. The next few months will necessarily be an anxious time for the

District officers. They represent a period when the stock of foodstuffs in Malabar is usually at its lowest and when employment is most difficult to find, and it may be that something in the nature of famine relief either by importing grain or even by instituting relief works will be called for. The provision of seed for the next sowing is also a matter which is engaging attention and may demand special measures. In other directions too special Government action may be called for, but as a general policy I would deprecate any attempt to force the pace of "reconstruction". What in my opinion is needed is only that the natural recuperation, of which already there are remarkable signs in many parts of the area, should be aided where necessary by the assistance of Government and philanthropic bodies. It cannot of course be expected that the results of an upheaval of six months can be obliterated in a few weeks, and if by the time of the next harvest, that is to say, next August or September, economic conditions have returned to the normal, I think we shall have good reason to be satisfied.

CHAPTER V.

CONCLUDING STAGES.

I

No. 2861-1, dated the 16th March 1922.

Fortnightly Report for the first half of March.

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4. In Malabar the Konnara Tangal is still at large and the situation remains much the same. In the Pukkottur area there were some threatenings of fresh trouble in connexion with the arrest under the Mapilla Act of some 100 men who were concerned in an important forcible conversion case. It seems to have been seriously debated whether they should not "go out" again rather than surrender, but wiser counsels fortunately prevailed. The District Magistrate has reissued under the new Ordinance the Martial Law rule regarding meetings and has also prohibited six of the most violent non-co-operators from entering the disturbed area. Three "Khilāfatists" from Bombay visited Tirur but could not get a hearing or even a house to live in, and hurriedly left the place—which seems to show that the Mapilla has not much use for the agitator just at present. The Government have decided as a means of dealing with the very large numbers of Mapillas against whom there are complaints of participation in the rebellion to adopt the policy of suspending such sentences of imprisonment as may be passed on them and leaving them to pay fairly heavy fines. Time will be allowed for the payment of these fines, which will act as an admirable form of security, and the sentences of imprisonment will of course be liable to revival in case of bad behaviour.

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II

No. 3248-1, dated the 1st April 1922.

Fortnightly Report for the second half of March.

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4. In Malabar the situation remains much the same; there has been no active hostility on the part of the rebels who are still 'out', but the general opinion is that the restraining influence of a considerable number of troops will be necessary for some time to come. The disbursement of loans is proceeding and in many localities good progress has been made in the matter of restoring confidence and inducing the Hindus to return to their homes.

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III

No. 3804-1, dated the 18th April 1922.

Fortnightly Report for the first half of April.

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4. In Malabar the process of reconstruction continues more or less satisfactorily; but an unfortunate incident that occurred at Kondotti, in the disturbed area, has demonstrated that the country is not yet entirely pacified. A Mapilla rebel by name P. Ithalu suddenly appeared with a band of about hundred and attacked and murdered the local village or amsam officer who was a Hindu. Two companies of the Special Police are now pursuing him and his followers. The Konnara Tangal and Avoker Mussaliar are no nearer being captured though a lieutenant of the former has been smartly taken by the Calicut police inspector.

The statements that are appearing in the papers regarding distress among both Hindus and Mapillas are very much exaggerated and the Collector, who has been touring in the Ernad and has also visited one of the non-official relief camps, found few signs of distress and is of opinion that a good deal of unnecessary charity is being dispensed.

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IV

No. O/11-1, dated the 2nd May 1922.

Fortnightly Report for the second half of April.

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3. The situation in Malabar remains much the same. It now appears that the murder of the Adhigari reported in my last fortnightly letter was the work of only seven men and not 100; but it is significant that even these seven were able to terrorise the Adhigari's Mapilla guard who fled and left him defenceless. It is possible that there may be some distress in the Ernad and Walluvanad taluks before the next harvest comes in, and the Collector is taking the precaution of getting in a supply of rice before the monsoon. He reports however that conditions are much worse in the Calicut taluk in the country in which the Konnara Tangal is still holding out. Several amsams are almost entirely deserted, and it is obvious that more energetic measures will have to be taken against the Tangal before any degree of confidence can be restored. With the near approach of Ramzan—always a critical time in Malabar—the situation will need careful watching and the attitude of the Mapillas will afford a test of how far they have been really subdued.

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V

No. 48-1/O, dated the 17th May 1922.

Fortnightly Report for the first half of May.

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3. In Malabar the Special Police on the 3rd instant came upon the Konnara Tangal with a small party in the jungle and succeeded in killing three of them and taking a number of their arms, but the Tangal himself managed to escape. The Garhwalis were to make an extensive drive through his country on the 11th. The result has not been reported, but in any case military operations will be more difficult after the monsoon sets in (and there are indications that it will be early this year) and it was thought essential to make a display of military force and take the chance of catching the Tangal before it started. Good progress is being made with the disposal of rebellion cases. This is partly a result of the announcement that, in the case of minor offenders sentenced to fine as well as imprisonment, the sentences of imprisonment would be suspended where this could be safely done and the instalments of the fine were duly paid; the tendency being for the accused to plead guilty. The District Magistrate again affirms that, except in parts of the Calicut taluk, there is as yet no real distress, in spite of statements to the contrary in the press; and his report indicates that some of the relief agencies are dissipating their resources in unnecessary doles, which have the effect of inducing the recipients to refuse work offered them, instead of reserving them for the more difficult times that may be ahead. The Hon'ble Mr. Knapp is about to visit Malabar and will decide, in consultation with the local officials, any measures that may be necessary.

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VI

Press Communiqué.

Dated Camp Ootacamund, the 31st May 1922.

The following note showing the condition of affairs in the rebellion area, Malabar, as reported by the local officers is published.

The district south of the Beypore river is clear of rebel gangs. North of the river there are at least two gangs hiding somewhere near the foot of the hills. Their presence continues to render necessary the maintenance of a Military Force as well as a strong force of Auxiliary Police in the area. A concerted attempt on the part of the Military and Police to round up these gangs was made in third week in May, but only portions of the gangs were discovered and dealt with and the remaining rebels with their leaders are still at large, probably in the dense jungle. The attempts to capture them continue.

2. Owing to the existence of these gangs seven amsams in the north-eastern portion of the Calicut taluk are deserted by Mapillas as well as by Hindus. In parts of Ernad, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Tirurangadi, the Hindu inhabitants still hesitate to take up their permanent residence but visit their property in the day time. Over the rest of the area confidence has to a considerable degree been restored, but there is still a large number of rebels to be arrested: the latest estimate fixes the number at 2,000. In some of the amsams where such men are at large the Hindu inhabitants are reluctant to return. The janmis in particular still remain absent from their homes and some of them show no present intention of returning. Arrangements are now being made to push on as quickly as possible with the arrest of the 2,000 rebels who still remain at large. There are already in the jails of the district 2,400 prisoners under trial and the accommodation is taxed to its utmost capacity, but further extensions at Cannanore and Calicut are either completed or are approaching completion. Moreover the conversion of the Tribunal into three separate courts and the increase in the number of Special Magistrates has expedited the disposal of cases. About 200 rebels are now brought before the courts and dealt with each week and at this rate of disposal the obstacles which have hitherto stood in the way of the final clearing up of the outstanding cases will quickly be removed. By the middle of May 6,689 persons had been convicted in connexion with the rebellion.

3. The system of suspended sentences accompanied by a fine to be paid in instalments has made a start and 413 persons have been dealt with in the first week. The total amount of fines inflicted in these as well as in other cases, as last reported, was Rs. 1,56,000, but of the earlier fines imposed by the Military and other courts it seems likely that some portion will not be realized.

4. The work of disbursing loans for the restoration of houses, for the purchase of cattle, for the purchase of seed and tools and for the immediate maintenance of the sufferers from the rebellion has been nearly completed in Ernad, Walluvanad and Ponnani and is in progress in Calicut. The sum thus disbursed since the beginning of March amounts to Rs. 2,97,000. Advances have been given for the restoration of over 2,000 houses, almost entirely Hindu. The Malabar Relief Fund have made grants for the repair of a further 600 houses chiefly, it is understood, to Mapillas not eligible for the Government loan. The reconstruction of small houses is reported to be progressing very rapidly and most of them, it is believed, will be repaired before the monsoon. The repair of the District Munsif's Court and Sub-Registrar's office at Perintalmanna and the District Munsif's Court at Parapanangadi has been completed. The treasury at Manjeri was reopened in the taluk office on the 1st of May and it is hoped that both the taluk offices at Perintalmanna and Manjeri will be completely restored before the rains. Roads in the affected area are all open to traffic and are in passable condition with the exception of the road from Mannarghat to Palghat. None of the bigger bridges has yet been permanently restored but temporary repairs admit of the passage of traffic.

5. Prices in the area are higher than they were during the same period in 1921, but there is no general scarcity of foodstuffs. Depots for the sale of grain at cost price are being opened by the Relief Committee, with the assistance of the Reconstruction Officers, at Melattur and Arikkod. Estimates are being prepared for special road work in the affected area in case it should be found necessary to apply this form of relief. The various private agencies continue to assist the poorer inhabitants with doles of rice and of money.

6. In Walluvanad the harvest of the meda-punja crop has just begun. The crop is good. The sowing for the kanni crop is almost completed throughout the district with the exception of deserted amsams in Calicut. There is no shortage of seed in the Calicut and Walluvanad taluks. A Government depot for the supply of seed has been established at Manjeri but so far there has been very little demand, the total issues not exceeding Rs. 500 in value. The majority of applicants appear to be doubtful whether the seed which has been brought from Walluvanad will suit their purposes and prefer to take a money loan, being confident that they can purchase the necessary seed from their neighbours. Trade is reviving steadily and all the weekly markets in Walluvanad, all except one in Calicut and all except three in

Ernad have been reopened. In Walluvanad there is little unemployment while shippers in Calicut complain that they cannot get sufficient Mapilla labour for the loading and unloading of vessels. In Ernad there is some lack of employment, but in the next few weeks many people will find work in the fields while the rubber estates in the east of Ernad, which are already employing a large number of men and women, expect to extend their operations in June and to be in a position to give as much employment as before the rebellion. When these estates are in full working and when, with the monsoon, the dragging and floating of timber has been resumed there will be no dearth of employment in the eastern part of the taluk.

VII

No. 134–1/O, dated the 3rd June 1922.

Fortnightly Report for the second half of May.

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3. The Hon'ble Mr. Knapp has returned from his tour in Malabar and I enclose a copy of Press Communiqué * issued by this Government which represents the results of his inquiries as to the state of the district. The military and police drive, which I mentioned last fortnight, produced no very tangible results, but some interesting information was obtained from a few prisoners that were captured and the moral effect may well have been considerable. It seems probable that the rebel bands will soon break up, if they have not already done so, and it will be a case of hunting down individuals in hiding. A fanatic Mapilla in the Ernad taluk who was wanted by the police attempted to call out the Mapillas of his amsam, and eventually attacked the police signal station by himself, and then took post in a building where he was found and shot by the police. The other Mapillas of the locality who were wanted by the police gave themselves up, and their refusal to respond to his call is an encouraging sign.

* No. VI above.

The Government have recently passed orders of deportation from Malabar in two cases under the State Prisoners Regulation of 1819. The first case was of four Mapillas who were keen supporters of the Khilāfat cause and refused to furnish security to keep the peace early in 1921 and were sent to jail for six months. Their near relatives were deeply implicated in the rebellion and their conduct since their release from jail has shown that they are dangerous men in sympathy with the Khilāfat agitation.

The second case was of 90 Mapillas who took the most prominent part in a notorious case of forcible conversion in the Ernad taluk during the earlier months of the rebellion. They were selected out of a much larger number concerned in the affair as the ringleaders and the most dangerous persons.

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VIII

Press Communiqué.

Dated Ootacamund, the 15th June 1922.

The following note regarding the position in Malabar as it stood on the 10th of June is published.

1. The rebel gangs in Calicut taluk have been broken up. The chief leader, Konnara Tangal, is in hiding probably with only a small following. The captured members of his former gang say that they have not seen him for some weeks. Abu Bucker Mussaliar, another leader, with his band which has dwindled from 100 to 6 were recently surprised in their camp. Five were captured with two guns and two swords. Abu Bucker Mussaliar escaped with one follower leaving behind all he possessed including his spectacles and his beads. The companion who escaped with him has since been captured and it seems likely that Abu Bucker is now alone.

2. A satisfactory feature in the position is that the local Mapillas in the disturbed area in Calicut taluk are now giving active help to the police in the pursuit of the scattered rebels The 39th Royal Garhwal, the last of the Malabar Force

which fought during the rebellion, has now been withdrawn, its place in the Malabar area being taken by detachments from the 45th Sikhs.

3. Seven amsams in Calicut taluk are still deserted. Throughout the rebellion area the larger janmis have not yet returned to their homes. Their absence necessarily leaves without employment a considerable number of their Hindu dependents. In other respects, however, the conditions in regard to employment show an improvement. Cultivation operations are in progress. Timber trade has been re-started in the Mannarghat area. The supply of labour for rubber estates is actually less than the demand while shippers in Calicut still complain of a lack of coolies. All the weekly markets in the affected area have now been re-opened with the exception of a private market at Arikkod, the buildings of which were destroyed during the rebellion.

4. It has not yet been found possible to obtain accurate statistics of the extent of cultivation but the figures given by the village officers show that on the whole the decrease in cultivation is much smaller than might have been expected. In Walluvanad 7,119 acres of wet land are reported to have been under cultivation as against an average during the previous five years of 9,281 acres. In Ernad the wet cultivation is reported actually to be greater than the five years' average. The principal drop is in Calicut where as already stated a number of amsams are still deserted.

5. Prices are higher than in the corresponding period of 1921 but are lower than in 1919 as is shown in the following table:—

JUNE.

Paddy.

	1919.	1921.	To 10th June 1922.
Ernad (Edangali)	8·00	11·92	10·50
Walluvanad (McLeod seer)	6·06	8·33	(not reported)
Calicut (half McLeod seer)	12·90	14·80	14·00

Rice.

	1919.	1921.	To 10th June 1922.
Ernad (Edangali)	3·56	5·00	4·50
Walluvanad (McLeod seer)	2·80	3·43	3·23
Calicut (half McLeod seer)	5·44	6·90	6·00

6. The loans disbursed by Government in the affected area now amount to over five lakhs of rupees. Constant inquiries made by the local officers, including the reconstruction staff, have failed to disclose anything which can be properly described as widespread distress and the Government are glad to find that this opinion is now confirmed by the inquiries of the private philanthropic agencies which have been working in Malabar. That suffering and hardship must exist among those who had to fly from their homes and have lost much of their movable property is obvious and has never been denied by the officers responsible for Malabar administration, and the scarcity of employment usual at this period of the year naturally aggravates the position. The assistance provided by Government must necessarily be restricted to the subsistence required to tide over one critical period. There remains ample scope for private benevolence to alleviate the hardships under which a large number of people must still suffer, as well as to meet the case of persons who, for one reason or another, hesitate to apply for Government help. The Government are glad to observe that renewed efforts are being made by the Servants of India Society and other bodies to raise the funds required for the continuance of their work in Malabar.

7. The taluk offices at Manjeri and Perintalmanna have been re-occupied. The repairs to the Sub-Registrar's office at Mannarghat are complete. Progress has also been made with the repair of culverts on the district board roads damaged during the rebellion. All the secondary schools in the affected area have been re-opened.

8. The number of persons convicted in connexion with the rebellion and sentenced to jail or transportation has risen to 6,813, while there are 2,537 prisoners in jail awaiting trial. Under the scheme of suspended sentences 2,009 persons were tried up to the 10th of June. The total amount of fines inflicted on them amounted to Rs. 1,32,000. These fines will be collected in instalments spread over two years.

IX

No. 193-1/O, dated the 16th June 1922.

Fortnightly Report for the first half of June 1922.

* * * * * *

* No. VIII. As regards the situation in Malabar, I enclose herewith another communique* that has just been published for general information. The fact that the Servants of India Society under Mr. Devadhar have admitted the correctness of the official view of the position is of importance.

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X

No. 316-1/O, dated Ootacamund, the 3rd July 1922.

Fortnightly Report for the second half of June 1922.

* * * * * *

The Mapilla rebellion, as such, may be said to be at an end. Avoker Mussaliar has been captured and all rebel gangs have been dispersed, and though a few individuals including the Konnara Tangal are still at large and will have to be captured, they may now be regarded as absconding criminals. There have been cases in which the Mapillas themselves have shown that they are prepared to help the police to arrest those that are wanted. The Government have under consideration certain relief works in the shape of road-making, which will be started if required. It seems probable that they will be. The monsoon started badly, but has now recovered.

I do *not* agree, and shall probably be obliged at Simla to contradict this view.
A. R. K[NAPP]—6-7--22.

* * * * * *

XI

Press Communique.

Dated Ootacamund, the 5th July 1922.

The following note regarding the position in Malabar as it stood on the 30th of June is published.

As already announced, Abu Bucker Mussaliar, one of the two remaining leaders of the rebel Mapillas, has been arrested at a railway station while attempting to escape from Malabar. His capture may be regarded as marking the close of the rebellion. The Konnara Tangal is still at large and in hiding: it is rumoured that he has escaped from the district. Definite information is wanting but it is reported that, wherever he may be, apprehensions of attack by him and his gang which until recently led to the desertion of several amsams in the Calicut taluk have now disappeared. Only one amsam is now unoccupied and that mainly because many of the houses have been destroyed. The buildings are being repaired and will be re-occupied very shortly.

2. The people are still busy with cultivation and it is reported that there is no lack of employment. The cultivation figures for the last three years show that except in the Calicut taluk the area cultivated up to the end of June in the taluks affected by the rebellion is actually greater than in the corresponding period in 1921.

	1922.	1921.	1920.
	ACS.	ACS.	ACS.
Dry.			
Ernad ..	13,142	11,852	22,560
Walluvanad ..	19,602	9,684	14,638
Calicut ..	11,818	13,326	13,311
Wet.			
Ernad ..	36,374	30,028	14,805
Walluvanad ..	36,203	18,994	36,186
Calicut ..	13,580	15,454	15,471

3. The monsoon which threatened to be weak has since improved and according to local reports the crops on the ground promise to be very good. The harvest of Chama has already begun in places: the Modan harvest will begin towards the end of July. There is no shortage of seed and of the stock laid in at Manjeri in anticipation of a shortage a considerable portion remains unsold. The prices of paddy and rice remain practically unchanged except in the Calicut taluk where there has been a considerable fall: rice is now sold there more cheaply than in the corresponding period in 1921.

No great difficulty has been experienced in realizing the land revenue. The following percentages of the total demand have been collected up to the end of June without resort to any coercive process:—

Ernad	80·5
Walluvanad	96
Calicut	88

4. The total sum disbursed by the Government agency in the shape of loans now amounts to Rs. 6,98,000.

5. The number of persons convicted during the month in connexion with the rebellion was 873 excluding those dealt with under the scheme of suspended sentences. The total number of convicts now amounts to 7,946, while 2,620 persons are under trial.

6. The number of offenders dealt with under the scheme of suspended sentences up to the end of June amounted to 3,101. Fines amounting to Rs. 2,18,162 have been imposed. The first instalment of these fines, which has fallen due in a few cases, has been collected by the village officers without difficulty.

7. A scheme for relief works to be put into force should occasion arise has been prepared by the Collector and submitted for the sanction of Government.

XII

No. 442-1, Public, dated the 18th July 1922.

Fortnightly Report for the first half of July 1922.

* * * * * *

4. I attach a copy of a Press Communiqué recently issued about the situation in Malabar. There has been some excitement over a newspaper report of the forcible conversion of a Hindu woman to Islam; but it appears that the woman in question with her children was taken in as a refugee by the Muhammadan missionaries from Poona who are now working in the district, and that she joined their religion willingly enough in the first instance and was afterwards got at by the Hindus who induced her to recant. The incident may make the Poona people a little more careful about interfering. No Mapillas were concerned. An intercepted letter from the Secretary of the Provincial Khilāfat Committee in Calicut to the President of the Central Khilāfat Committee in Bombay, complaining of the oppression of Muslim women and orphans in Malabar by the Hindus is of interest in that the writer says that 'for the honour of Islam' thousands of lives were sacrificed and many have gone to jail leaving behind widows and orphans at the mercy of Police, Military and Hindus. No. XI.

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XIII

Press Communique.

Dated Camp, Ootacamund, the 19th July 1922.

The following note regarding the position in Malabar as it stood on 15th July is published.

2. The monsoon has been very heavy during the fortnight and has resulted in floods in many parts of the district. Some of the crops in low-lying lands have been submerged, but the seedlings had had time to take root before the heavy rain came

and it is reported that very little damage has been done to the standing crops. A good harvest is expected, especially in the case of dry crops. Chama is now being harvested in Ernad and Walluvanad.

3. Cultivation is still going on and no marked lack of employment has been reported. Such distress as exists is being met by large distributions of rice by the various relief agencies, but it has not yet been found that there is any real demand for the opening of the relief works that the Government have ready to be put into execution when the necessity arises. The quarter in which such relief works are most likely to be required is that portion of the Calicut taluk which has until recently been deserted. The following table compares the prices of paddy and rice with the prices prevailing at the corresponding period in the last two years :—

PRICES (UP TO 15TH JULY 1922).

	1919.	1921.	1922.
Paddy.			
Ernad (Edangali)	7·40	11 74	10·00
Walluvanad (McLeod seer) ..	6·05	7·79	6·50
Calicut (half McLeod seer) ..	12·00	14·51	15·00
Rice.			
Ernad (Edangali)	3·25	4·90	4·50
Walluvanad (McLeod seer) ..	2·42	3·36	3·23
Calicut (half McLeod seer) ..	5·60	6 75	6·50

4. The total sum disbursed by the Government agency in the shape of loans now amounts to Rs. 7,16,362. The total number of applications dealt with is 15,565 and the number of houses for the restoration of which loans have been granted is 2,594. Of the total amount disbursed about 1 lakh 30 thousand rupees have been for the purchase of seed and implements, about one lakh for the purchase of cattle and about Rs. 67,000 for the restoration of houses. Free grants, mostly for the purchase of seed, amount to a little over Rs. 19,000.

5. Progress in the making of arrests has to some extent been impeded by the floods, but it is hoped that the great majority of the men wanted will be in custody by the end of the month. The number of men convicted during the first half of July was 357. The total number of convicts is now 8,749 and 2,622 are under trial.

6. The number of persons dealt with under the scheme for suspended sentences has risen to over 5,000 and the total fines inflicted on them including those to be paid at once is Rs. 3,63,468.

XIV

No. 542-A-1, dated the 2nd August 1922.

Fortnightly Report—Second half of July.

* * * * * *

* XIII. 4. I enclose a further * communiqué on the situation in Malabar. A somewhat disquieting incident that occurred during the fortnight was the escape of an ex-sepoy prisoner from the Malappuram jail, who succeeded in taking with him a rifle belonging to one of the guard and some ammunition. Armed with this he returned to his home and shot the man who had informed against him and the man's wife. So far the police have not succeeded in recapturing him and this has led to a certain degree of revived apprehension in the Ernad taluk. The Government of India are being separately addressed about the action to be taken when the present Restoration of Order Ordinance expires on 25th August.

* * * * * *

XV

Press Communiqué.

Dated Fort St. George, the 5th August 1922.

The following note regarding the position in Malabar as it stood at the end of July is published.

2. As was anticipated in the last communiqué the exceptionally heavy rains at the beginning of July did no serious damage to the standing crops. The cultivation of the Chama crop is nearly over in Walluvanad and Ernad and is beginning in Calicut, while the harvest of Modan is about to begin in the two former taluks. It is said to be a very good crop.

3. Conditions in regard to employment except in parts of Calicut are reported to be practically normal. Indeed one of the Reconstruction Officers reports that in a part of the area regarding which he had apprehensions the hardships usually characteristic of the month of Karkitagom would appear to be absent. Some parts of the Calicut taluk where the timber trade has not yet revived and a large number of fields have been left uncultivated is the only area that gives ground for anxiety. Its condition is being carefully watched by the local officers.

4. The total area under cultivation in the three affected taluks is now slightly above the average for the corresponding period during the last five years. Prices of paddy and rice remained practically unchanged except in Walluvanad where the price of paddy has fallen and is now very little above that of July 1921.

5. The amount distributed in loans by Government Agency has risen to Rs. 7,62,535. The disbursement of loans for the purchase of cattle and implements and for the restoration of houses in Ernad and Walluvanad has been discontinued, the grant of loans being now restricted to the purchase of seed and the provision of subsistence for persons of the middle class who will accept loans but are not likely to seek gratuitous relief from the unofficial agencies.

6. Considerable progress has been made with arrests and 1,397 persons accused of the most serious offences were arrested during the month of July. The number of persons convicted in connexion with the rebellion has risen to 9,096 while 3,252 persons are under trial.

The number of persons dealt with under the scheme of suspended sentence up to the end of July is 7,605 and the total fines inflicted on them, including those to be paid at once, is Rs. 4,91,320. The second instalment of these fines where it has fallen due has been collected without difficulty.

XVI

No. 6870-1, dated the 16th August 1922.

Fortnightly report for first half of August.

* * * * * *

3. There is no particular news from Malabar—in itself a satisfactory sign. There has been no increase in distress and the Collector is stopping the issue of loans on the ground that they are no longer required. The man whose escape from jail was reported last fortnight is still at large, but he has attracted no following and so far has given no further trouble.

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XVII

Ordinance No. 3 of 1922.

An Ordinance to provide for the trial of certain persons whose trials have commenced before or who are awaiting trial by the Courts constituted under the Malabar (Restoration of Order) Ordinance, 1922, *and for the disposal of appeals pending under that Ordinance.*

Whereas an emergency has arisen which renders it necessary to provide for the trial of certain persons whose trials have commenced before or who are awaiting trial by the Courts constituted under the Malabar (Restoration of Order) Ordinance, 1922, and for the disposal of appeals pending under that Ordinance:

Now therefore in exercise of the powers conferred by section 72 of the Government of India Act, the Governor-General is pleased to make and promulgate the following Ordinance:—

Short title. This Ordinance may be called the Malabar (Completion of Trials) Ordinance, 1922.

Completion of trials pending under Ordinance I of 1922. 2. Any Court constituted under the Malabar (Restoration of Order) Ordinance, 1922, may

(1) complete the trial of any person whose trial has commenced before it prior to the expiration of the said Ordinance; and

(2) try any person who prior to such expiration has been arrested and is awaiting trial under the provisions of the said Ordinance:

Provided that nothing in this section shall be deemed to empower any such Court to try

(*a*) any offence which it could not have tried under the provisions of the said Ordinance, or

(*b*) as an offence any act which is an offence by reason only of the provisions of the Martial Law Ordinance, 1921, the Martial Law (Military Courts) Ordinance, 1921, or the Malabar (Restoration of Order) Ordinance, 1922.

Application of the provisions of Ordinance I of 1922. 3. Save as provided in section 2 of this Ordinance the provisions of sections 6 to 15 of the Malabar (Restoration of Order) Ordinance, 1922, as amended by the Malabar (Restoration of Order) Amendment Ordinance, 1922, shall so far as the same are applicable apply in respect of any trial held or completed under the provisions of this Ordinance.

Appeals pending under Ordinance I of 1922. 4. Notwithstanding the expiration of the Malabar (Restoration of Order) Ordinance, 1922, an appeal shall lie in any case in which an appeal would have lain but for such expiration and every such appeal and every appeal pending at the date of such expiration shall be heard and decided by the authority by which it would have been heard and decided if the said Ordinance had not expired.

Execution of orders of Courts ceasing to exercise jurisdiction. 5. When any Court ceases to exercise jurisdiction under this Ordinance any action which is necessary for the purpose of giving effect to the orders of such Court or any order made in appeal from the judgment or order of such Court may be taken

(*a*) where such Court is the Court of a Special Judge by the Sessions Court, South Malabar, and

(*b*) in any other case, by the District Magistrate having jurisdiction in the place which was the place of sittings of such Court.

NOTE.—Vide G.O. No. 680, Public, dated 21st August 1922.

XVIII

Press Communique.

Dated Fort St. George, the 6th September 1922.

The following note regarding the position in Malabar as it stood at the end of August is published:—

The harvest of chama and modan is over and has resulted in a very good crop. The kanni harvest has begun in Walluvanad taluk and in parts of Ernad but the harvesting will not be general for another two or three weeks. It is understood that this harvest also promises to be very good.

There is now no lack of employment in the Ernad and Walluvanad taluks. The complaint is rather of shortage of labour. In Calicut taluk the sowing of the second crop at present furnishes sufficient employment and will continue to do so for some weeks. Prices generally are normal with a tendency to fall.

The total amount disbursed in Government loans up to the end of August is Rs. 8,45,708. Except in the Calicut taluk where it has been found desirable to issue further loans for subsistence, the work of the Reconstruction Officers is now confined to completing the investigation in respect of loan applications already received. No new applications are being accepted.

The number of persons convicted in August is 518 excluding those dealt with under the scheme of suspended sentences; the latter numbered 9,984. The fines imposed under this scheme have now reached a total of Rs. 7,00,106. Of Rs. 20,750 which fell due during the month of August, Rs. 19,509 was promptly paid. There still remain about 600 offenders to be arrested as well as a large number to be dealt with under the suspended sentence scheme. The Special Ordinance under which offenders have hitherto been tried ceased to operate on the 25th of August and persons arrested in future will be dealt with by the ordinary courts.

The operations of some of the unofficial Relief Committees have closed but the Central Relief Committee proposes to keep its rice depots open until the end of the month. These depots and the loans for subsistence which are still being made from Government funds should, it is reported, fully suffice to meet such cases of want as may still exist.

The Revenue offices damaged by the rebels have all been repaired as well as practically all the damaged Sub-Registrars' offices and, with the exception of one or two buildings which are still temporarily used for the confinement of prisoners, Government buildings in the rebellion area have now been restored to their proper use. Permanent repairs to the damaged bridges have not yet been undertaken but all the roads are open to traffic.

The situation in Malabar having now practically returned to the normal, it is not proposed to issue any further communiqué. The Governor in Council wishes to take this opportunity of expressing his acknowledgments to the unofficial bodies and individuals who have during the past year done so much to relieve the hardship and suffering caused by the rebellion. The Malabar Relief Committee, in particular, by its organization of the camps for refugees as well as by the work which it has done later in distributing help and maintaining cheap grain depots in the rebellion area has been of very great assistance to the Government and has laid the sufferers from the rebellion under a great obligation. On their behalf as well as on his own the Governor in Council desires to thank the Relief Committee, the Servants of India Society and the Young Men's Christian Association, from whose ranks so many of the workers were drawn, for the great work which they have accomplished.

R. A. GRAHAM,
Chief Secretary.

NOTE.—The Konnara Tangal was captured at the end of August near Tellicherry.

APPENDIX I.

NOTES ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM MALAPPURAM.

Extract from a demi-official from the Hon'ble Sir LIONEL DAVIDSON, K.C.S.I., Member of Council, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated the 1st October 1921.

Withdrawal of troops from Malappuram.

* * * * * *

5. The fourth item contains the answer* to the question put in the Council of State regarding the assent of the Madras Government to the evacuation of the garrison at Malappuram. I think we should look up exactly what the effect of the correspondence on that subject was with a view, if the facts are as I recollect them to be, to press upon the Government of India to make a fuller statement of the circumstances in which we reluctantly agreed to the evacuation.

* Printed below.

In the Council of State to-day the Commander-in-Chief, replying to a question asked by Diwan Bahadur V. Rama Bhadra Nayudu regarding the causes that led to the withdrawal of the troops that used to be stationed at Malappuram, said—

Owing to the reduction of British infantry in India from the pre-war strength, the garrison of the present Madras district was reduced by one British battalion. This necessitated the adequate concentration of the remaining British battalion and the withdrawal of the British garrison which used to be stationed at Malappuram. It has also been necessary to withdraw the British detachment at Berelly for similar reasons. The Madras Government advised the retention of a British garrison at Malappuram, but they consented later to its evacuation for the reasons given above, on condition that adequate arrangements were made for the quick despatch of troops from Calicut to Malappuram. The question of stationing the force permanently has not yet been considered, and cannot be considered until the Madras Government have had time to submit their recommendations after the present disturbances have been quelled. The location of the troops detailed for internal security purposes is governed by two main considerations, firstly with reference to the necessity for preserving tranquillity, and secondly, with reference to the existing accommodation. Honourable Members will realise that it is impossible with a limited number of troops to station detachments in every locality where there is the possibility of an outbreak occurring.

For many years the military authorities have been trying to convince this Government that the detachment of British troops at Malappuram was a mistake. This Government have consistently refused to admit this and until 1919 they refused to listen to any proposal for the removal of the detachment, even though the demands of the war made the position different from what it would be in ordinary peace times. In 1919 we consented to the abandonment of Malappuram as a military station, but *only on certain very definite conditions, which have never been fulfilled.* Even the number of troops which, at the time of the abandonment of Malappuram as a military station, we insisted should be maintained at Calicut has been whittled down, with the result that when we were faced with trouble early this year, we had only a half company at that place, which was under strength and which had to depend for its mobility on a makeshift arrangement with the owners of local motor-buses. The normal allotment of troops before the war seems to have been 150 at Malappuram and 50 at Calicut.

The following is a brief account of the correspondence on the subject since 1915:—

In January 1915 the military authorities raised the question of abolishing the detachments at Malappuram and Calicut on the ground that having small detachments in different places meant decreased efficiency. The Government strongly opposed the idea and their view was accepted by the Government of India. S.F. 155 page 11. ,, page 13. ,, page 20.

S.F. 190, pages 1-4. In May 1917 it was proposed as a war measure to replace the regular troops at Malappuram and Calicut by the Indian Defence Force and the Southern Provinces Mounted Rifles. Government considered that troops at one or other of the two places was essential, but eventually accepted the posting of a detachment of the Malabar Rifles at Calicut, and 50 men of the Southern Provinces Mounted Rifles at Malappuram. At the same time they insisted that the latter should be mounted on motor-cycles, and they issued orders to the Inspector-General to maintain the Special Police force at full strength and at the highest possible state of efficiency. I invite attention to the notes at page 1 and page 12 of this file, and also to the demi-official from Mr. Evans at page 14. His view that, if the troops were wanted elsewhere, the risk involved in doing without them in Malabar should and could be taken was not accepted by the Government.

S.F. 205, page 7. Later on in the same year there was friction owing to the posting of Eurasian Indian Defence Force at Malappuram, and the Government finally requested the military authorities to revert to the old practice of stationing a wholly European detachment at Malappuram. This in spite of their anxiety to avoid making any avoidable demands on military resources at the time. There was considerable difficulty
S.F. 215, page 8. in complying with our request, but in February 1918 we told the General Officer Commanding, 9th Division, that we considered any arrangement unsatisfactory which did not provide for the location of British troops at Malappuram, and left it to the military to take the responsibility of garrisoning the station with Anglo-Indian troops. I invite attention here to His Excellency's note at page 11, which shows that the military were unwilling to endorse or press our views.

S.F. 288, page 3. A year later—in February 1919—the question of abandoning *Malappuram* as a military station, as distinct from Calicut, was raised by the General Officer Commanding, 9th Division. The proposal was to locate one company of British infantry at Cannanore, and this company was to provide a detachment of one platoon (50 rifles) at Calicut. *In addition there was to be a section of a Motor Machine Gun Battery at Calcut and the whole of the Calicut garrison was to be provided with adequate motor transport.*

,, page 4. ,, page 11. The Inspector-General (Mr. P. B. Thomas) and the District Magistrate (Mr. Hall) were consulted and the Government agreed to the proposal *on these terms*, and added the stipulations that the force should be adequately provided with Lewis guns, that a Field gun should also be kept either at Calicut or with the Special Force at Malappuram, that the force should do field days every quarter in the Mapilla country, and that the Calicut and Cannanore garrisons should be in actual occupation of their stations and fully supplied with motor transport before the Malappuram force was withdrawn. We even asked for motor transport for the Cannanore force, but did not press this point.

,, page 13. The General Officer Commanding apparently accepted these conditions.

In May of the same year 150 British troops were sent to Malabar, and Government took this move to be in pursuance of their acceptance of the proposals of the General Officer Commanding. But in July the General Officer Commanding asked
,, page 23. whether these men might be withdrawn—(see page 11 of the notes). We had to
,, page 25. protest strongly against their withdrawal, and the General Officer Commanding told us in August that they would remain for the present.

Meanwhile, in May, we had had to point out that nothing had been done about the motor transport, and at the General's request we addressed the Government of India on the subject in letter No. 152-S. of 5th June 1919.

,, page 19. This letter had no apparent effect, and I cannot find that it was even answered. In September we were again in difficulties (page 16 notes) and we again addressed the Government of India and sent them copies of our letters to the military authorities on the subject—Letter 254-S. of 26th September 1919. ,, pages 26 & 28.

,, page 30. In October the General Officer Commanding informed us that one company of the Rifle Brigade were to go to Cannanore, of which one platoon was to be stationed at Calicut. But nothing was said about the motor machine gun section or the motor transport generally. We accepted this with thanks and in silence. It was more than we expected. I invite attention in this file to the notes at pages 11 to 24.

The note by the Hon'ble Sir Lionel Davidson at pages 19 et seq. gives a resumé of the situation. The year 1919 began with certain business-like proposals for the abandonment of Malāppuram on certain conditions; the rest of the year was spent in continual threats to remove all British troops from Malabar and continual protests on our part which were not wholly successful.

In November the Government of India sent a non-committal sort of reply S.F. 300,
to our No. 254-S. The Rifle Brigade never went to Malabar, and in December page 1.
the military returned to the charge. They could not make satisfactory arrangements for hiring transport locally and they proposed as a temporary arrangement to take the detachment of Leinsters which was then at Cannanore and send „ pages 3 & 4.
them to Malappuram. We agreed to this and finally (when His Excellency went to „ pages 5 &
Delhi) it was verbally arranged that a half company of British troops should be 6.
posted to Calicut—to be drawn from Wellington instead of Cannanore—*with arrangements for motor transport.* We confirmed this decision in our letter No. 27-S. of 30th January 1920 to the General Officer Commanding, 9th Division, and at the same „ page 16.
time said that the mobility of the troops at Calicut must be established before the troops at Malappuram were withdrawn. See also our letter No. 28-S. of the same date to the General Officer Commanding in Chief, Southern Command. After some „ page 17.
further correspondence the Government in their letter No. 51-S. of 5th March 1920 „ page 20.
accepted the arrangements made through the Collector of Malabar for the supply of motor-buses, but at the same time emphasized the temporary nature of the arrangement. Please see pages 5 to 12 of the notes in this file.

[*N.B.*—It was part of the arrangement that the detachment at Calicut should be at full Page 5 Notes.
strength.]

The result of this correspondence may be briefly summed up as follows :—

The military authorities succeeded in evading our recommendations that before the Malappuram force was removed the Cannanore garrison and the detachment at Calicut should be at their stations, and that motor transport should be ready and in working order. We accepted on the grounds of urgent military necessity, viz., the necessity for demobilization and for training troops as a whole and not in small detachments. Please see the note at page 4 of S.F. No. 314 of 1921. In this file S.F. 314,
we returned to the point about motor transport, and the General Officer Commanding page 1.
once again raised the question, in November 1920, of retaining British detachments „ page 4.
in Malabar. Once more we demurred in our letter No. 269-S. of 15th November „ pages 6—9
1920. The question of local motor transport was re-examined and in January 1921 „ page 10.
we expressed our agreement with the revised arrangements, and re-emphasized the necessity for more permanent arrangements. I invite attention in this file to „ page 13.
Mr. Hitchcock's note at page 11 and General Burnett Stuart's demi-official at page 12.

In March 1921 the Inspector-General brought to our notice (notes page S.F. 320.
8) that the detachment at Calicut was considerably under strength, and this was admitted by the General at page 19 of the notes. Please also see his demi-official at pages 14 and 15 of the notes, where he told us that our hopes for motor transport were futile, *because of financial stringency.*

Apart from the files on the subject of the Malabar area, we have on three occasions in the last year taken the opportunity in files of a more general nature to bring to the notice of the Government of India our opinion that the allotment of troops to this Presidency was below the margin of safety, and to impress on them the necessity for providing motor transport for the troops in Malabar.

The first occasion was in December 1920 when we were asked for our views on S.F. 31[illegible]
the question of the employment of troops to quell civil disorder.

The second occasion was when we were asked our views as to the requirements S.F. 318
of the Presidency in the way of internal security troops, in connexion with the Simla Committee on the military requirements of India. We gave our opinion and the only response we got was an intimation to the effect that the committee proposed to reduce the number of British battalions at Bangalore and Secunderabad, and asking us whether we had any views in the matter.

F. 329. The last occasion was in connexion with the letter from the European Association about special measures for the protection of Europeans. We have had a reply to this *since* the rebellion broke out, but it can hardly be regarded as satisfactory.

A very quibbling reply.
N.E.M.—18-10-21.

In fact, as far as I can ascertain, the Government of India have never given us any assurance that our demands were being attended to and the only communication I can find from them on the subject of motor transport for Malabar is in their letter No. 356 of 12th January 1920 at page 8 of S.F. No. 300 which was subsequently cancelled by their telegram at page 12 of the notes in the same file. In that letter they said that it was quite impossible to provide the necessary (*sic*) motor transport for a platoon at Calicut without impairing military efficiency on the North-West frontier.

I submit that a perusal of these files can lead to only one conclusion, and that is, that our recommendations in military matters have consistently been ignored or brushed aside as unworthy of serious consideration by the Army Department of the Government of India. We have had to fight a continuous and up-hill fight for the last six years to maintain any British troops at all in the Malabar area, and it has needed the Mapilla rebellion to prove that we were right. Whether, if an adequate British force had been maintained throughout at Malappuram, the Mapilla rebellion would ever have occurred is at least a debatable point; and in any case the facts have proved that it is useless, both from the Civil and the Military points of view, to keep 40 or 50 British troops at Calicut. As far as I know these troops never showed themselves in the Mapilla country in peace time, as it was stipulated they should, and when real trouble arose at the end of July last it was immediately necessary to call in additional troops from Wellington, and though the Military authorities may argue that it is only a matter of hours to move troops from Wellington to the Mapilla area, in the present case it took several days before the arrangements were completed, and in the meanwhile the Mapillas no doubt were much elated by their apparent supremacy.

The local Military Officers were quite reasonable. The trouble was at A.H.Q.
L.D.—27-10-21.

The answer given by the Commander-in-Chief in the Council of State may no doubt be strictly truthful, but I submit that it hardly gives a correct impression of the repeated and vigorous efforts this Government have made to oppose the removal of troops from Malappuram, and it entirely omits the most important fact that the conditions on which we insisted before we consented to the removal have never been fulfilled.

G. R. F. Tottenham—12-10-21.

A vigorous offensive is the best safeguard against our friends turning nasty. But if we formulate a protest against the answer, we must be careful to differentiate our correspondence with the local military authorities from that with the Government of India. The local people (no doubt owing to pressure from above) seem to have been very fussy in recent years and I am not sure that this Government have always kept in mind the difference between requests made by them and answers sent to them and correspondence with the Government of India.

Not advisable, I think.
L.D.—27-10-21.

Yes: they themselves were usually quite ready to co-operate with us.
L.D.—27-10-21.

N. E. Marjoribanks—18-10-21.

This note furnishes ample material for a defence of the Madras Government, and I think, it should be set out *in detail* as a confidential enclosure to the proposed history of pre-rebellion policy: also in general terms and outline in the main narrative.

His Excellency should see and the note should also go to Mr. Knapp.

L. D[avidson]—27-10-21.

(Mr. Knapp has seen the note.)

L. D[avidson]—28-10-21.

W[illingdon]—7-11-21.

Note.—For further correspondence with the Government of India about the allotment of troops to the Presidency, see S.F. 335 and 349 of 1922.

G.R.F.T.—28-8-22.

APPENDIX II.

ORDER OF BATTLE.

STAFF.

Colonel Commandant, 1 General Staff Officer (2nd grade), 1 Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, 1 Brigade Major, 1 Senior Supply and Transport Officer, 1 Senior Medical Officer, 1 Base Commandant, Tirur, and 1 Field Cashier.

UNITS.

1 Squadron Queen's Bays.
1 Section 67th Battery, Royal Field Artillery.
No. 10, Pack Battery, R.F.A.
No. 6 Section, No. 2 (W/T) Company, "B" Signal Corps.
2nd Battalion, Dorsetshire Regiment.
1½ Companies, 1st Leinster Regiment (R.C.).
2nd Battalion, Suffolk Regiment. (Less 1 Company.)
1 Section, Armoured Car Company.
2/8th Gurkha Rifles.
2/9th Gurkha Rifles.
1/39th Royal Garhwal Rifles.
3/70th Burma Rifles.
2½ Companies, 83rd Wallajahbad Light Infantry.
1 Company, 64th Pioneers.
No. 9 Company, Sappers and Miners.
1 Platoon, No. 12 Company, Sappers and Miners.
1 Section, No. 31 Indian Casualty Clearing Station.
1 Section, No. 33 Indian Casualty Clearing Station.
Ordnance Depot. (Detached from Madras Arsenal.)
1 Section, No. 15 Company, Mechanical Transport.
24th Pack Mule Corps.
½ 20th Draught Mule Corps.
Detachment, 30th Mule Corps.
Supply Officer, Mobile Supplies, with Supply establishment.
1 Section Bakery.
1 Section Butchery.
Advanced Supply Depot.
6 Companies, Special Police.

APPENDIX III.

CASUALTY LIST.

(Military and Malabar Special Police.)

Units.	Killed.				Died of wounds.				Accidentally killed.				Wounded.				Total.	
	British Officers	Indian Officers.	B.O.R.	I.O.R.	British Officers.	Indian Officers.	B.O.R.	I.O.R.	British Officers.	Indian Officers.	B.O.R.	I.O.R.	British Officers.	Indian Officers.	B.O.R.	I.O.R.	Killed.	Wounded.
First Battalion, Suffolks.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	2
Second Battalion, Dorsets.	..	..	5	..	1	..	3	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	12	..	10	13
First Leinsters ..	1	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	8	..	3	9
Royal Army Service Corps (M.T.).	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
2/8th Gurkhas ..	..	1	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	3	..	48	7	52
2/9th Gurkhas ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
1/39th Garhwalis ..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	3	9
3/70th Burma Rifles.	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13	2	13
64th Pioneers ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
83rd Wallajahbad Light Infantry.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Indian Medical Department.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
* Police	2	1	1	12	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	19	17	23
Total ..	3	3	8	18	2	1	3	1	..	..	2	2	6	6	28	91	43	126

* NOTE.—These figures refer only to the Special Police. Including the District Police and Reserves the Police casualties were 24 killed and 29 wounded.

APPENDIX IV.

"DRAMATIS PERSONAE" OF THE REBELLION.

(1) *Government of India.*

Civil—

Viceroy—His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Rufus Daniel Isaacs, Earl of Reading, P.C., G.C.B., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., G.C.V.O., K.C.V.O.
Home Member—The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.
Secretary, Home Department—
H. D. Craik, Esq., I.C.S., till September 23rd, 1921.
S. P. O'Donnell, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., after September 23rd, 1921.
(Telegraphic address—Home, Delhi or Simla).
Secretary, Army Department—Sir Godfrey Fell.

Military—

Commander-in-Chief—His Excellency General Lord Rawlinson of Trent, G.C.B., G.C.V.O. K.C.M.G.
Chief of the General Staff—General Sir C. W. Jacob, K.C.B., K.C.M.G.
(Telegraphic address—Chief Genstaff, Delhi or Simla).
General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Southern Command, Poona—Lieutenant-General Sir William Marshall, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.S.I. (Telegraphic address—Southcom, Poona).

(2) *Government of Madras.*

Civil—

Governor—His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Sir Freeman Freeman-Thomas, Baron Willingdon of Ratton, K.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.
Home Member—Sir Lionel Davidson, K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (till March 31st, 1922, when succeeded by the Hon'ble Mr. A. R. Knapp, C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S.).
Finance Member—
The Hon'ble Mr. A. R. Knapp, C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S. (till October 23rd, 1921).
The Hon'ble Sir Charles Todhunter, K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (from October 24th, 1921).
Revenue Member—The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Habib-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur, *Kt.*, C.I.E.
Law Member—
The Hon'ble Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar.

NOTE.—After Sir Lionel Davidson's retirement on March 31st, 1922, the Hon'ble Mr. Knapp took over the Malabar portfolio, and jails, while the Hon'ble Mr. K. Srinivasa Ayyangar took over the ordinary Police and Law and Order portfolio.

Chief Secretary—
N. E. Marjoribanks, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S. (till November 28th, 1921).
R. A. Graham, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S. (from November 28th, 1921).
(Telegraphic address—Madras, Madras or Ootacamund).
Special Commissioner for Malabar Affairs—A. R. Knapp, Esq., C.S.I., C.B.E., I.C.S. (for the period of the appointment from October 24th, 1921 to March 31st, 1922).
Special Civil Officer with the troops in Malabar—F. B. Evans, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S. (from August 26th, 1921 till Martial Law was withdrawn on February 25th, 1922).
Collector and District Magistrate, Malabar—
E. F. Thomas, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S. (till November 22nd, 1921).
T. Hill, Esq., I.C.S. (from November 22nd, 1921 till January 28th, 1922).
R. H. Ellis, Esq., I.C.S. (from January 28th, 1922).
(Telegraphic address—Distrate—Calicut.)
Sub-Collector and Joint Magistrate, Malappuram—
T. Austin, Esq., I.C.S. (from March 22nd, 1921 till February 11th, 1922).
L. E. Hurtis, Esq. (from February 1922 till July 9, 1922).
J. A. Thorne, I.C.S. (from July 9, 1922).
Headquarters Deputy Collector—Khan Bahadur P. A. Ammu Sahib.
Headquarters Sub-Collector and Additional District Magistrate—M. McGilligan, Esq., I.C.S. (from April 1922.)

Deputy Collector and Subdivisional Magistrate, Palghat—
G. Batty, Esq. (till October 22nd, 1921).
F. L. Brigstocke, Esq., I.C.S. (from October 22nd, 1921 to February 15th, 1922).
M.R.Ry. K. C. Manavedan Raja Avargal (from February 15th, 1922).

Civil—cont.

Deputy Collector and Subdivisional Magistrate, Tellicherry—

L. E. Hurtis, Esq. (till February 17th, 1922).
F. L. Brigstocke, Esq., I.C.S. (from February 17th, 1922).

Assistant Collectors—

I. M. Fraser, Esq., I.C.S. (he was also put in command of one company of the Malabar Special Police).
A. D. Crombie, Esq., I.C.S. (from beginning of September 1921).

Police—

Inspector-General—F. Armitage, Esq.
Deputy Inspectors-General of Police—

N. E. Q. Mainwaring, Esq. (from August 20th, 1921 to November 28th, 1921).
F. E. Coningham, Esq. (from 9th December 1921).

Superintendents of Police—

R. H. Hitchcock, Esq., C.I.E., M.B.E., Superintendent of Police, South Malabar (from August 20th, 1921 to April 30th, 1922).
Special Superintendent of Police, Malappuram (from April 30th, 1922).
A. F. Bulkley, Esq., Additional Superintendent of Police, South Malabar (from October 17th, 1921 to January 23rd, 1922).
E. J. Rowlandson, Esq., Additional Superintendent of Police, South Malabar (from January 24th, 1922 to April 30th, 1922 on which date he became the Superintendent of Police, South Malabar).
J. Elliott, Esq., Acting Superintendent of Police and liaison officer with the troops (from August 26th, 1921 to February 15th, 1922).
C. G. Tottenham, Esq., Acting Superintendent of Police on special duty in *Malabar and in command of Auxiliary Police (from November 7th, 1921 to March 7th, 1922).

Assistant Superintendents of Police—

W. J. D. Rowley, Esq., Assistant Superintendent of Police, Palghat (from August 10th, 1921 to August 20th, 1921 when he was killed).
C. S. V. Kearns, Esq., Assistant Superintendent of Police, Palghat (from September 4th, 1921 to date).
C. B. Lancaster, Esq., Assistant Superintendent of Police, Malappuram (from August 1st, 1921 to August 26th, 1921 when he was killed).
L. A. Bishop, Esq., Assistant Superintendent of Police, Malappuram (from August 28th, 1921 to date).
A. J. King, Esq., on Special duty in charge of a Company of Auxiliary Police.

Temporary Assistant Superintendents of Police in charge of Companies of Special Police—

1. I. M. Fraser, Esq., I.C.S. (from October 20th, 1921 to April 22nd, 1922).
2. E. H. Colebrooke, Esq. (from October 16th, 1921 to date).
3. G. Bayzand, Esq (from November 4th, 1921 to January 24th, 1922).
4. C. Charsley, Esq. (from November 4th, 1921 to date).
5. C. A. Keatinge, Esq. (from January 8th, 1922 to date).
6. L. N. Hayter, Esq. (from February 7th, 1922 to March 5th, 1922 when he was transferred to charge of Mapilla Guard, Bellary).
7. J. N. A. Eaton, Esq. (from February 27th, 1922 to date).

Deputy Superintendents of Police—

Khan Bahadur E. V. Ammu Sahib, Personal Assistant to the Superintendent of Police (from August 26th, 1921 to date).
M.R.Ry. C. Karunakaran Nayar Avargal (from August 25th, 1921 to date).

Military—

General Officer Commanding, Madras District—

Major General J. T. Burnett Stuart, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O. (till July 11th, 1922).
Colonel Lord Ruthven, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O. (from July 11th, 1922).
Major-General Ponsonby, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O (from beginning of August 1922).
(Telegraphic address—Madist, Wellington.)

Colonel Commandant, Bangalore Brigade Area—Colonel Lord Ruthven, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.
(Telegraphic address—Area, Bangalore.)
Officer Commanding Malabar Force and Military Commander under Martial Law—
Col. E. T. Humphreys, C.M.G., D.S.O. (from August 1921 to February 25th, 1922).

* He was in South Malabar before this as Superintendent of Police, North Malabar. He was brought into Calicut prior to 20th August 1921 with some North Malabar reserve men.

(Telegraphic address—Commanding, Malabar, Podanur, Shoranur, Tirur, or Malappuram).

Officer Commanding, Calicut (at the outbreak of the rebellion)—Captain McEnroy, D.S.O., M.C.

LIST OF MOST IMPORTANT REBEL LEADERS (SEE ALSO INDEX).

Ali Mussaliar.
Variankunnath Kunhamad Haji.
Chembrasseri Tangal.
Sithi Koya Tangal.
Karath Moideen Kutti Haji.
Konnara Tangal.
Avokar Mussaliar.

NOTE (i)—The following telegraphic addresses are also used in the telegrams :—
Auxhorse = Auxiliary Force, S.P.M.R.
Auxinfy=Auxiliary Force (various units) followed by the name of the headquarters.
Silvia=Agent, South Indian Railway, Trichinopoly.

NOTE (ii).—The following appeared in the New Year Honours list, 1922 :—

The Hon'ble Mr. A.R. Knapp, C.S.I., O.B.E.—C.S.I.
N. E. Marjoribanks, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E.—C.S.I.
F B. Evans, Esq., C.S.I.—C.S.I.
E. F. Thomas, Esq., C.I.E.—C.I.E.
C. G. Tottenham, Esq.—King's Police Medal.
Khan Bahadur E. V. Ammu Sahib—King's Police Medal (Bar).
(A number of other police medals and Indian honours were also conferred on lower ranks).
The following appeared in the Birthday Honours lists, 1922:—
R. H. Hitchcock, Esq., M.B.E., C.I.E.—C.I.E.

APPENDIX V.

References.

A

LIST OF G.OS. DEALING WITH THE MAPILLA REBELLION IN THE PUBLIC, JUDICIAL AND LAW (GENERAL) DEPARTMENTS (UP TO THE MIDDLE OF AUGUST 1922).

NOTE.—L. = Law (General), J. = Judicial and P. = Public.

ALI MUSALIAR—		
Burial—Demonstration	496, J.	11th April 1922.
ARRESTS—		
Acceleration of	732, J.	8th June „
AUSTIN, T., I.C.S.—		
Special allowance proposed	662, P.	30th May „
BAIL APPLICATIONS (See Prosecutions).		
BALAKRISHNA MENON, K. V.—		
Jail experiences	506, P.	14th June „
BELLARY CAMP JAIL—		
Accommodation	1852, L.	8th November 1921.
Commitment of prisoners to—Sanctioned	1662, L.	18th October „
Formation of—Sanctioned	1589, L.	6th „ „
Guard—Military	1969, L.	22nd November „
Jail and Police—Arms for	861, J.	14th „ „
Jail Warders—Additional—Sanctioned	647, L.	10th March 1922.
Do. Distribution of	1060, L.	20th April „
Do. Establishment (Temporary)—Sanctioned	1606, L.	29th June „
Police—Contingents from the reserves of other districts—Exempted from article 1056, Civil Service Regulations	875, J.	15th July „
Police—Strength increased	1, J.	2nd January 1922.
Guarding of—Responsibility transferred to Jail Department	1288, L.	19th May „
Inspection notes of Inspector-General of Prisons	934, L.	5th April „
Do. do.	1105, L.	27th „ „
Juveniles—Transfers to Reformatory and other jails.	363, L.	12th February „
Do. do.	667, L.	14th March „
Do. do.	1264, L.	15th May „
Name of—Changed to 'Alipuram Jail'	1180, L.	6th „ „
CANNANORE JAIL OUTBREAK	1009, J.	13th December 1921.
Report of Inspector-General of Prisons	1084–85, L.	25th April 1922.
CINEMA FILM	741, P.	26th October 1921.
COMPENSATION FOR LOSSES (See also RECONSTRUCTION—Loans)—		
Amu, Khan Bahadur, E. V.—Sanctioned	296, J.	3rd March 1922.
Chandy, M. C., District Forest Officer—Sanctioned	379, P.	4th May „
District Magistrate, Malabar—Clerk and peon of—Sanctioned	883, J.	19th November 1922.
Government servants—Provision of funds	304, P.	5th April „
Govinda Menon, P.—Claim against Military—Rejected	477, P.	31st May „
Mainwaring, N.E.Q.—Sanctioned	889, J. and 934, J.	21st November 1921 and 2nd December 1921.
Perintalmanna Co-operative Conveyance Society—Motor busses—Use by Military—Claim—Support refused	662, P.	31st July 1922.
Police—Officers and men—Sanctioned	999, J.	13th December 1921.
Policy—Letter from Government Solicitor	1094, J.	29th „ „
Do. Government of India	73, J.	19th January 1922.
Do. Messrs. Parry & Co.	20, J.	7th „ „
Seshagiri Rao (late)—Inspector of Police—Widow of—Sanctioned	280, P.	28th March 1922.
Payment to widow—Sanctioned	418, P.	15th May 1922.
Thomas, E. F., I.C.S.—Sanctioned	809, P.	17th November 1921.

COMPLETION OF TRIALS ORDINANCE—		
Published	680, P.	21st August 1922.
DEFENCE FORCE (See Malabar District Board).		
DISTRESS (See also Reconstruction)—		
Mapilla women and children—Committee of inquiry.	278, P.	28th March 1922.
Relief of	345, P.	20th April 1922.
Provincial Congress Committee	463, P.	25th May 1922.
Road works—Estimates approved	571, P.	7th July 1922.
Do. do. ..	672, P.	19th August 1922.
EATON, J. N. A.—		
A.S.P. (Temporary)—Appointed	239, J.	17th February 1922.
ELLIOT, J.—		
Special duty—Sanctioned	888, J.	19th November 1921.
EVANS, F. B., I.C.S.—		
Special duty from 25th February 1922	232, P.	14th March 1922.
FLAG—		
Khilāfat—Captured at Tirurangadi—Gift to Mr. Mainwaring—Sanctioned	809, P.	11th November 1921.
FORCIBLE CONVERSIONS—		
Policy regarding—(See notes in G.O. No. 250 P., dated the 17th March 1922).		
Question in Parliament—Information supplied ..	305, P.	5th April 1922.
HAYTER, L. N.—		
A.S.P.—(Temporary)—Appointed	75, J.	19th January 1922.
KEATINGE, C. A.—		
A.S.P. (Temporary)—Appointed	45, J.	12th January 1922.
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY—		
Questions and Resolutions—Information supplied—		
Casualties—Military, police and rebel—Prisoners—Refugees—Statistics of	678, P.	21st August 1922.
Martial Law—Special Tribunal, Summary and Military Courts—Cases pending before—Statistics of	507, P.	14th June 1922.
Martial Law—Administration—Casualties and Convictions—Statistics	720, P.	5th September 1922.
Military action—Reprisals—Houses burnt—Villages evacuated	505, P.	14th June 1922.
Rebel action—Temples desecrated—Villages looted—Treatment of Mapillas	504, P.	14th June 1922.
Reconstruction and relief measures	420, P.	15th May 1922.
Refugees—Return to homes	337, P.	15th April 1922.
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—		
Questions—December 1921—		
Bellary Jail—Juvenile convicts	226, J.	16th February 1922.
Military and Police—Strength of—Casualties ..	269, J.	23rd February 1922.
Prosecutions—Special Tribunal and Summary courts—Caste of accused persons	270, J.	Do.
Reedman, J., Inspector—Pension to family ..	265, J.	Do.
January 1922—		
Train Tragedy	226, 267, and 271, J.	Do.
February 1922—		
Perintalmanna—Looting case	503, P.	14th June 1922.
Prisoners—Conveyance on Railways	336, P.	15th April 1922.
March 1922—		
Distress among Mapillas—Committee of inquiry—Publication of report	342, P.	19th April 1922.
Resolutions—1921—		
Malabar—Military units—Stationing of—in— ..	587, P.	13th July 1922.
Train Tragedy—Motion for adjournment ..	[See Train Tragedy Secret files.]	
Resolution—1922—		
Distress—Committee of Inquiry, (lapsed) ..	302, P.	5th April 1922.
MALABAR DISTRICT—		
Memorial from residents of—Forwarded to the Government of India	734, P.	26th October 1921.
MALABAR DISTRICT BOARD—		
Resolution of—Defence force—Formation of ..	748, P.	28th October 1921.
MAPILLA EDUCATION—		
Separate elementary schools—Abolition of—Committee appointed	584, P.	11th July 1922.

Mapilla Outrages Act—		
Fining of amsams—Proposals approved	749, J.	15th October 1921.
" " Draft proclamation approved ..	835, J.	4th November 1921.
Forfeiture of property—Scope of section 3—Advocate-General's opinion communicated ..	12, J.	5th January 1922.
Mapilla Outrages Act and Regulation III of 1819—		
Athan Kutty and three others—Removed from Malabar and detained in Rajahmundry Jail ..	441, P.	20th May 1922.
Pulliyil Marakkar and 89 others—Removed from Malabar and detained in Rajahmundry Jail ..	440, P.	Do.
Release of above prisoners—Declined	669, P.	16th August 1922.
Martial Law—		
Courts—Trials outside area—Permitted	164, J.	6th February 1922.
Military Courts—		
Death sentences—Execution by Jail Superintendents..	476, L.	22nd February 1922.
Ordinance—1921—Published	711, P.	17th October 1921.
Witness batta—Pleaders—Engagement by court	866, J.	15th November 1921.
Special Magistrates—Appointed—		
Amu Sahib, Khan Bahadur P. A.	1004, J.	13th December 1921.
Govindan Nair, N.	81, J.	21st January 1922.
Manavedan Raja, K. C.	244, J.	18th February 1922.
Other Officers	918, J.	28th November 1921.
Ordinance published	804, P.	14th do.
Special Tribunal—		
Appointed	597, P.	16th September 1921.
Bench Clerk—Pay of	295, J.	3rd March 1922.
Cost of	380, P.	4th May 1922.
Deputation allowance to members of—Increased	847, P.	3rd December 1921.
Establishment—Sanctioned	639, P.	26th September 1921.
" (Additional)—Sanctioned ..	783, P.	11th November 1921.
Expenditure on—Sanctioned by His Excellency the Governor	74, J.	19th January 1922.
Seal—Use by—Sanctioned	678, P.	8th October 1921.
Sittings—Time and place—Notified	626, P.	20th September 1921.
Supplementary Ordinance—Published	596, P.	16th do.
Orders under section 5 (1)—Issued	919, J.	28th November 1921.
Rules under section 8.—Approved	685, P.	12th October 1921.
Summary Courts—		
Sequeira, J. C. — Sitting at Palghat—Permitted (See also " Restoration of Order Ordinance. ")	106, J.	26th January 1922.
McGilligan, M. (I.C.S.)—		
Additional District Magistrate—Appointed	301, J.	14th June 1922.
	(See also 141, P.	17th June 1922).
	482, P.	3rd July 1922.
Military — 45th Sikhs — Detachments at Arikkod and Manjeri — Withdrawal of — Agreed to ..	661, P.	14th June 1922.
Military and Civil—		
Services of — Appreciation	492, P.	6th June 1922.
Works — Accounts — Adjustment of — Army Department's orders..	353, P.	24th April 1922.
Narayana Menon, M. P.—		
Prosecution under sections 121 and 124 A. — Sanctioned..	375, P.	3rd May 1922.
Nariman, G. K.—		
Visit to Malabar	157, P.	21st February 1922.
Nilgiris—		
Debit of charges — Inspector-General's proposals ..	326 and 380, J.	8th and 21st March 1922.
Transport of Police — Feeding of refugees — Charges sanctioned	91, J.	21st January 1922.
Parliament—		
Statement in	890, J.	21st November 1921.
Police—		
Complaint against — K. K. Ahamad Unni — Rejected..	584, J.	5th May 1922.
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